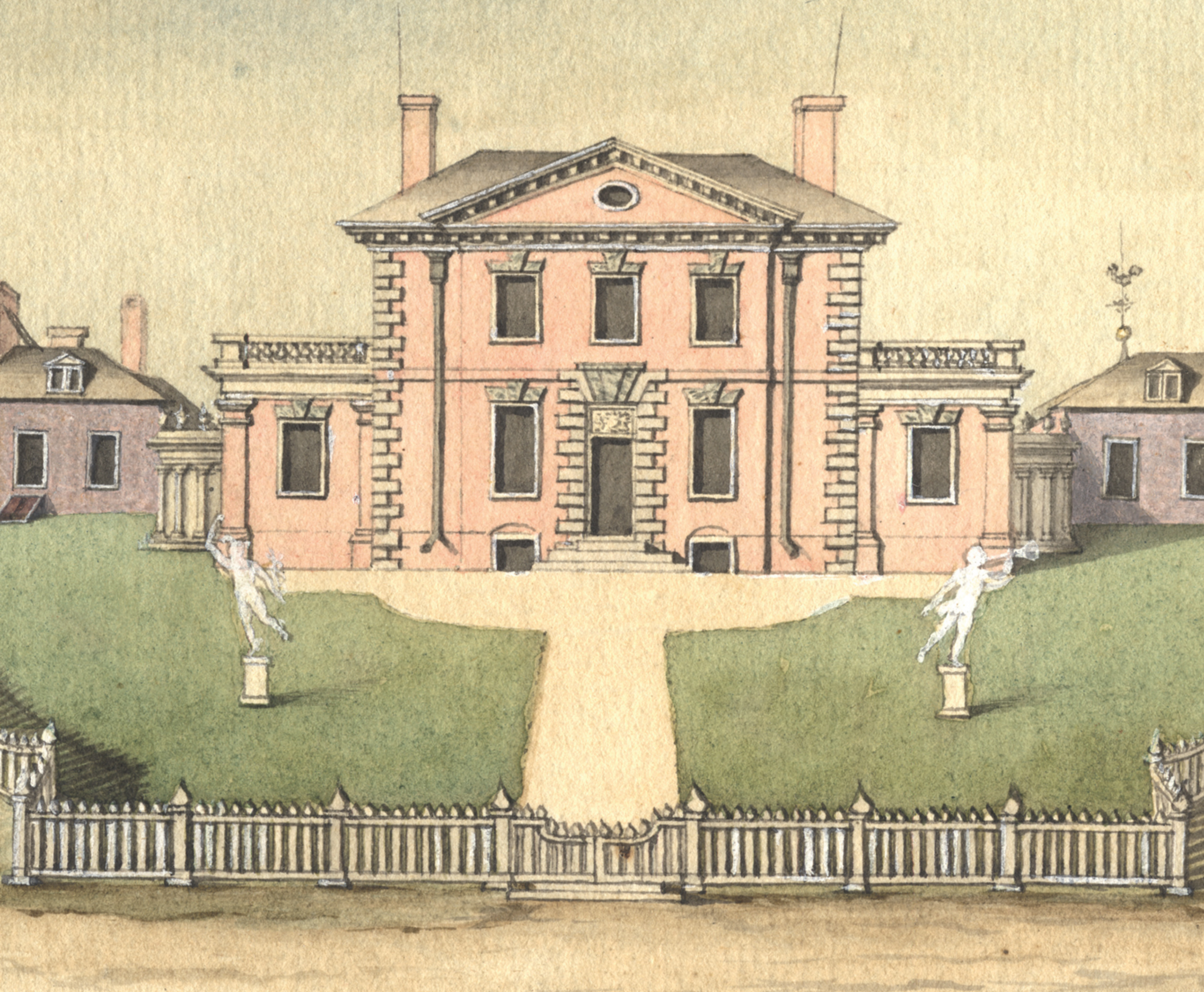
MARK REINBERGER ◆ ELIZABETH McLEAN

THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTRY HOUSE

ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPE IN COLONIAL AMERICA



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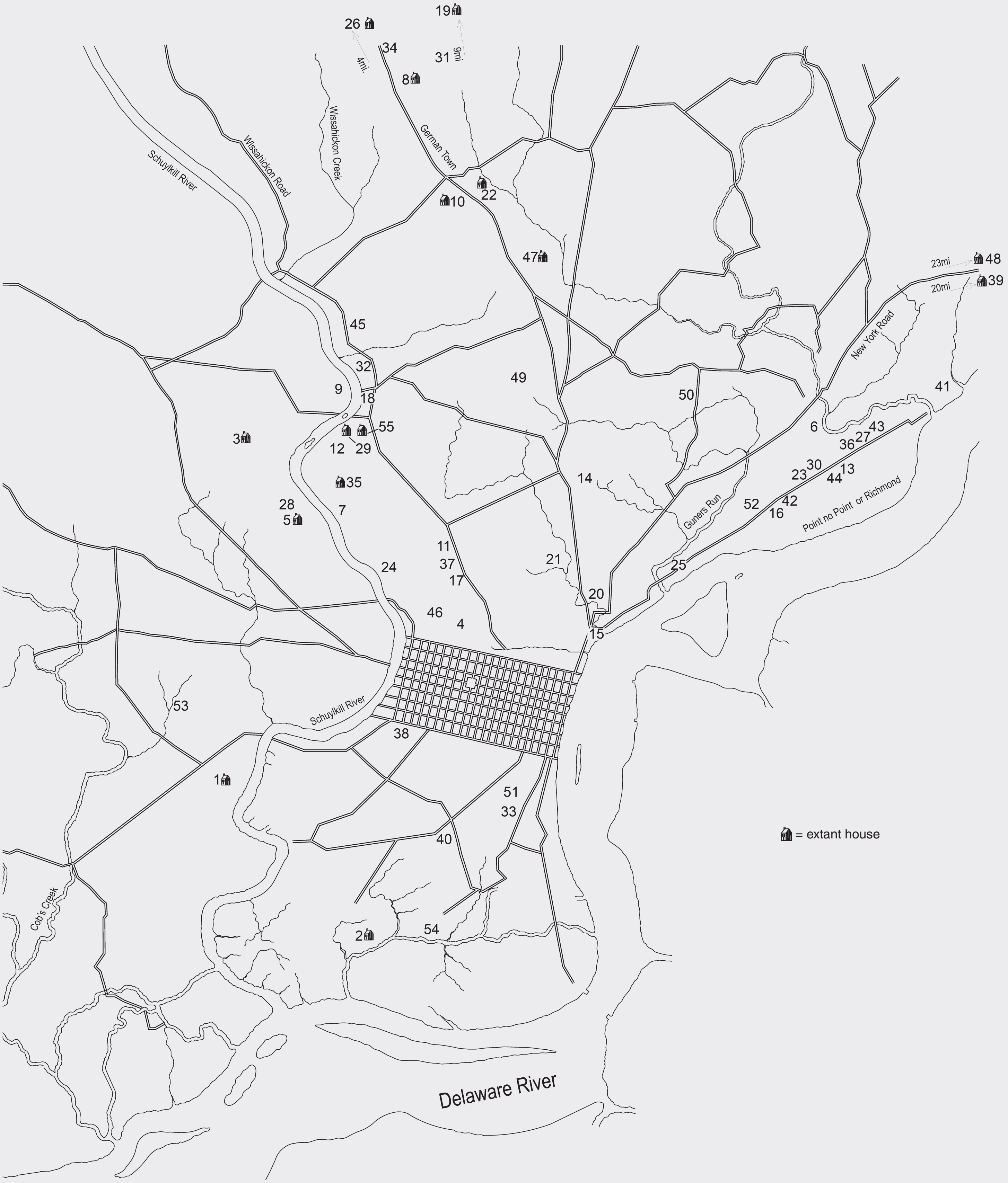
THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTRY HOUSE

1 Bartram (John)
2 Belair (Samuel Preston)
3 Belmont (William Peters)
4 Bush Hill (James Hamilton)
5 Cedar Grove (Elizabeth Coates Paschall)
6 Chalkley Hall (Abel James)
7 The Cliffs (Joshua Fisher)
8 Cliveden (Benjamin Chew)
9 William Denny (at Garrigues)
10 Deshler-Morris (David Deshler)
11 Dickinson (Jonathan, later Dubrey)
12 Edgely (Joshua Howell)
13 Elfreth (Jeremiah)
14 Fairhill (Isaac Norris)
15 Fairman (Thomas)
16 Fox (Joseph)
17 Francis (Tench, Jr.)
18 Francis (Tench, Sr.)
19 Graeme Park (Thomas Graeme; originally Fountain Low by William Keith)
20 Green Hill (Richard Hill)
21 Green Spring (William Masters)
22 Grumblethorpe (John Wister)
23 Hillegas (George Peter)
24 The Hills (Robert Morris)
25 Hope Farm (William Ball)
26 Hope Lodge (Samuel Morris)
27 Hopkins (Robert)
28 Lansdowne (John Penn)
29 Laurel Hill (Rebecca Warner)
30 Lynn (Joseph)
31 Jacob Mark House
32 Mifflin (Thomas)
33 Morris (Anthony)
34 Mount Airy (William Allen)
35 Mount Pleasant (John MacPherson)
36 Oldman (Joseph)
37 Peel Hall (Oswald Peel)
38 Pemberton (John Kinsey and James Pemberton)
39 Pennsbury (William Penn)
40 Plain Pleasant (William Trent)
41 Port Royal (Edward Stiles)
42 Richmond Seat (William Callender)
43 Roberts (Hugh)
44 Smith (John)
45 Smith's (Dr. William) Octagon
46 Springettsbury (Thomas Penn)
47 Stenton (James Logan)
48 Summerseat (Adam Hoops)
49 Venables (Thomas and Rebecca)
50 Waln Grove (Robert Waln)
51 Walnut Grove (Joseph Wharton)
52 Warner (Edward)
53 Whitby Hall (James Coultas)
54 Wilton (Joseph Turner)
55 Woodford (William Coleman)


19
26
4mi.
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Schuylkill River
Wissahickon Road
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German Town
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Guners Run
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Cob's Creek
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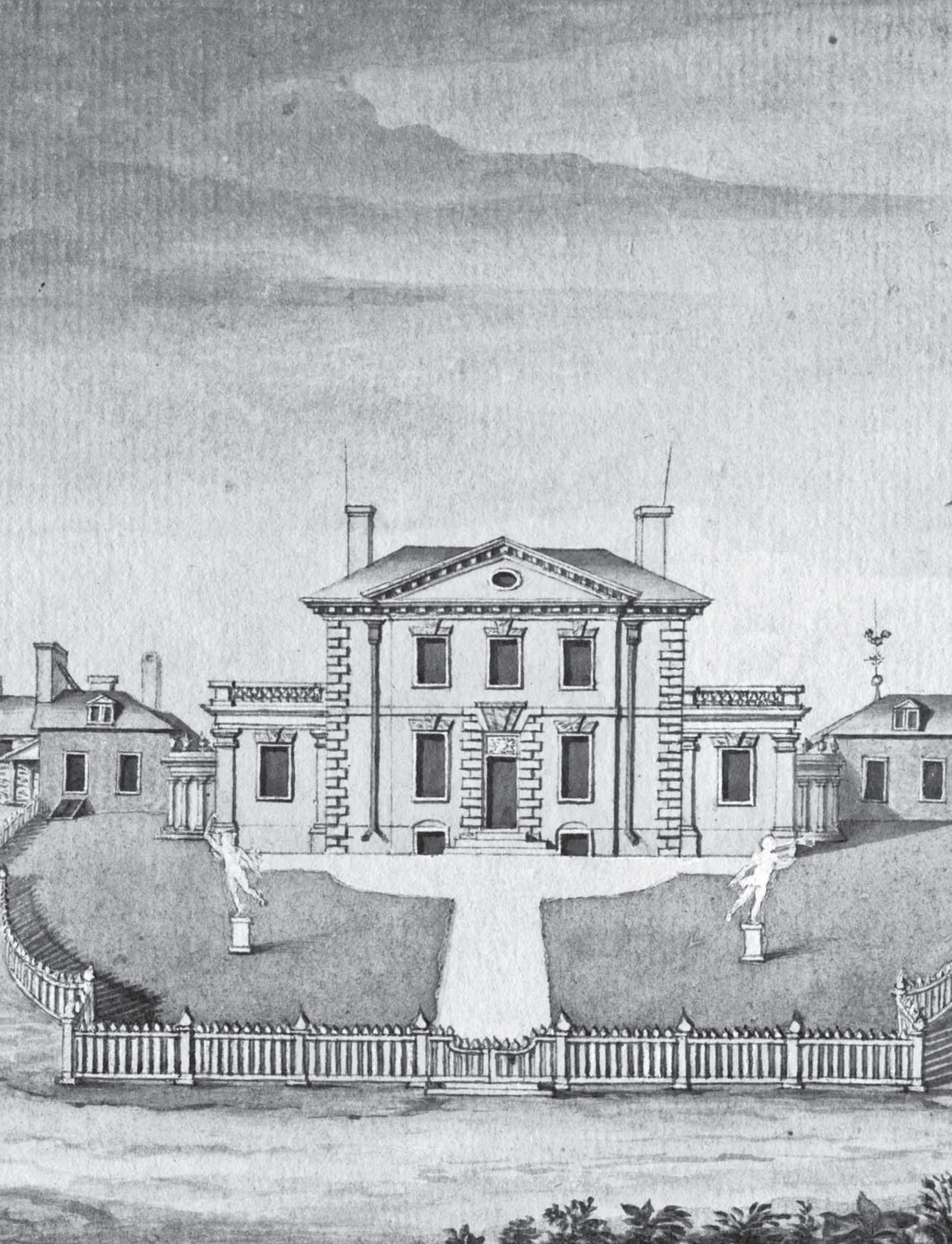
Delaware River
⌂ = extant house



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ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPE IN COLONIAL AMERICA

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FROM MARK REINBERGER:
To Michael W. Fazio, a friend, colleague, and fellow lover of architecture
who has done more for me than he will ever know

FROM ELIZABETH MCLEAN:
To Rudy Favretti, a pioneer in the history of the American landscape
whose early advice and encouragement were invaluable to me

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Note to Reader

The following letters are used on floor plans to indicate known room uses:

C	chamber
D	dining room
E	entry
H	hall
K	kitchen
L	library
N	nursery
O	office
P	parlor
St	stairhall
W	withdrawing room
WH	washhouse

Abbreviations used in the figure legends can be found in the list immediately preceding the notes.

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THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTRY HOUSE

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Introduction

The country house or villa and its landscape have long held an idealized place in Western society. A highly compelling subject, they have been the focus of seemingly endless books and articles on the country-house tradition in ancient Rome, Renaissance Italy, England, and America. The country estate is one of the oldest building types in Western architecture, dating back at least to the Romans, and constitutes one of the greatest contributions to architecture and landscape in the Anglo-American tradition. The country seat gave birth to modern suburbia and was the focus of the English and American obsession with the rural experience.[1]

The intended purposes of ancient villas (the Latin and Italian word conflates architecture and landscape) were remarkably similar to those of country estates in eighteenth-century England and Philadelphia. Wealthy families in ancient Rome acquired large tracts in the Italian countryside that they put to agricultural use, but sometimes they used the land for more pleasurable pursuits as well. Such villas facilitated a life of *otium*, relaxation but also self-improvement through study and artistic endeavors and, above all, a counterpoint to the life of *negotium*, activities of business and politics in the city. A competing ideology, developed most vigorously by Cato, saw the villa as the site not of upper-class pleasures but of hard work on the land, the province of yeomen, who were the backbone of the Roman nation.[2] These ideologies would compete in colonial Philadelphia almost two thousand years later. To judge from surviving and excavated Roman villa remains, the two purposes, pleasure and agriculture, usually merged, except in a few of the lavish royal villas, such as Hadrian's in Tivoli. Ancient Roman culture also developed suburban villas, houses with gardens at the edge of towns, examples of which survive, most notably in Pompeii.[3]

As it did with much else from antiquity, the Italian Renaissance revived the idea of the villa, first around Florence in the fifteenth century and later in the whole of Italy. The Medicis, the chief family of Florence, led the way with villas at Trebbio (1427–33) and

Cafaggiolo (1443–52), both of which resembled lightly fortified castles. The slightly later Fiesole (1455), on a suburban site, had no agricultural purpose whatsoever, while the more rural Poggio a Caiano (1485) fully merged agriculture and a life of *otium*.[4] These Italian precedents strongly influenced the English as early as the late sixteenth century, by which time England had already begun to develop a culture of aristocrats owning both country and city estates.

The economic boom and political openness that came to England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries allowed the country house to reach a popularity not seen before. A strong belief in the wholesomeness of country life and the concomitant corruption of the city, especially London, contributed to this popularity. A late-eighteenth-century poem expressed this well:

Retire, ye Wise! Retire from towns,
To flow'ry lawns and verdant downs;
Shun Dissipation's charms,
Let Virtue, still, your hearts improve;
And Beauty, Innocence, and Love,
Shall bless your longing arms.[5]

About 1700 this idea took on moral overtones, with a general uneasiness about the moral implications of acquisitiveness and luxury, which some felt threatened the national character and manliness. Eighteenth-century elites invoked the concept of taste, aesthetic discernment of styles that maintained propriety, decorum, and order.[6] Later this concept merged with the penchant for sensibility, which eventually led to nineteenth-century romanticism. The eighteenth-century English country house and landscape also were part of what have been called the "pleasures of the imagination." Imagination constituted a vital part of the newly discovered self, and thus the country house became "a highly specialized instrument for realizing many aspects of bourgeois selfhood."[7]

The aristocracy created the ideal of the country house, but in eighteenth-century England and its colonies the country house became diffused through bourgeois society, as did those other eighteenth-century contributions to modern life: the novel, the newspaper and magazine, the library, the philosophical society, the family portrait. Cultural and artistic expressions and events pertaining to the bourgeoisie became part of the common fabric of life, as the arts became the property of more than just the aristocracy, reflecting the spread of wealth down the social ladder and the rise of the mercantile and professional classes.[8] The many authors who advocated the creation of the country house targeted these classes, rather than just a few aristocrats or professors in academe.[9] David Hume's essay "Of Refinement in the Arts" (1742) declared architecture one of the arts that spread in Great Britain with the wealth of the whole and the many, unlike in most European countries, where the dominant architectural activity in the eighteenth century was the building of Versailles imitations by princes.[10]

The country house and landscape also were part of an eighteenth-century cultural pattern referred to as refinement, a set of habits and interests such as education, art, literature, travel, and manners that distinguished polite society from the lower orders. By the late eighteenth century refinement was necessary to succeed in society, something not true a century earlier. Refinement spread beyond the aristocracy, including even the middle classes by the early nineteenth century.[11]

English culture expanded not only across class lines but across gender lines as well. Although women had built houses and laid out gardens before the eighteenth century—Bess of Hardwick's Hardwick Hall (1590s) is perhaps the most famous example—the eighteenth century marked an important rise in female influence on architectural and landscape production. Women very self-consciously improved themselves by reading and practicing other arts, such as drawing and music. Like men, women appreciated the tranquility of the country, as Anna Larpent expressed in her diary: "In town I find a hurry affecting my spirits, an assemblage of frequently disgusting vain circumstances that may lead to vanity, to error, fatigue, and interruption."[12] Women played a key role in the creation of a country-house culture.[13]

Finally, culture spread geographically in the eighteenth century. London chiefly powered the engine of English cultural change in the provinces as well. Most of the major towns of England experienced cultural enrichment and developed cultural institutions and patterns characteristic of the era, including theater, music societies, and the building of country houses. The same occurred in the farthest-flung provinces, the English colonies.[14]

By the mid-eighteenth century, Americans had developed their version of the bourgeois country seat, especially in the environs of Philadelphia, a city hailed as "London in miniature."[15] By that time Philadelphia possessed an extraordinary collection of country houses and landscapes. The urban gentry of Philadelphia established country seats in the near environs of the city, a class of estate distinct in social function and form from town houses and from rural plantations or farms. Taken together, these estates make up one of the most significant groups of homes in colonial America, and their creation, form, and meaning deserve to be better known.

Landownership was an essential function of the country seat, along with the improvement of land and its "appropriation," as the landscape architect Humphrey Repton put it, by the landowner. The eighteenth century marked a major shift in land ownership in England, with the elimination of much of the medieval apparatus of landownership and the substitution of owning outright by large or small holders.[16] The shift was even more apparent in the American colonies, where land was readily available and where colonists struggled to obtain free and clear land titles. The creation of country estates became part of the American obsession with land. Living on the land represents ideals still held dear but in ever greater danger of disappearance—a reflection of a lost golden age and a better life.

Country-house culture also depended on the accumulation of wealth. A land-based gentry with large country houses characterized the Tidewater colonies of Maryland and Virginia, the source of their wealth being predominantly agricultural. Similarly, the wealth of many farmers in Pennsylvania was based solely on agriculture. The bourgeois country house depended upon another kind of wealth, wealth that originated in trade or a profession, based in the city. The line between rural and urban wealth remained fuzzy, especially in this early period. The country seats of early Pennsylvania merchants usually included farms, and the landscape resembled that on the estates of wealthy yeoman farmers.

The bourgeois country seat in Pennsylvania became something different. In time it took on more and more aspects of urban fashion, stylishness not normally seen in the country, and acquired the accouterments of urban life, such as furniture and service facilities not usual in rural residences. By the mid-eighteenth century some country houses could legitimately be called villas, self-consciously influenced through English Palladianism by Italian Renaissance prototypes, usually smaller than early country seats, and fitted with an unobstructed hall and often a piazza, which allowed the villa and the landscape to merge to a greater degree.

Country seats formed a key part of the built environment of Philadelphia, greatly affecting the character of the countryside around the city, about which Patrick M'Roberts remarked in 1775, "The country round [Philadelphia] is very pleasant and agreeable, finely interspersed with genteel country seats, fields and orchards."[17] They also reveal much about the people who created them. From the standpoint of design, these country seats possessed some of the greatest sophistication in colonial America—in the eighteenth century Philadelphia became the cultural "capital" of America—and established patterns and norms that became important throughout the region and beyond. Finally, they were a key aspect of bourgeois suburbanization and social gentility in America. Despite this importance, their stories remain inaccurately or incompletely told; indeed, some of the country seats are virtually unknown in the general literature on American architecture. Moreover, they continue unexamined as a coherent group, which is how their story should be told. Because their owners were socially and professionally related, they influenced one another, and a great deal of cross-pollination took place, leading to their coherence.

The ideas behind these seats and the forms they took evolved from the very beginning of colonization. Their story begins with youthful idealism, filled with laudable but somewhat awkward and untenable goals, and grows into a worldly maturity, reached through a not altogether pleasant negotiation with reality but having as its compensation magnificence. William Penn began his colony as a godly experiment and a haven for Quakers. By the end of the colonial era it had become a an extremely wealthy continental power. The history of Pennsylvania's country seats clearly reveals this development. By and large, this book does not deal with working farms per se—although much farming went on—but with country estates of city-based families. We look at the country homes of city folk whose houses and estates were dependent upon city wealth.[18]

Philadelphia was not the only city in the American colonies to develop a country-house culture. Several other American cities, most notably Boston and New York, developed one, but Philadelphia's was easily the most extensive. From its first settlement Philadelphia gave rise to a class of country houses built by city-based bourgeoisie, and indeed Philadelphia's colonial culture fostered a synthesis or symbiosis of urban and rural that was unique in the colonies and that ultimately produced the first "suburban" culture in America. Unlike in the Tidewater region and in the southern colonies, where a plantation-owning rural elite controlled society, in Pennsylvania an urban elite dominated politics and fashion. This situation was much closer to that in England, where the London beau monde emerged during the eighteenth century as political and cultural masters (and mistresses) of society, while the traditional rural aristocracy declined. In neither London nor Philadelphia was the country house a family's primary residence; that remained in the city, where close connections fostered business and thus wealth.[19]

Philadelphia's geographical and cultural circumstances made its expression of these changes unique. Philadelphians chose what to adopt from England and elsewhere, resulting in a continuity in architectural themes and forms through the colonial period. Philadelphia's geographical position in the "middle" exposed it to the widest variety of influences in the American colonies. The concept of the "middle" recurs in our story, for the "middle way," or pastoral, was a vital part of the country-house culture and its eventual progeny, the suburb. Philadelphia also represented the melting pot of America: the "configuration of American civilization first found its essential contours in the mid- and South-Atlantic regions, and especially in the province of Pennsylvania."[20] Ned Landsman called it the "crossroads of early America."[21] Here are found country houses built by English Quakers, English Anglicans, Germans, Scots and Scots-Irish, and Welsh. In religion, Quakers, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans all built country houses. Despite this variety, this collection of sites forms a coherent whole, with closely connected designers and builders and the inevitable imitation, competition, and alteration of previous examples.

The architecture of the mid-Atlantic region has received relatively less study than that of other colonial regions, especially the Tidewater region and New England, a lack noticed also in general history.[22] Besides representation in surveys of colonial architecture, the only concentrated study of Philadelphia colonial country seats has been Roger Moss's *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (1998), a beautiful and tantalizing survey of the region's colonial and nineteenth-century houses open as museums. For more depth one must go back to the splendid volumes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that accompanied Colonial Revival interest in ancestors and their houses. These appeared as early as 1877, with Thompson Westcott's *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*. More lavishly illustrated was a later entry to the lists, *Portrait of a Colonial City* by Harold Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard (1939). In the manner of this older work, the present book adopts as one of its goals the retelling of the stories of these houses and their owners, often in greater detail than ever before. Not only are these stories often fascinating in their own right but they help us recapture the past and help us understand the places' designs.

In addition to this older material, many of the houses discussed herein have received extensive examination in recent unpublished historic-structures and historic-landscape reports, exhaustive studies of both the documents and the fabric of these seats. The authors contributed to many such studies, and a desire to disseminate this information to a wider audience was one of the prime inspirations for this volume.

Architecture and landscape architecture are intrinsically important and not just for the glimpses they give of something outside themselves, usually the social status of the people who made them, the avowed starting point of much current history of the built environment. The built form was important to the people who made it. In helping to establish the owners' identity, the architecture and the landscape formed a part of their character, a part whose permanence extended to later generations and to a wider environment. Thus stylistic design trends play a significant role in our story, as does the examination of types of buildings and social spaces, looking at how examples of these types functioned and what they meant to the people who created them. Our study of the architecture and landscape of country seats takes into account all their facets and all the factors that entered into making them, not only the public but also the private, not only the buildings as constructed (the finished product) but also the means and process of creation. Discussions of the architecture include meaning, plan, domestic conveniences, finish, and construction. Landscape encompasses agriculture, soil and climate, layout of gardens, and plant materials. All of these contributed to what these places were.

Beyond and behind form lies the inevitable interaction of country seats with the changing political and social landscape of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Philadelphia. These larger cultural factors unite these places, making them an expression of a place, a class (or classes), and a shared outlook on the world. However, the individuality of these country seats (and it is great) points to another set of determinants, namely, the personalities and the philosophical outlooks of owners, designers, and builders, which affected the design, construction, and use of country seats. This individuality would have seemed perfectly right to a citizen of the eighteenth century. For as one aspect of the creation of the self, the country seat was to capture the character of the owner[23] and ultimately, by extension, the cocreators—architects, builders, and gardeners. Consciously or unconsciously, the colonial people who created these very special places were influenced by this dialectic between the individual and the social. This dialectic informs much of our story, and its exact contours have bedeviled us and other scholars.

* * *

This study is divided into three parts. Part I provides the architectural and landscape background in England and the colonies and an overview of the Philadelphia story, a narrative of the entire colonial period and its subperiods and a brief mention of specific houses belonging to each. Part II focuses on continuities of design and construction throughout the colonial period. It starts with the process of design and building: who created the seats? how were they constructed? A series of chapters follows that explore major aspects of architecture and landscape found across the colonial period. The basic architectural elements are described. Proportion, hierarchy, and parade, important organizational strategies, are examined, also allowing an examination of how people used the house and how they conceived its space. From these polite aspects of the built environment we move downstairs, upstairs, and out to the back yard to look at aspects of the service functions of house and landscape: how did the work get done to support country seats? Finally (a closely related topic), we explore the agriculture associated with country seats. These sections also compare and contrast Philadelphia country houses with their urban kin, the city house of the gentry.

Part III consists of a chronological presentation and analysis of the country seats—the story in detail. Specific histories of the owners and houses flesh out the individualistic quality of these places, making them real and tying them to specific people and circumstances. This section also presents changes across the colonial period: the style of house and landscape; and the meaning of "retirement," as embodied in these places. Thus painted in full, the story's end recalls its beginning but also gives hints as to how it will continue into the period of nationhood.

CHAPTER 1

The Bourgeois Country House in England

England provided the essential background for any cultural development in the colonies, not least the country house. Several factors led to the evolution of the English country seat in the period between 1650 and 1750, factors that would subsequently influence the country houses in Philadelphia. Firstly, the class that established them, the bourgeois gentry, evolved at a rapid pace. Secondly, from the medieval era to the seventeenth century the country house experienced a significant rearrangement that drastically affected its plan and exterior form. Paralleling this change, the English town experienced growth and alteration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that affected the relationship between the town house and the country house. Out of these changes emerged a new form of house in both town and country: the compact, or double-pile, house. Accompanying these architectural changes, the English landscape garden, a crucial part of country houses both great and small, also evolved. Finally, beginning in the 1720s an alteration of style in the English country house and landscape occurred that the English saw as a reform of artistic manners.

The Changing Nature of the English Gentry

Architectural historians have come a long way in their understanding of the evolution of the English country house during the confusing but fecund seventeenth century. Along with this increased understanding of the country house have come equally profound insights into the owners of most country houses, the English gentry, during that period. Rather than the aristocracy, the gentry, in particular the lesser gentry, served as the standard for elite culture in the American colonies. Almost no colonial leaders belonged to the peerage, but many claimed gentry status. The gentry form the essential context for colonial developments.[1]

The gentry and their architecture in England remained much in flux in the period of colonial settlement. Even establishing who constituted the gentry was difficult in seventeenth-century England. Criteria obviously included a certain level of wealth and at least local political power. The gentry also had responsibility for most local administration. Yeoman families (nongentry but landowning farmers) constantly augmented membership in this group through marriage and expansion of land and other wealth. Other groups increasingly claimed gentry status, especially merchants and professionals such as lawyers, doctors, and clergy. Most of these had their primary residence in town but often bought country estates to secure their claim to gentry status. Especially around London but in provincial towns as well, merchants, lawyers, and others bought country property and built country houses, "withdrawing places" for recreation and to escape the periodic epidemics.[2]

Another transformation within the gentry strongly affected architecture. Increasingly the gentry household comprised the nuclear family and a few servants, rather than an extended family with a host of tenants and retainers, the legacy of the feudal system. The movement of urban bourgeoisie into the gentry class abetted this transformation. Urban households were inevitably smaller because of the lack of farm labor.[3]

For the gentry, the emergence of a modern economy and social structure meant generally increasing wealth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Greater wealth produced the consumer revolution, an ever-increasing demand for goods. These included non-European comestibles—tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, and spices—as well as more durable goods, such as tableware (knives, forks, glassware, ceramics, tea and coffee equipment), furniture, cloth, and houses. Although many writers cautioned the gentry about overspending, strong temptation and social suasion drove them to maintain a higher standard of living. Even impoverished gentry sometimes tried to maintain a standing by appropriate behavior and display, "to live according to my quality," in the words of one late-seventeenth-century gentleman.[4]

It is by now an almost overemphasized commonplace that through spending the gentry aimed to maintain their supremacy over the lower orders of society and a standing within their own. Hospitality contributed significantly to achieving both goals. In the earliest English architectural treatise, *Elements of Architecture* (1624), Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) called the house "the theatre of our hospitality." Generosity, openness, and liberality marked true gentility. Even after the household became more private and many servants and tenants were excluded from the family, entertainment among extended family members and with social peers remained conspicuous. Relatives and guests often visited for long periods, and the family rarely took their meals alone. Food and drink accounted for a high percentage of household spending. Other, equally expensive social activities included riding, hunting, and hawking, all of which required the maintenance of specialized servants, buildings, and animals.[5]

Dress was an important aspect of consumption and display, especially for women. Similarly, coaches, often painted with the family coat of arms, and coach horses served as status symbols for gentry riding in their own neighborhoods or in London. The number of coaches in both London and the provinces skyrocketed in the seventeenth century.[6] Finally, new or remodeled houses and gardens provided a suitable stage for the "theatre of hospitality," gave proof of status and lasting fame, and served as an outlet for creativity and intellectual pleasure. Moreover, houses in this period accommodated vastly more furniture than before.[7]

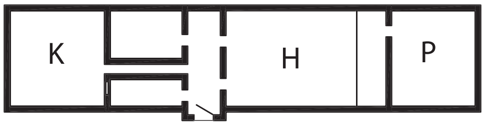
Building accounted for a major part of gentry spending, and pundits quoted Plutarch: "Such as delighted to build, undid themselves without the help of any enemy."[8] At the same time, building and maintaining the infrastructure of an estate was deemed an appropriate and laudable activity for the gentry. Even such a critic of the gentry as Daniel Defoe (1660–1731) spoke glowingly of their building projects. Defoe praised building as stimulating the economy by giving the working class employment.[9] Although he admitted the dangers of vanity and expense, Roger North (1651–1734), an aristocrat and talented amateur architect, said that building was "a sober entertainment and doth not impeach but defend health. Other pleasures which are less despised, as wine, women, gaming, etc. have a sting, which this hath not." For North building provided "elegant and neat living," the mark of being "well borne and bredd." North went on to state that "the prime and most exalted spirits" of all ages had delighted to build.[10] In the eighteenth century, the famous actor David Garrick somewhat sardonically proclaimed that "the chief pleasure of a country house is to make improvements," improvements being a hallmark of the age.[11] Gardening also became more universal in this period, helped by a growing number of books on the subject. Gardens served as a means of social emulation but also provided food for the family and solace from labor.[12]

A key change in architecture during this period was the aim for permanence, an overturning of the medieval acquiescence in impermanence for all but the grandest structures. Impermanent dwellings remained common (although decreasingly so) in England during the seventeenth century, a reminder that similar dwellings in the colonies did not result merely from frontier conditions nor indicate an attitude toward tenure in the colony. Material factors played a part in the rebuilding. For example, timber became scarce about the middle of the seventeenth century, resulting in a marked decrease in its use for building.[13] Brick became the dominant building material in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, first in the eastern counties and later in the north and west. Over time brick was increasingly used for structures of those further down the socioeconomic ladder, both in the country and in towns. By the first decade of the seventeenth century, building regulations required that brick be used for new construction in London because of its resistance to fire.[14]

The Rearrangement of the House

In the sixteenth century, the medieval paradigm for an English gentry country house still survived. One approached the house through a gateway and then a courtyard, a survival of the medieval need for defense but serving in this era more for ceremony and social screening. One entered the house at the "low" end of a two-story great hall, the most important space in the house and the space wherein during medieval times the family dined, all ceremonies of the house took place, and the master held court. At the lower end of the hall, a screens passage (into which a visitor first entered) separated the hall from the service end of the house, with its kitchen, buttery (a room for storing drink), and pantry. At the hall's "high" end the master and his immediate family sat for dining or other activities. Beyond

The starting point for postmedieval country-house development: schematic plan of an English medieval house. Drawing by Thomas Peters after Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 285

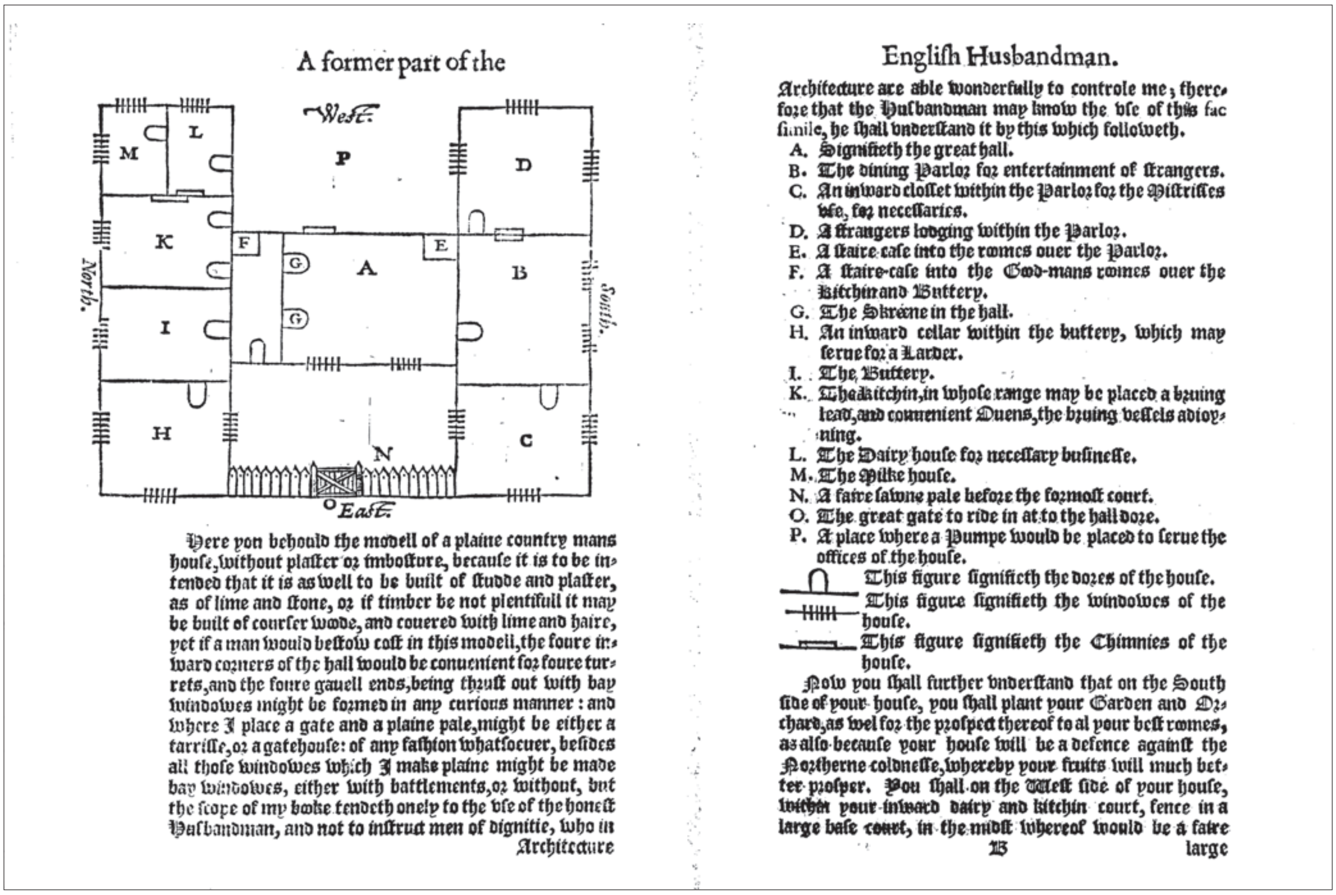


lay the upper end of the house, that is, the socially superior rooms, such as a ground-floor parlor and first-floor chamber, usually called the *great chamber*.

Houses in this period had a limited number of rooms, although as the sixteenth century progressed, the number of chambers increased. The great chamber survived as the chief room of state, serving multiple functions, including formal dining for the family alone or with honored guests and receiving visitors. Thus arose another hierarchy, one that was to survive for a very long time, between downstairs and upstairs. Except for the great hall, most of the honorific rooms in the house were located upstairs, one flight above the ground level. Thus the house was hierarchically zoned, and all rooms ranked in a kind of three-dimensional grid.[15]

Houses of the lower gentry and wealthier yeoman followed this general pattern, although they might have only one story and thus no great chamber. The double-ended-hall and open-hall houses appeared throughout England from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Sometimes known as a three-cell plan, the salient rooms on the ground floor were a hall with a parlor at one end and a kitchen and/or other service spaces at the

H-plan for a "plaine country mans house," by Gervase Markham. From Markham, *The English Husbandman* (1613)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Here you behould the modell of a plaine country mans houſe, without plaſter oꝛ imboſture, becauſe it is to be intended that it is as well to be built of ſtudde and plaſter, as of lime and ſtone, oꝛ if timber be not plentifull it may be built of courſer woode, and couered with lime and haire, yet if a man would beſtow coſt in this modell, the foure inward coꝛners of the hall would be conuenient foꝛ foure turrets, and the foure gauell ends, being thꝛuſt out with bay windowes might be foꝛmed in any curious manner: and where I place a gate and a plaine pale, might be either a tarriſſe, oꝛ a gatehouſe: of any faſhion whatſoeuer, beſides all thoſe windowes which I make plaine might be made bay windowes, either with battlements, oꝛ without, but the ſcope of my booke tendeth onely to the vſe of the honeſt Huſbandman, and not to inſtruct men of dignitie, who in Architecture

Engliſh Husbandman.

Architecture are able wonderfully to controle me; therefoꝛe that the Huſbandman may know the vſe of this facſimile, he ſhall vnderſtand it by this which followeth.

A. Signifieth the great hall.
B. The dining Parloꝛ foꝛ entertainment of ſtrangers.
C. An inward cloſſet within the Parloꝛ foꝛ the Miſtriſſes vſe, foꝛ neceſſaries.
D. A ſtrangers lodging within the Parloꝛ.
E. A ſtaire-caſe into the roomes ouer the Parloꝛ.
F. A ſtaire-caſe into the Good-mans roomes ouer the Kitchin and Buttery.
G. The Skreene in the hall.
H. An inward cellar within the buttery, which may ſerue foꝛ a Larder.
I. The Buttery.
K. The Kitchin, in whoſe range may be placed a bꝛuing lead, and conuenient Ouens, the bꝛuing veſſels adioyning.
L. The Dairy houſe foꝛ neceſſary buſineſſe.
M. The Milke houſe.
N. A faire ſawne pale befoꝛe the foꝛmoſt court.
O. The great gate to ride in at to the hall doꝛe.
P. A place where a Pumpe would be placed to ſerue the offices of the houſe.

∩ This figure ſignifieth the doꝛes of the houſe.
ǀǀǀǀǀ This figure ſignifieth the windowes of the houſe.
▭ This figure ſignifieth the Chimnies of the houſe.

Now you ſhall further vnderſtand that on the South ſide of your houſe, you ſhall plant your Garden and Oꝛchard, as wel foꝛ the pꝛoſpect thereof to al your beſt roomes, as alſo becauſe your houſe will be a defence againſt the Noꝛtherne coldneſſe, whereby your fruits will much better pꝛoſper. You ſhall on the Weſt ſide of your houſe, within your inward dairy and kitchin court, fence in a large baſe court, in the midſt whereof would be a faire

B large

other. Sometimes there was a cross passage, often simply implied but sometimes partitioned off, at one end of the hall, usually but by no means always at the service end.[16]

While they were similar in their functional layout, late medieval English country houses show almost infinite variety in their exterior appearance, with symmetry not generally considered important.[17] A growing demand for symmetry and formality marked the Renaissance influence from the Continent in the sixteenth century. Symmetry first appeared in great houses, but the architecture of the gentry quickly adopted it, part of the notion that the gentleman's house should be visually distinct from those of his social inferiors not just in size but in form and style as well. Gervase Markham, in his 1613 book *The English Husbandman*, depicted a "plain man's country house," which, he noted, could be altered for "men of dignitie" by the addition of bay windows, turrets, a gatehouse, and even battlements. Beyond its obvious social implications, this notion reflected the Renaissance idea of decorum, which called for a level of architectural decor appropriate to a hierarchy of building types.[18]

Besides symmetry, classicism, another new feature and sign of Renaissance influence, was introduced to sixteenth-century England. Foreign workmen, English travelers, and architectural pattern books imported aspects of Italian and French Renaissance style. The first examples of classical design appeared in England in the 1530s, associated with the court of Henry VIII.[19] By the late 1500s, classical features appeared on all of the new Elizabethan houses. The particular variety of this early classicism derived from mid-sixteenth-century Italian mannerism, especially as it had developed in France and the Low Countries.

In the early 1600s, classicism in England took another turn, although one that metamorphosed easily from Elizabethan work and the city work of Inigo Jones (1573–1652).[20] The use of brick and its origins in the Low Countries spawned an architectural fashion that John Summerson called "artisan mannerism." Like all Renaissance mannerism, this fashion included classical forms, often used uncanonically and willfully, and a great crowding of decoration, such as shields, cartouches, bands, bosses, and lugs.[21] Important features included the lavish use of arches and rustication and elaborate gables of many shapes and multiple steps. The fashion also made popular molded bricks and gauged and rubbed brickwork (soft bricks cut and sanded to allow fine joints in arches and other decoration and to provide a color contrast). The mode arose in the early 1600s in London and quickly spread to the provinces and eventually abroad to the colonies.[22]

Symmetry and self-conscious classical dress contributed to a change of aspect for country houses. Whereas medieval houses had looked inward, protected by wall and gate, houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries began to look outward and to present themselves proudly to the world. A new interest in landscape gardening contributed to this change, for it gave something to look at out the windows. Medieval gardens had tended to be walled and incorporated into the fabric of the house. Now major suites of rooms began to face the most favorable aspect of a garden or park.[23]

The new outward-looking house with a symmetrical facade gave away little of the interior arrangement, thus making a statement that the inside was private. The demand for privacy and exclusivity also gave rise to more specialized rooms, a demand augmented by the need for separate spaces to use newly acquired furniture and equipages, such as dining furniture and tea sets. Houses had an increasing number of private bedchambers and separate parlors or withdrawing rooms for men and ladies or for family alone and guests. While a house retained a suite of public spaces, it also accommodated more and more spaces not shared with outsiders.[24]

During this transition the hall also changed. It usually shrank to one story, many old halls being divided by a floor that held one or more chambers above. The hall devolved into a reception, screening, and circulation space, grand to impress the visitor but not regularly occupied. In some houses, the hall shrank to a vestibule or narrow entry, albeit still a fairly large one.[25] By eliminating the great hall the gentry family separated itself from the extended household of tenants and neighbors. Segregation of family from servants also became desirable, and thus arose dining rooms, separate ones for servants and family and sometimes ones for family alone and family with guests.

Besides the hall, the medieval house had two major types of polite spaces, the parlor and the chamber. The number of both in a house increased dramatically during the seventeenth century. The term *parlor* increasingly applied to any more or less polite room, with the connotation that it was not used for sleeping. Occasionally beds were found in parlors, though this practice died out in the early eighteenth century. Parlors mainly functioned as sitting and living rooms, especially for entertaining. The term *dining parlor* appeared in the early sixteenth century and thereafter. High-end parlors were sometimes called *great parlors* and distinguished from *little* or *low* parlors. The kitchen often kept the low end of the house warmer in winter, so the little parlor was sometimes called the *winter parlor*, smaller and less pretentious but cozier.[26]

The period also witnessed growth in the number and privacy of *chambers*, a term that usually implied a sleeping function unless otherwise specified (as in *dining chamber*). The medieval great chamber had also been used for eating and formal reception, but these functions began to be served by other rooms during the sixteenth century, and the great chamber as a dining space had disappeared by the mid-seventeenth century. The demand for privacy, and probably also propriety, led to individual bedchambers, and even the servants' lodging became more particularized. In the seventeenth century, polite chambers could appear on any floor—it was usual to have some on the ground floor—but in the eighteenth they all tended to migrate upstairs. Polite chambers were usually supplied with adjacent dressing rooms (a feature Roger North thought imperative), closets, and ideally access to a back stair for servants.[27]

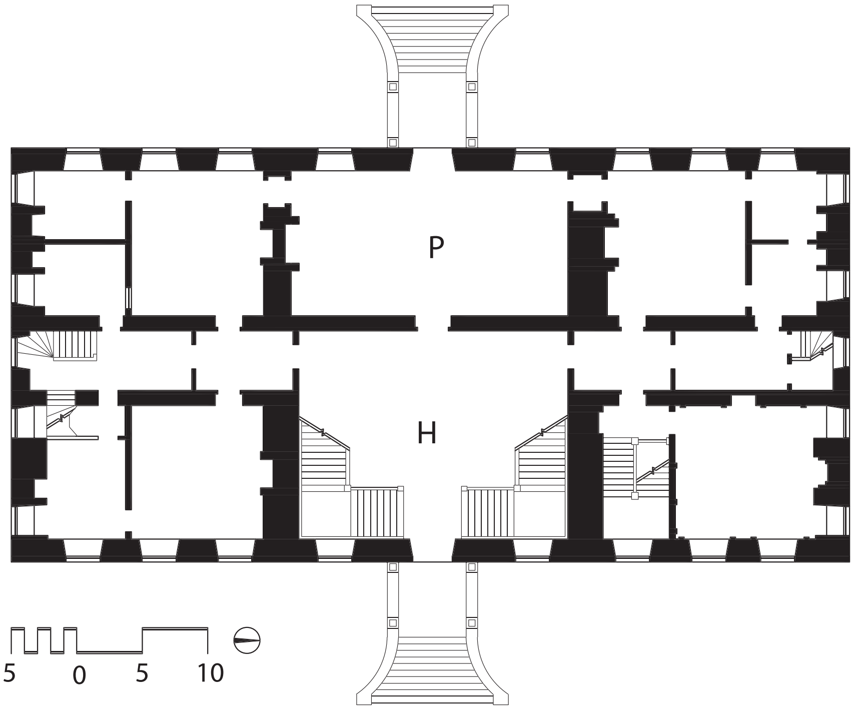
Related to the chamber and the parlor, the *withdrawing* or *drawing room* first appeared in the late 1500s, although the *withdrawing chamber* had appeared a century earlier. In Elizabethan times such spaces had appeared exclusively with the great chamber or other important bedchambers. In fact, for a long time withdrawing rooms appeared most commonly with chambers, perhaps as dressing rooms or small rooms for eating or talking. However, in the seventeenth century withdrawing rooms multiplied along with parlors and indeed were often *en suite* with them on the ground floor. Their exact purpose is often unclear, although they were increasingly well adorned and thus probably had some role in polite entertainment. In the eighteenth century the drawing room came to have feminine associations, as a place to which the women retired after dinner, while the men stayed in the dining room.[28]

Among specialized rooms developed for withdrawal and privacy, the study, or library, perhaps best symbolizes the new gentry ideal of cultivated learning. The word *study* came from the Italian *studii*, another example of spreading Renaissance fashion. Roger North defined the space thusly: "a closet, for the person, who is supposed to be of quality, to retire to, for devotion, or study, whilst the chamber is cleaned, or company present."[29] Such spaces began in the sixteenth century as closets off a gentleman's bedchamber, where books were kept and where he could repair for study and devotions. Ever-larger collections of books demanded specialized rooms for their storage and display, so that by the later seventeenth century libraries had become more common in gentry houses, although they were still unusual enough to attract notice. They proliferated with the explosion of printing in the mid-eighteenth century, when a library open to guests became usual in country houses, part of the sharing of knowledge and the general spirit of improvement characteristic of that period.[30] Closets, studies, and libraries also served as repositories for the increasing paperwork and account books associated with business and landed estates in this era. Thus they served the role of what would eventually come to be known as an office.[31]

The *dining room*, or *dining parlor*, constituted one of the period's most important creations. Roger North sometimes referred to them as "eating parlors," but public dining also formed a major function of what he called the "great parlor." His "little parlor" functioned as the common family dining space. The term *dining room* emerged about 1600 and had become common by the Restoration. Great chambers disappeared from inventories during the course of the seventeenth century, probably because the term *chamber* carried connotations of sleeping, which no longer applied to rooms for dining or reception. Where the term *great chamber* survived, it denoted the most important bedroom.[32]

The position of the dining room changed during the seventeenth century, which brings up the vexed issue of rooms of parade and floor levels. North defined the rooms of parade as the hall (or entrance), the great parlor (for dining with guests?), and the withdrawing room. He preferred that all of these rooms be on the same level. North noted, however, that many English houses at this time did not follow this rule but split the parade, moving the dining room upstairs. By the eighteenth century, however, the dining room had shifted to the entry-floor level.[33]

In the seventeenth century even the grandest houses rarely had parlors on the upper floor with the best chambers and the room for formal dining, both outgrowths of the



Coleshill House, Berkshire (1650), one of the earliest compact houses, plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 187 medieval great chamber. Rather, parlors were usually placed on the level of entry. During the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth century, following medieval precedent, the entry level of most Elizabethan and Jacobean great houses was at or perhaps slightly above grade, so that in terms of view, air, and metaphorical elevation the first, or upper, floor held a distinct advantage. In the later seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, however, the entry level was increasingly raised above a full or almost full basement story. Roger North pointed out the necessity of such an elevation to the healthfulness and utility of the house, but it also made for a grand outside stairway and gave all the major rooms of the house an elevated view of the gardens and park.[34] Coleshill (1649) exemplifies the change: the entry level (still considered the ground floor) was raised above a half basement that housed the kitchen and other service rooms; the hall and great parlor occupied the center of the ground floor, with a little parlor off to one side; the great dining room was located directly above the great parlor; and the best bedchambers were also located on the upper floor. The final transition occurred in the eighteenth century: a typical Palladian house was lifted above a full basement, and the first floor (now clearly an Italian *piano nobile*), reached by magnificent flanking double flights of stairs, became both the story of entry and the locus for all the most important rooms.

It is difficult to know to what extent smaller country houses of the lower gentry participated in this elevation of honorific rooms, even in the seventeenth century. In some cases, at least, the entry and all major public rooms were located on the ground floor, with the floor above reserved for bedchambers. A plan of c. 1620 shows an H-plan house with a hall, buttery, and pantry in the center; a dining parlor, the main stair, and a chamber in the high end; and a kitchen, brewhouse, and back stair in the low end. Upstairs are five chambers (all with inner rooms or closets), including a great chamber and adjacent withdrawing room in the high end. Perhaps the best conclusion is Nicholas Cooper's: it is impossible to catalog or overgeneralize about the layout of the seventeenth-century house, because the arrangements have such variety and individual preference is given such scope.[35]

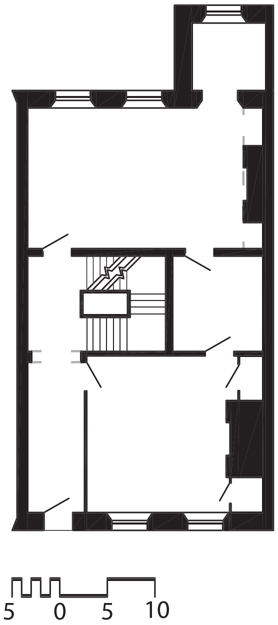
The notion of a parade with second-story spaces gave added luster to the stairway, an architectural element that had received little attention until late in the Middle Ages, when dining had moved upstairs to the great chamber. The elaboration continued in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, although even then the stairs were confined to their own, often fairly cramped and enclosed spaces off the hall. However, beginning with several major houses of the seventeenth century—most notably Chevening (1629) and Coleshill—the stair stood in the hall itself, where it increased not only in size but also in grandeur. Not until the eighteenth century, when the family exclusively occupied the upstairs, would the centrality of the main stair be questioned.[36]

The parade also promoted a Renaissance planning idea, the enfilade, or what the English called a visto, the lining up of doors and windows to promote views straight through a suite of rooms and into the landscape beyond. Italian and French design greatly favored enfilades in planning. Coleshill again provides a good example in its central main axis, in its cross axis across the back of the hall, and in the suites of rooms flanking the great parlor and the great dining room. Some English critics, notably Henry Wotton, disliked enfilades because they reduced privacy by laying all the rooms of a floor open to inspection and favoring drafts.[37]

Besides polite spaces, country houses needed many service rooms. The most important, the kitchen and scullery, had usually occupied the ground floor in the low end of a medieval house, although sometimes they filled a rear wing or even a detached structure. Sometimes houses had two kitchens, one detached and the other integrated; very often the detached one was described as “old,” indicating a medieval date. The general trend was toward integration. In many houses in the seventeenth century and later, the kitchen remained in a subordinate position, that is, on the ground floor and to the rear if the house was more than one room deep. In really large houses the kitchen and other service spaces tended to migrate to a service wing, sometimes with its own court. Once the entry floor rose above a raised basement, the kitchen very naturally occupied a prominent place in that lower story.[38]

Many other service spaces, such as pantries and larders, clustered around the kitchen. One exception, the buttery, was needed near the hall, the dining room, or even the parlor for entertaining. The bakehouse usually remained near the kitchen, although sometimes it was detached. The brewhouse was almost always detached because of its smell. Most gentry households brewed their own beer. The laundry too was preferably detached because of odor and because it needed an adjacent drying yard with hedges. Other spaces usually relegated to outbuildings included dairies, cheese houses (again, most households produced their own milk and cheese), stables, houses for poultry and other animals and fowl, carpenters’ shops, and privies. The last usually carried the label “necessary house” or “house of office,” although this latter term also sometimes denoted all the detached utilitarian outbuildings. Unlike some of the polite rooms, these functional spaces were necessary in any large household, and most could be found on yeoman farms.[39]

Country House and Town House



The origin of the Philadelphia town house: plan of a typical English row house. Drawing by Thomas Peters after A. F. Kelsall, “The London House Plan in the Later 17th Century,” *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 8 (1974): 80–91

Since this book concerns the bourgeoisie, by definition an urban class, we should explore at least briefly their town houses as they evolved into the late seventeenth century, a time of revival for English towns after the difficulties of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[40] Few medieval and postmedieval town houses in England survive, but it would seem that into the Middle Ages house forms and room uses in gentry houses varied little from country to city. Medieval house forms such as the three-cell plan probably developed first in the country, but this is by no means certain. Indeed, in most English towns the line between city and country was often far from clear. Large houses especially might well stand on detached plots of land and be surrounded by extensive outbuildings and secondary houses, forming small compounds little different from a rural manor house. The difference between a country house at the edge of town and a town house on a large urban lot or in the suburbs is largely semantic.

Except in the grandest examples, all these rural types required alterations in town to accommodate smaller lots, due to higher urban land values, and the need for shops along the street. Houses stacked up to four stories appeared in towns, and undercrofts open to the street for movement of goods were common. Halls sometimes were located toward the rear of a lot to allow for shops up front.[41] These accommodations produced a clearer differentiation between town and country houses by the seventeenth century, yielding town-house plans in London and elsewhere that are peculiarly urban.[42]

During the seventeenth century the normative English town-house plan evolved: a row or terrace house, two but more generally three bays wide, two rooms deep, with a side hall or passage containing the stair. The width of the house varied from about 12 to 30 feet, depending on the social class targeted by the developer. An alternative type had the stairway between the two rooms, with access either by a short, narrow passage alongside the front room only or directly from the side by an exterior passage that ran between houses from the front to a service court in the rear. This latter plan disappeared as the eighteenth century advanced because it wasted space and did not allow the major spaces to be used *en suite* in the form of a parade, a concern in the city as well as in the country.[43]

Room specialization probably occurred earlier in the city. As noted, the hall as a central, multipurpose room disappeared in town by 1600, earlier than in the country. Kitchens separate from the hall appeared in a majority of town houses by 1600, at which time many country houses still had a merged hall and kitchen. By 1630, 80 percent of Norwich houses had separate kitchens, and other service spaces devoted primarily to one activity (such as washhouses) also increased substantially in the seventeenth century. In the country, multipurpose service spaces remained popular longer. Parlors as rooms for sitting and polite entertainment had also become quite common in the city by 1600, while parlors used for sleeping had become markedly less common.[44]

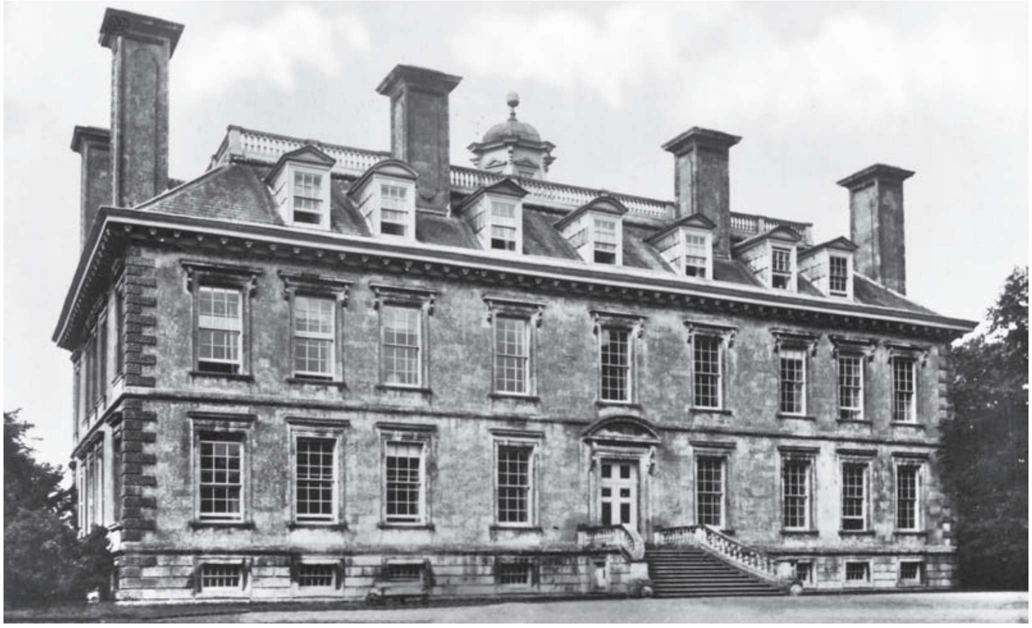
Both outside and inside, the English town house received the accouterments of changing architectural fashion: doorways, windows, and cornices outside; paneling, fireplaces, and stairways inside. Indeed, town houses showed changes in fashion earlier than did country houses, whether they were in the Queen Anne style of the late seventeenth century or the Palladian a few decades later, since town builders sooner became aware of design changes dictated by new architectural and builder's books.[45] Indeed, for some, the stylistic influence of the town ruined the traditional country house.[46]

English town houses often had gardens, though most were inevitably limited in scale. Despite the density, in 1748 Linnaeus's protégé Peter Kalm noted on his London visit that "at nearly every house in town there was either in front toward the street or inside the house and building or else in both places a little yard."[47] Proper gardens usually lay in back, both for privacy and quiet. Typically, they were enclosed, flat, and regular in design. The nurseryman Thomas Fairchild's book *The City Gardener* (1722) gave useful ideas for these. Fairchild wanted to bring the country into the city, and he advocated "wilderness-work" for the city squares.[48] Fairchild's proposal reminds us that many town houses shared gardens in the open squares on which many of the grander ones fronted, such as at Bedford or Bloomsbury Square.

The Compact House in the Seventeenth Century

A new house type, the compact house, bridged the town-country divide. Besides the creation of new rooms and new functional arrangements, the compact house represented the greatest contribution of the seventeenth century to country-house development. Defoe called them "neat compact boxes," the word *box* conveying much about the new form. By the mid-eighteenth century, to a large extent, and almost universally in smaller gentry houses, the compact house replaced the strung-out, linear medieval house. In the compact house, greater depth and height replaced length. The side-to-side hierarchy tended to disappear and was often replaced by a distinction between front and back. Some writers thought the new type less grand but hailed it as more convenient.[49]

The suburban house or villa of the gentry or wealthy town dweller was one particularly common type of compact house, a type seen increasingly in the home counties around



Coleshill House, front elevation. From England's Lost Country Houses—www.lostheritage.org.uk

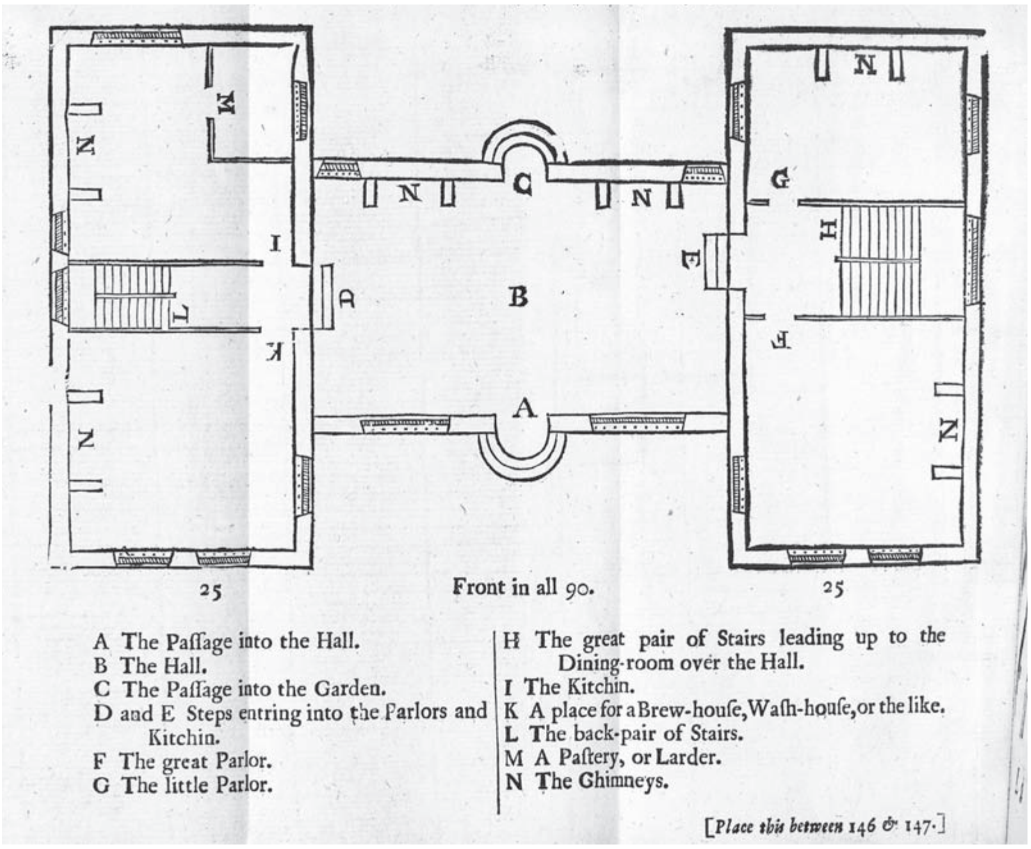
London in the seventeenth century. Several social ideals encouraged the erection of villas, one being the idea of having more than one house in order to shift between houses seasonally. Another was the increasing migration of the gentry from the provinces to the capital.[50] As early as 1579 a writer eulogized suburban life, and travel on the Continent also encouraged the ideal of the villa. Italy played the most influential role, but also influential was Holland, where a merchant aristocracy built fine suburban houses in the midst of gardens.[51] Suburban villas tended to have many of the specialized rooms discussed above, but they usually possessed a symmetrically disposed central hall that had metamorphosed into an entry space rather than a room of normal (if ceremonial) living, as well as a plan two rooms deep. Also, it became usual for the hall to run from the front to the back of the house, opening to both entry front and garden, long one of the hallmarks of a villa.[52] Smaller villas and compact town houses often lacked the through hall and presaged the democratization of the type. They appeared in and near London and other towns beginning in the late sixteenth century and were characterized by plans square (or nearly so) and two rooms deep.[53]

Most compact houses were relatively simple, had a rather quiet demeanor, and usually had a hipped roof, all features that came from the circle of the court architect Inigo Jones, the first Englishman to fully understand and embrace Italian Renaissance classicism.[54] When joined to the compact plan already aborning, the result was revolutionary, although it would be one hundred years before the process of synthesis and distillation was completed. Coleshill House, probably designed by Jones and Roger Pratt (1620–1684), illustrates a large version of the new type. Coleshill's two-room-deep plan was mentioned above, and indeed Pratt first coined the term *double pile*. Coleshill had a great divided central file of stairhall and parlor (with dining room above). Comprising two and a half stories over a half basement, its nine-bay facade was artfully divided into three sets of three, which both gave a needed variety in rhythm and corresponded to the plan's interior zones. In line with conventions of functional hierarchy still applying, the first full story above grade was treated more finely on the exterior. This story also had the highest degree of symmetry and the most extensive use of enfilades. Coleshill's cupola also deserves note. A tradition in English country houses since the sixteenth century, the cupola conveyed the house's importance externally but also provided an overview of the landscape. In the words of Celia Fiennes, "It gives you a great prospect of gardens, grounds, woods that appertaine to the Seate, as well as a sight of the country at a distance."[55] In other words, the cupola played a vital role, mediating between the house and the landscape.

The place of Inigo Jones in the development of the country house brings up the increasingly important role during this period of what can be called a professional architect. The term most commonly used in England was *surveyor*. Jones himself possessed the title of surveyor of the king's works. John Thorpe, whom we would probably consider an architect, was called an "excellent geometrician and surveiour" in 1611. As this epithet suggests, mathematics (especially geometry) was a crucial part of a surveyor's training.[56] So was mapmaking, a by-product of the enormous amount of land surveying needed for enclosure. Mapmaking involved skill in drafting, which could easily apply to architecture. Surveyors might be trained as such or rise from the ranks of skilled craftsmen and thus possess mathematical and other talents applicable to building. In the seventeenth century, the craft or art of architecture rose for the first time to gentry status, as illustrated by the careers of both Inigo Jones and Robert Smythson. Contributing to this rise was the new demand for education required in the evolving field, especially the need for knowledge about classical style, obtained by exposure to foreign architecture and more often from books. Architect-surveyors such as Jones, Hugh May (1621–1684), and Christopher Wren (1632–1723) had traveled to the Continent, much as their clients increasingly made the grand tour. In fact, architects often accompanied clients on the grand tour.

In the design and construction of most country houses, however, professional surveyors were by no means universally consulted. Two other groups more often were consulted. Firstly, owners might qualify as gentlemen–amateur architects, a group that began to grow in the seventeenth century. The expanded ideals of gentry accomplishment made knowledge of architecture more desirable, and visits to other country houses and the grand tour made this knowledge more universal, at least among this class. Even when a professional architect or surveyor was hired, owners and their wives almost always played a significant role in matters of finish, construction, and monitoring of costs.[57] Secondly, master craftsmen, especially masons and carpenters, had traditionally played a major role in design, a role they retained. North himself admitted that often a private gentleman would use what he called a "head workman," though he "must be content with diminutive low invention, aggreable to the spirit and education of a mechanick workman."[58] But clearly the history of the English country house belies his belief, for many fine houses had no apparent architect beyond the master mason or carpenter working in conjunction with the owner. Only in the course of the eighteenth century did the professional architect emerge as a commonplace fixture in the creation of country houses.

The architectural writer Richard Neve outlined six categories under which building, especially country-house building, should be ordered to produce a good product, a concise index to the seventeenth-century architectural mind. First was "situation," a suitable site. Second was "contrivance," the design of all aspects of the building but especially the layout of the plan for greatest convenience, decency, and gracefulness. In discussing contrivance, Neve gave a clearer statement of the duties of the surveyor, who was to produce "draughts" or even models of the plans, the interiors, and the exterior of the building. Neve's third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Front in all 90.
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A The Paſſage into the Hall.
B The Hall.
C The Paſſage into the Garden.
D and E Steps entring into the Parlors and Kitchin.
F The great Parlor.
G The little Parlor.
H The great pair of Stairs leading up to the Dining-room over the Hall.
I The Kitchin.
K A place for a Brew-houſe, Waſh-houſe, or the like.
L The back-pair of Stairs.
M A Paſtery, or Larder.
N The Ghimneys.
[Place this between 146 & 147.]

H-plan house: "A Platform for a Mansion-house," by Stephen Primatt. From Primatt, *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder* (London, 1667), LCP

category was "receipt," a now obsolete usage of the word meaning size; his rule stated that "a House had better be too little for a Day, than too great for a Year." "Strength" involved the structural and material elements of building. "Beauty" concerned proportions and the fairness of surface materials, with an aside on how beautiful gardens amplify a house. Elsewhere, Neve discusses the Vitruvian categories of beauty, such as ordonnance (the orders), harmony, and symmetry. Last was "form or figure," the overall shape of rooms and buildings, whether simple or complex, square, circular, oval, and so on. Shape had implications for both beauty and function.[59]

Neve's emphasis on drafts marked a major change for architecture in this era: the much more widespread use of drawings and the development of drawing types not seen before in England. Under the influence of the Italian Renaissance, drawing conventions changed and improved. It was chiefly his skill at drawing and sketching that set Inigo Jones apart. Surveyors knew both orthographic projection and perspective, skills present by the early seventeenth century and increasingly widespread thereafter.[60]

The compact house had the blessing of many architectural writers, but some continued to promote older forms. For example, Stephen Primatt's *City and Country Purchaser and Builder* (London, 1667) contained an H-plan for a mansion house that clearly derived from the older hierarchical tradition: a hall filling the center; the right wing with two parlors and the main stair; and the left with the kitchen, other service rooms, and the back stair. The H- or U-plan with wings, being closer to the plan of the traditional hierarchical English house, also appealed to conservatives such as Roger North, who complained that the

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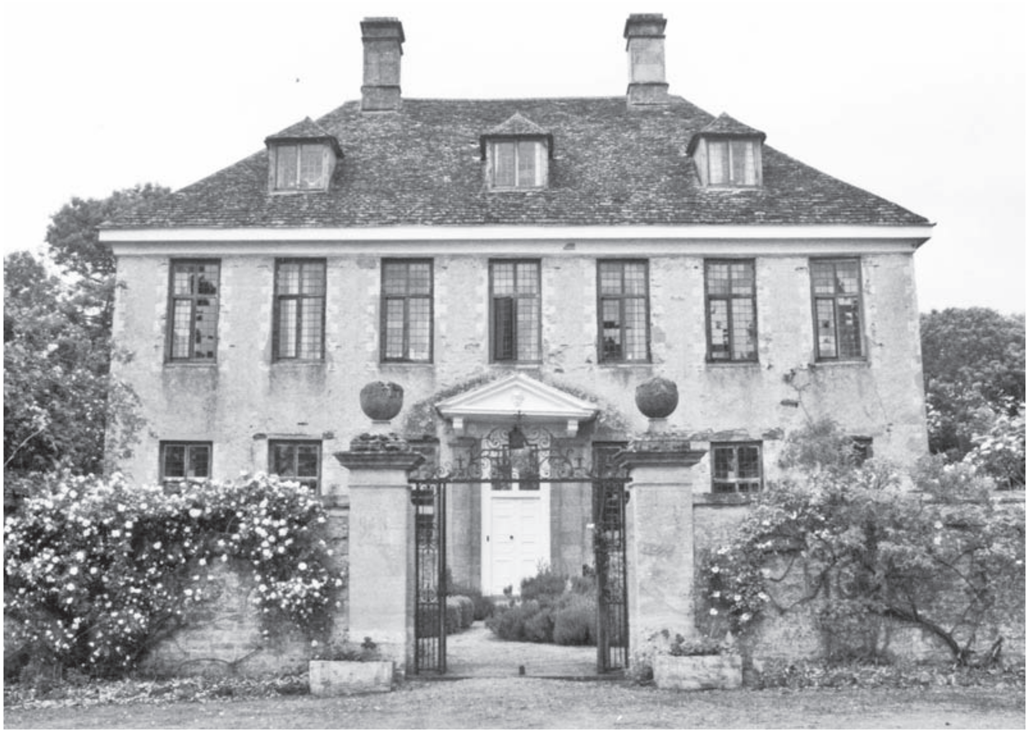
“Design of a House for a Merchant” (1724). Album, “Sir John Vanbrugh’s Designs for King Weston,” Bristol Record Office house reduced completely to a single compact block allowed noises to be heard throughout, held odors, magnified problems of heat and cold, and reduced flexibility in design. His real distaste for the form, however, resulted from its production by what he called "upstart citizens," that is, town folk. He continued: "And not onely in the cittys and townes, a compact model is used, but in all country seats of late built, the same method is practis'd, to the abolishing grandure and statlyness of that sort the former ages affected." North thought that "pretty boxes" were only "fitt for a citizen's or a family that have onely a small pension to subsist by, but not for an English gentleman."[61] Other writers, concerned with seats for "Noblemen endu'd with ample Fortunes and a vertuous mind," also called for extended houses, and certainly in very large houses and palaces North got his wish.[62]

Compact houses appeared commonly in town, suggesting that North was correct about the influence of city building. The bourgeois country house was always as much about the bourgeoisie as about the country. Limited lot size in the newly developing sections of London and other cities encouraged the building of compact houses. Building laws from both the early seventeenth century and after the Great Fire of 1666 favored a uniform architectural vocabulary that included masonry facades, sash windows, certain window proportions, and story heights. Wenceslaus Hollar's engraving of London from about 1660 shows many compact houses on large lots with gardens at the edge of town.[63]

Compact houses in town differed little from those in the country and taught the gentry to live comfortably (and more privately) in smaller compass. Plans for a merchant's house in Bristol from 1724 show a simple, classical, five-bay house, but one in which the public spaces were all grouped on the entry floor, a reflection of the change in room location. The "comptor," or office, reveals the location in town, as do the relatively pinched vestibule and stairhall behind. To the left rear lay a private parlor for entertaining clients or for family dining. To the right was a withdrawing room (for visiting), with a parlor behind for more extensive dining

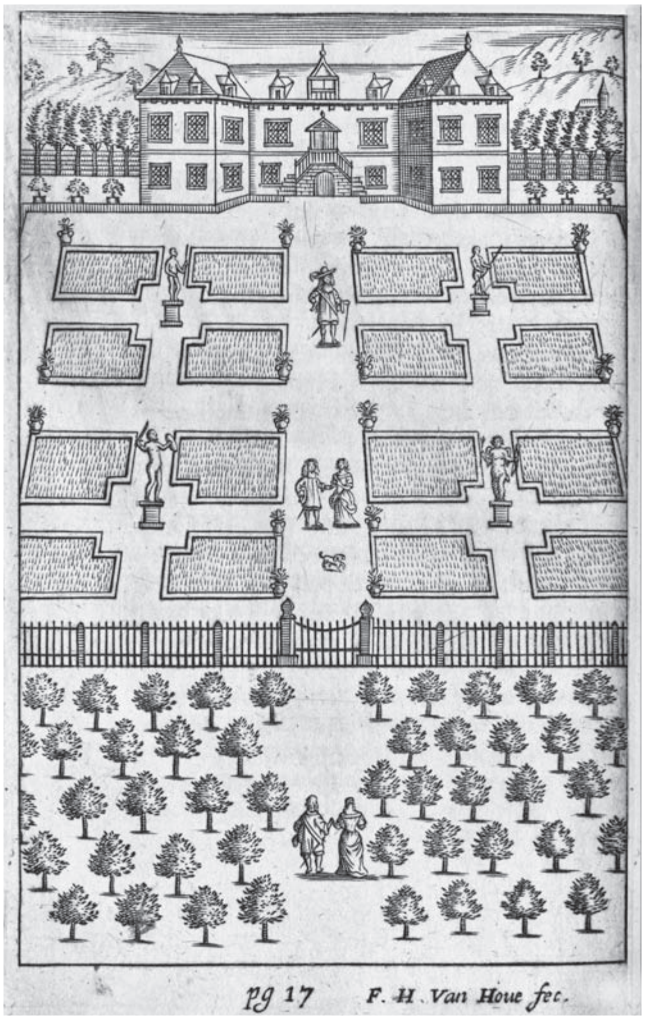


Rectory House, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire (1669), an English compact house from the period of Pennsylvania's founding. Photograph by Mark Reinberger and entertaining, with a six-foot-wide doorway between. The next floor up, labeled the "Chamber Floor," held bedchambers for the family. The plans for both floors might almost have served for country houses, except that no windows lit the side walls of the town house, and the hipped roof normal in the country was not appropriate for a row house.[64]

In the country, by the end of the seventeenth century even well-to-do yeomen sometimes employed the compact, or double-pile, form, which rapidly entered the vernacular. However, it remained overwhelmingly a gentry form until the mid-eighteenth century. Early examples were almost always built by members of the middle class who had gentry pretensions. Part of the reason was scale. A two-story, double-pile house measuring 40 to 50 feet square would have a minimum of about ten rooms, thus placing it automatically near the top of the yeoman scale.[65]

Seventeenth-Century English Landscape and Gardens

As the houses of the gentry evolved during the seventeenth century, so did the landscape surrounding them. The influence of Italian mannerism on gardens was particularly strong in the first half of the century, arriving in England by way of Dutch and French translations. In a hierarchical society the mannerist style percolated from the court through the nobility, and eventually to the gentry in the countryside, losing steam as it traveled.[66] Mannerism in gardens was characterized by symmetry, terraces, embroidered parterres, elaborate fountains, islands, and grottos. The Jacobean garden, like the medieval and Tudor gardens that preceded it, had consisted of walled enclosures. Italy provided the greatest influence by way of France and Claude Mollet, the latter credited with introducing the elaborate *parterres de broderie*, garden beds laid out in geometric forms recalling carpet or embroidery.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Frontispiece to *Systema Horti-culturae*, by John Worlidge (London, 1700). LCP

As French and Dutch gardens modified the Italian garden style before it reached England, so the "court" style was modified regionally as it reached the gentry. Gentry gardens seem to have remained distinctly simpler, influenced by an increasing number of garden books. William Lawson, John Rea, and John Parkinson, among others, agreed that the square was the prevailing style.[67] John Worlidge proposed in *Systema Horti-culturae* that "the Square is the most perfect and pleasant form that you can lay your Garden into where the Ground will afford it; every Walk that is in it being straight, and every Plant and Tree standing in a direct Line, represents it to your Eye very pleasing."[68]

The enclosed and rectilinear garden style had persisted since the Middle Ages, becoming more or less practical as the styles of the times and wealth dictated. The design bespeaks a conservative, traditional gardening view. It is orderly and ordered, the "most select plants" being in full view of the house. One *walked* this kind of garden to enjoy shrubs and flowers, rather than admiring an elaborate parterre from a terrace or window. Brick walls often divided garden squares, paralleling the greater use of brick for house walls. Increasingly, gardens became specialized: kitchen garden, orchard, flower garden, and groves, the last to later develop into wildernesses. Again, this specialization paralleled the increased specialization of rooms in houses.

As compact, double-pile buildings replaced the Tudor U-shaped houses, axes and avenues became important in the garden. Throughout the seventeenth century there was a tendency to develop house and garden along an axis that included an avenue that continued through the forecourt and house and on through the principal garden.[69] This development generated an increasing integration of the house with the countryside. Plain grass parterres also appeared, usually four squares of turf intersected by gravel walks within a walled square. Foreigners envied the lush English turf of these parterres and on the increasingly popular bowling greens.[70]

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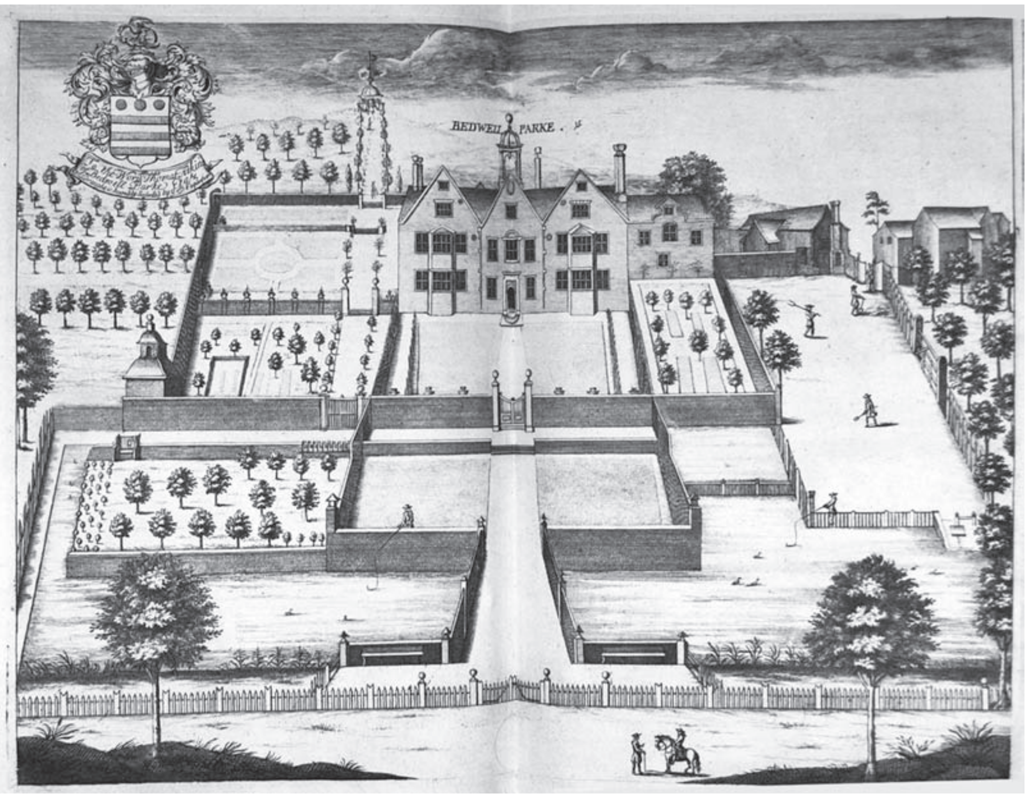
Drawing of garden, Ham House, by John Slezer and Jan Wyck (c. 1671–72). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

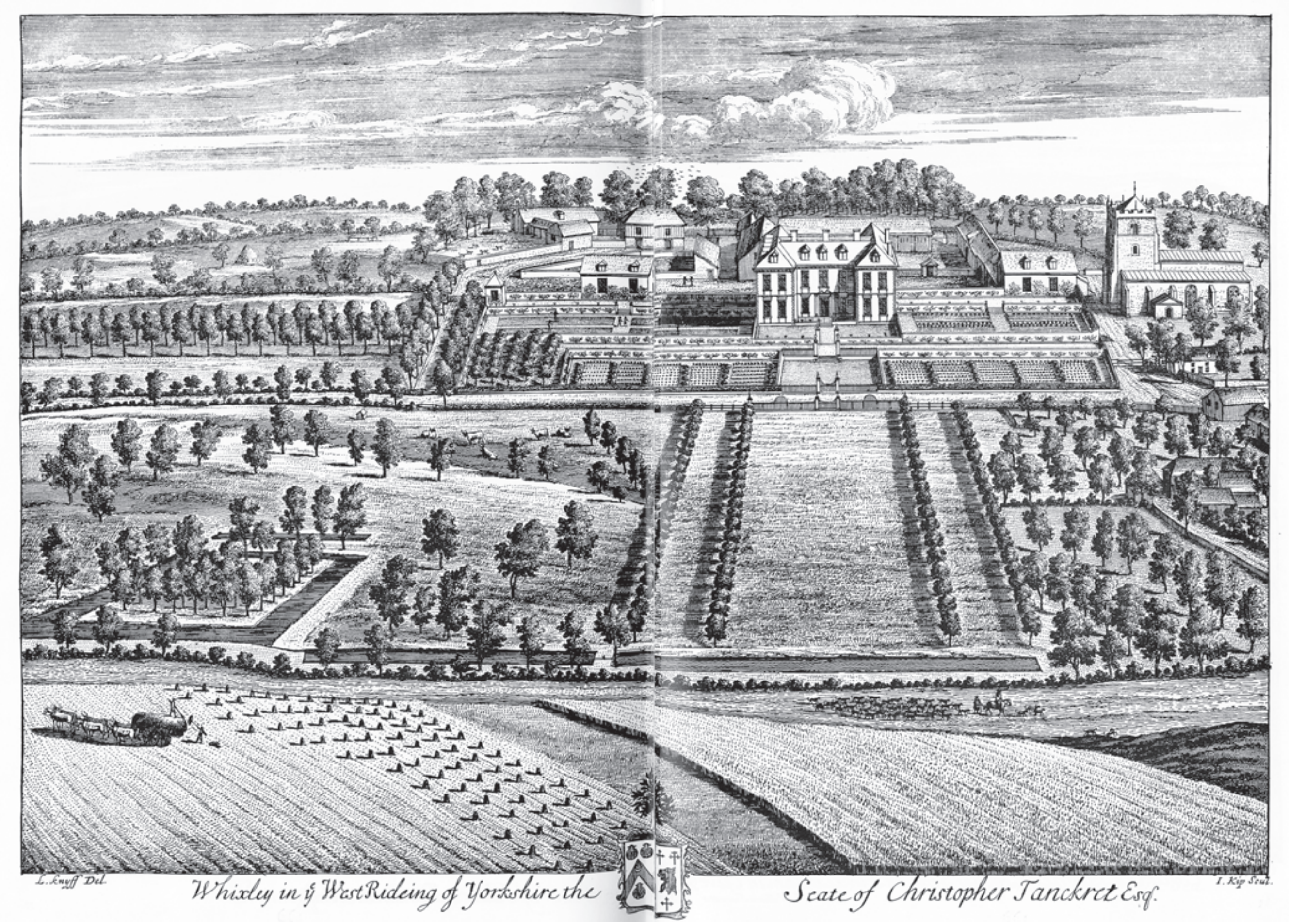
Orchards also increased in importance throughout the seventeenth century, from the royal court to simple farms. In the earliest part of the century they often became a part of the formal landscape design, as at Ham House. At his Nunwell estate on the Isle of Wight, Sir John Oglander planted "100 quinces and many apples, cherries and plums." The Earl of Salisbury sent his head gardener, John Tradescant (c. 1570–1638), to the Low Countries to bring fruit trees back to Hatfield. John Evelyn reported that "my lady Clarendon" had "delicious and rarest fruits of a garden. . . . There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins." Virtually all maps of gentry holdings in seventeenth-century Norfolk and Hertfordshire show orchards. In her travels Celia Fiennes mentions orchards in most of the landscapes she describes.[71]

The great protective gatehouses of the Tudor period disappeared in the seventeenth century, replaced by vertically barred gates—"for greater visibility"—set into the walls of the forecourt.[72] These hung on massive piers topped almost universally by ball finials. A broad walk led the visitor past two or four simple grass plats to the front door. This design continued into the eighteenth century throughout England. Examples include Norwood Hall in Yorkshire and the many country houses portrayed by John Drapentier in Sir Henry Chauncy's *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700).[73]

The Restoration brought fresh influences from the Continent, perhaps best represented by Charles II's landscaping at Hampton Court, with avenues of linden trees and a dramatic *patte d'oie*, with straight walks radiating from a point. Jan Kip and Leonard Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) illustrates a broad variety of responses to the new influences, Bedwell Park, Hertfordshire. Engraving by John Drapentier, from Sir Henry Chauncy, *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700), Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark


BEDWELL PARKE.

Whixley, Yorkshire. From Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, *Britannia Illustrata* (London, 1707), collection of Elizabeth McLean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Whixley in y^e West Rideing of Yorkshire the Seate of Christopher Tanckret Esq.
I. Kip Sculp.

from the embellished parterres of William III's Hampton Court to the perfectly balanced house and formal garden at Ragly and the relatively simple squire's house and garden at Whixley.[74]

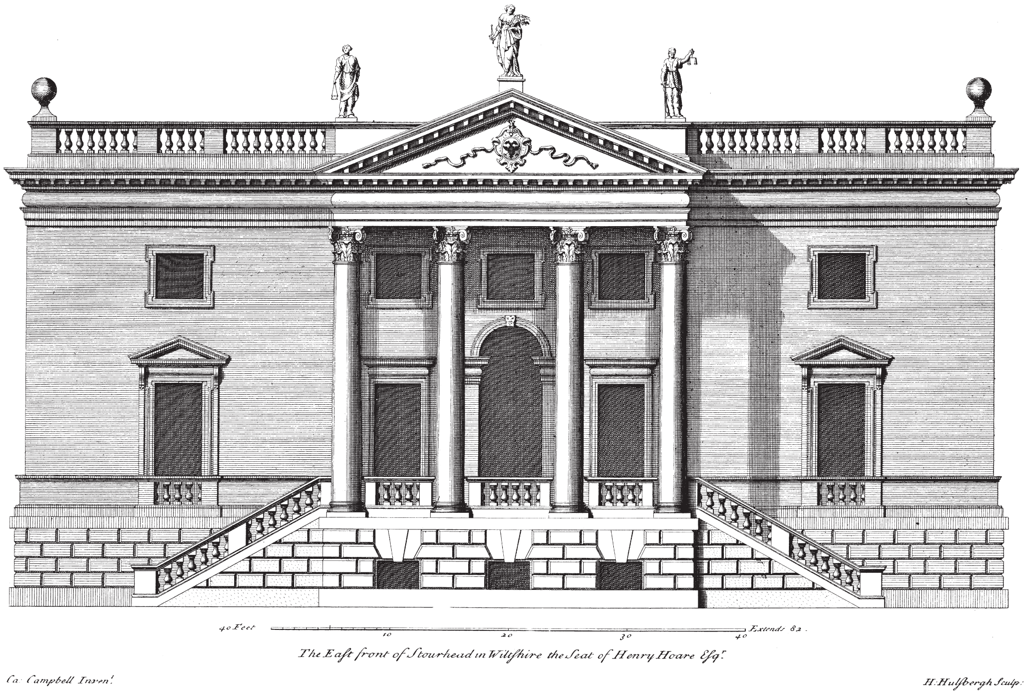
The handsome landscapes depicted by Kip and Knyff would not have been in every man's purview. Drapentier's prints include delightful staffage that illustrates how the landscape was used for hunting, bowling, fishing, sitting (in a variety of seats), or just walking. These gardens are not particularly stylish but exhibit a collection of styles and ornaments: topiary, obelisks, just one knot garden, a classical temple reached by an avenue cut through an existing garden, handsome frets, and a variety of garden buildings, including dovecotes. Classicism, when it appeared in these gentry gardens, constituted an embellishment rather than an integral part of a design. However, all the houses have a forecourt, in some cases a double one. It is this kind of garden that seventeenth-century colonists would have been most familiar with.

The "Reform" of Eighteenth-Century English Architecture and Landscape

After the triumph of the compact house, the early-eighteenth-century architectural revolution known as English Palladianism constituted the next important development in English domestic architecture.[75] The English love affair with Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) had begun long before, with Inigo Jones in the early seventeenth century, and it had never died, though the English had courted other foreign mistresses from time to time.[76] However, the romance burned hot during the period from 1720 to 1760, a period of virtual English obsession with the northern Italian architect, which developed as a rejection of another foreign paramour, the baroque, mostly in its French form, seen particularly in the work of Christopher Wren for the Restoration monarchy.[77] Indeed, the intensity of the Palladian passion stemmed in part from its converts' allegiance to the Whig cause; it represented a rejection of Toryism as well as baroque architecture. This rejection accompanied a xenophobic nationalism that sought to promote British liberty in both political affairs and the arts. Britain saw itself as culturally superior to the other nations of Europe and as the logical inheritor of ancient Rome.[78]

As early as 1710 the third Earl of Shaftesbury called for a national architectural style based on the spirit of freedom and the moderation of the English temperament, and many saw the answer in the relative simplicity and rationality of Palladianism, as opposed to the "detested" and "corrupt" forms of the Continental baroque. Shaftesbury, following Plato, also proclaimed a nature based on reason, discernible by the rational mind.[79] Baroque sensuousness could thus be tamed. Architecture, like nature, should exhibit a harmony of parts, the word *harmony* evoking the Renaissance system of numbers that determined proper proportions in design. Robert Morris (1703–1754), English Palladianism's most serious architectural theorist, spent much time on proportions in architecture, seeing in them the harmony of nature.[80]

The revived passion for Palladio occurred during a tremendous building boom, from the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 through the mid-1730s, checked only slightly by the South Sea Bubble in 1720. In the colonies the boom came later, in the late 1730s and 1740s, when building (especially of country houses) in the mother country foundered under the weight of wars and accompanying land taxes, bad harvests, and other agricultural calamities.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The East front of Stourhead in Wiltshire the Seat of Henry Hoare Esqr.
Co. Campbell Invent.
H. Hulsbergh Sculp.

Stourhead House, Wiltshire (1721). From Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 3 (London, 1725), plate 42

Significant exceptions to this general economic malaise were cities such as Bristol and Liverpool, whose trade flourished, not least importantly with the middle colonies.[81]

The most salient aspects of this neo-Palladianism included an obvious copying of Palladio's works, a more austere use of the wall surface, and a proliferation of porticos.[82] Regarding the style's austerity, John James (1673–1746), an early proselytizer, wrote, "That the Beautys of Architecture may consist with the greatest plainness of the structure has scarce ever been hit on by the Tramontani [people north of the Alps] unless by our famous Mr. Inigo Jones."[83] As for the porticos, only a few showed up in America, but the pediment that went with it became commonplace.

Neo-Palladianism began in earnest with Colen Campbell's (1676–1729) work around 1720, notably Burlington House, London (1717), Houghton Hall, Norfolk (1721), and Stourhead, Wiltshire (1721). Stourhead was a particularly important model for later smaller country houses, with its five-bay (1-3-1) facade and pedimented center, a composition that could have originated from several of Palladio's villas, notably Villa Emo, Villa Ragona, and Villa Pisani in Montangnana. Campbell also used extensive rustication, which was also characteristic of a contemporary, the pseudo-Palladian James Gibbs (1682–1754).[84] The socially prominent Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington (1694–1753), served as an intellect behind the movement, as well as a fair amateur architect, as witnessed in his own Chiswick Villa, Middlesex (1729), and the Assembly Rooms, York (1731). Another architect in the Burlington circle, Roger Morris (1695–1749), played a particularly important role in the development of the smaller villa, notably in his White Lodge, Richmond (1727), and Marble Hill, Twickenham, Middlesex (1724). By 1730 the neo-Palladian movement was widely acknowledged.[85]

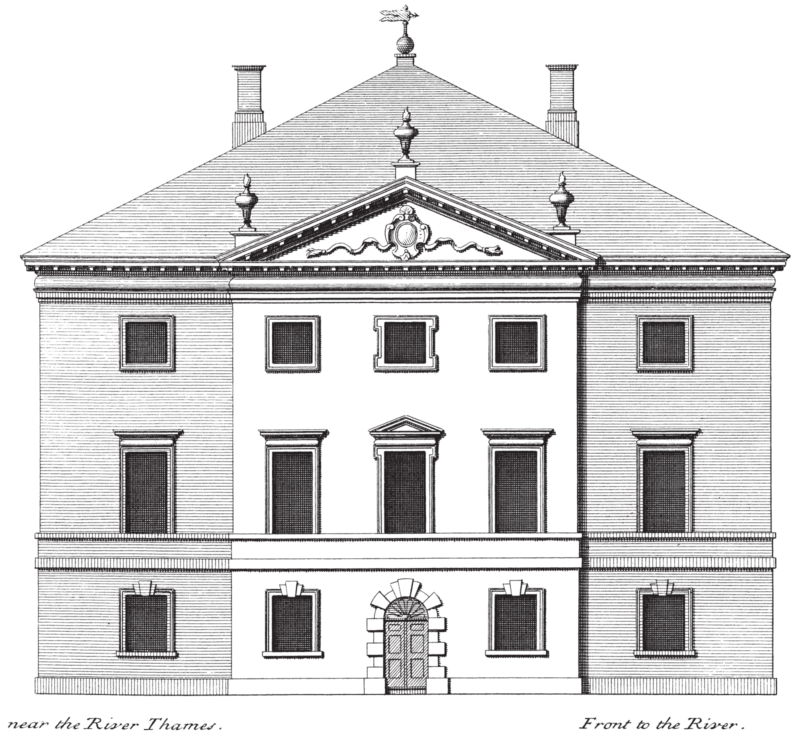
To these actual built exemplars, Burlington added a spate of books to propagate the new mode. Among others, he sponsored William Kent's (1685–1748) *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients* (1729), his own *Fabbriche antiche* (1740), and

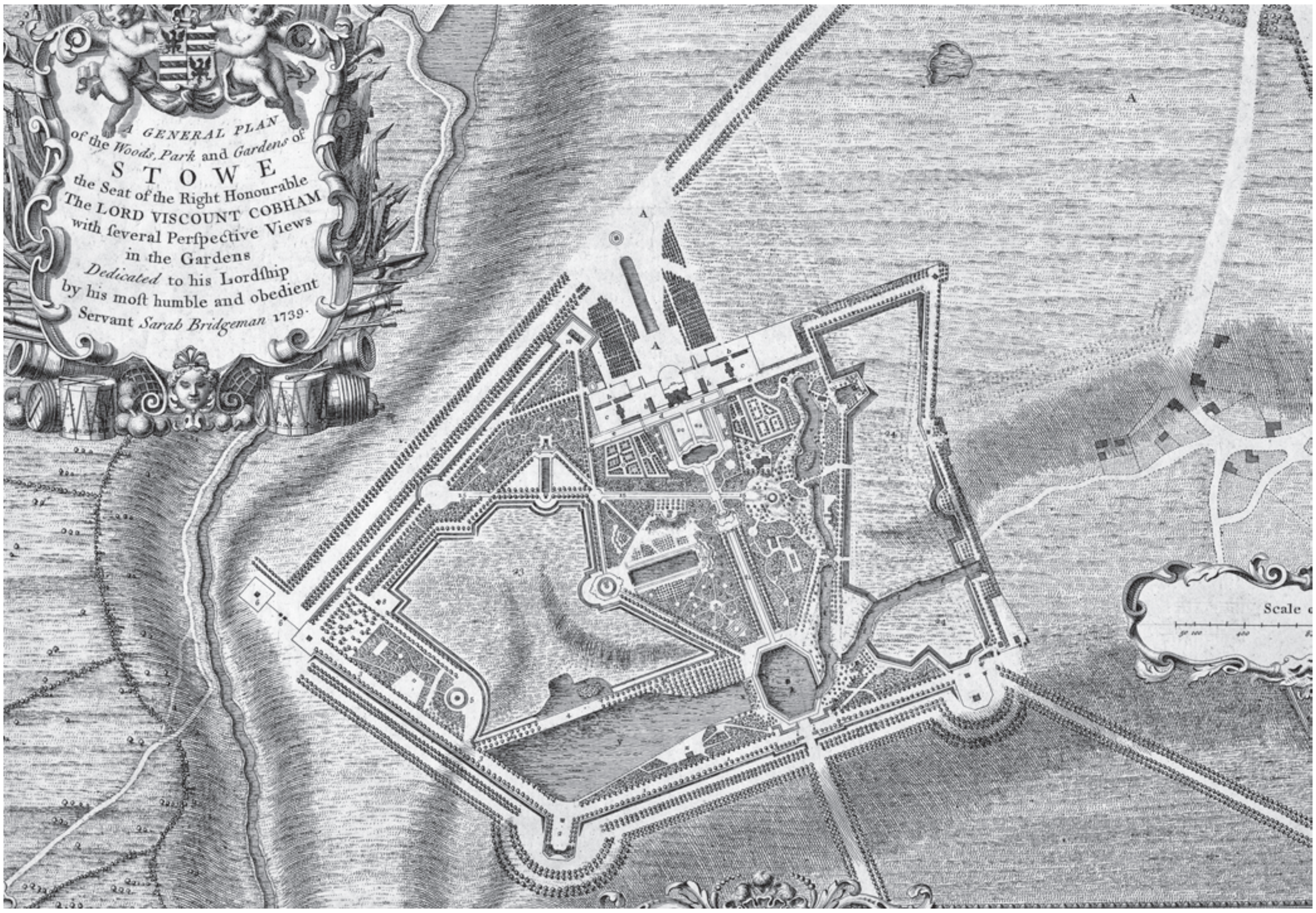
Isaac Ware's translation of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (1738) and *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756). The latter, at least, was widely known in America. Burlington also supported Robert Morris, who wrote *An Essay in Defense of Ancient Architecture* (1738) and *Rural Architecture: Consisting of Regular Designs of Plans and Elevations for Buildings in the Country* (1750), also a very influential work in the colonies. Others not in the immediate Burlington group also added books to the flood of propaganda, notably Gibbs, whose *Book of Architecture* (1728) and *The Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture* (1732) exercised considerable influence in the provinces of England and the colonies. In the latter, Gibbs simplified the complex divisions of the orders into modules, minutes, and fractions of minutes, a revised system pirated by Batty Langley and William Salmon. Gibbs also worked out other proportional relationships, such as those in room sizes.[86] Other important writers of pattern books who joined the movement included William Halfpenny and Abraham Swan. Through the agency of these books, by the 1730s Palladianism had spread across England into the work of all classes of builders,[87] as well as to the colonies. This flood of architectural publications was a peculiarly English phenomenon, the fruit of relative English democratization and high rates of literacy.[88]

The Palladian style succeeded in large part because of its imitability, its general moderation, and its "good taste." The books helped many get it right; indeed, they made it possible for Palladianism to become the first architectural movement in history to be embraced by an audience that resembled the middle classes.[89] Palladianism also found fertile ground in the American colonies, where, it might be noted, the climate was more like Italy's than England's. Later books, such as Abraham Swan's *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (1757), widely consulted in Philadelphia, tempered fealty to Palladio with its trumpeting of the English architects Jones and even Wren, hence the book's name. English Palladian buildings were almost inevitably a great deal more English than they were Palladian. Many writers preferred to give Inigo Jones more credit than they gave the Italian master himself. This emphasis on the inherent Englishness of the movement followed on England's nationalism, espoused by the artist William Hogarth (1697–1764), who poked fun at what he saw as essentially a foreign style, and the poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744), who quipped that the English nobility was "proud to catch cold at a Venetian door."[90]

Palladianism most clearly affected the exterior and plan of houses, not the decoration of interiors,[91] although Palladian interiors eliminated certain old-fashioned features, such as bolection moldings and the fanciful creations of artisan mannerism. Moldings became strictly classical, and a relative simplicity contrasting with the earlier mode caused at least one writer to characterize the new style as a "plain neat manner."[92]

Marble Hill, Twickenham (1724). From Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 3 (London, 1725), plate 93




A GENERAL PLAN
of the Woods, Park and Gardens of
STOWE
the Seat of the Right Honourable
The LORD VISCOUNT COBHAM
with ſeveral Perſpective Views
in the Gardens
Dedicated to his Lordſhip
by his moſt humble and obedient
Servant Sarah Bridgeman 1739.
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Scale

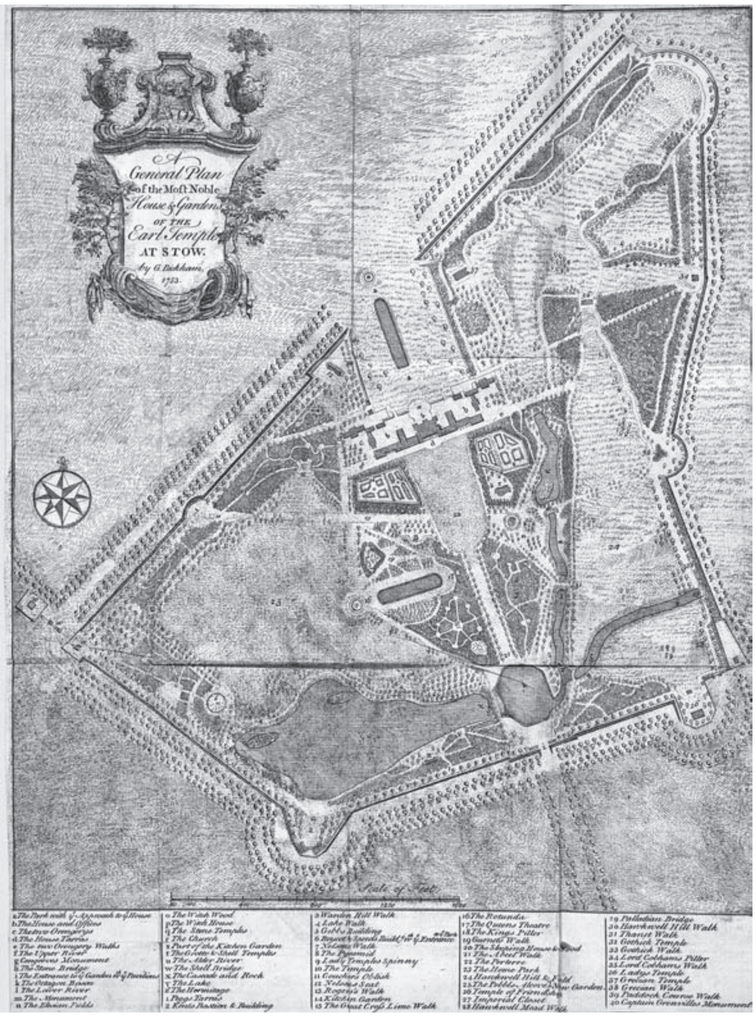
Early-eighteenth-century English formal garden design: Stowe garden plan, 1739. This detail from Charles Bridgeman's plan shows the original layout of Lord Cobham's garden with the Elysian Fields and Hawkwell Field to the east of the central vista. National Trust, London

One of the favored venues for the decorative fancy of the earlier style, full-wall paneling, also gradually disappeared in favor of plain plaster walls (often decorated with newly fashionable wallpaper), first above the chair rail and later both above and below.[93] But the austerity of Palladianism on the outside of buildings could be eschewed inside in favor of greater imagination in private, an application of the rule of decorum. Jones compared a building to a wise man who outwardly "carrieth a graviti in Publicke Places . . . & yt inwardly his Immaginacy set free, and sumtimes liccenciously flying out, as nature hirsealf doeth often tymes Stravagantly."[94] This imagination appeared most extravagantly around chimney pieces—an interior element pursued inventively by Jones and then by Burlington's protégé, Kent, and a host of others—and in modeled plaster ceilings. Even aspects of the French rococo, the polar opposite of Palladianism's gravitas, snuck into Palladian interiors, particularly rooms that had a generally feminine quality, such as drawing rooms and boudoirs.[95] Internal scenery in English architecture began with the dramatist and architect Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), but it achieved its first widespread deployment under the Palladians, with their variations in room shapes and differing flavors of interior design. The contemporaneous new landscape mode seems to have inspired architects such as Kent.[96]

It may seem an anomaly that balanced, formal, Palladian country houses should merge seamlessly with the natural landscapes set around them by designers such as Kent or Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716–1783), but Palladio's domestic buildings were made for an agrarian gentry around Venice and Vicenza that shared with their English counterparts an interest in agricultural improvement.[97] To our knowledge, Palladio himself did not design a garden, and a complexity of influences—architectural, political, literary, and aesthetic—led to the creation of the "Palladian garden" in England. The Palladian architecture that affected gardens was the temples in the fourth book of the *Quattro libri*, which were to dot the English landscape.[98] During the period of the Palladian movement, the landscape evolved from a formal one dominated by straight lines into an asymmetrical, "natural" foil for the measured, formal, and balanced buildings.

The grand tour also played a significant role in the change of landscape, because it introduced young gentlemen to the naturalistic side of Italian gardens and because many English travelers returned with seventeenth-century Italian or French paintings of classical Rome to hang above the fireplace mantle.[99] Among these the landscapes of Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, and Salvator Rosa moved eighteenth-century English taste toward a naturalistic landscape. These same young gentlemen were educated in the classics, so they were familiar with the subject matter of these paintings, whether Apollo, Aeneas, or Ulysses.

If the architects took their inspiration from Palladio, landscape designers went further back for their inspiration, to Virgil and *The Georgics*. A number of writings influenced the natural-landscape concept. One of the first, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711), formed a paean to English optimism, in which he called for gardens of a "Natural kind; where neither *Art*, nor the *Conceit* or *Caprice* of Man has spoil'd their *genuine Order*, by breaking in upon that *primitive State*. Even the rude Rocks, the mossy caverns, the irregular unwrought *Grottos*, and broken *Falls* of water, with all the horrid graces of the *Wilderness* it-self, as representing NATURE more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a Magnificence beyond the formal Mockery of princely Gardens."[100] Joseph Addison, in the first of a number of articles in *The Spectator*, equated "Liberty" with "a spacious landskip cut into Rivers Woods, Rocks, and Meadows."[101] The Whigs equated the natural with Liberty, the goal of the Whig cause.[102] Robert Castell's *The Villas of the Ancients* (London, 1728) constituted a visual reference. The frontispiece depicted Castell's re-creation of Pliny the Younger's Laurentian villa, replete with formal gardens, a wilderness traversed with avenues, and complex, informal, natural landscapes.[103]


A General Plan of the Most Noble House & Gardens of the Earl Temple at Stow, by G. Bickham, 1753.
Scale of Feet
a The Park with ye Approach to ye House
b The House and Offices
c The two Orengerys
d The House Tarras
e The two Orengery Walks
f The Upper River
g Congreves Monument
h The Stone Bridge
i The Entrance to ye Garden & ye Pavilions
k The Octagon Bason
l The Lower River
m The Monument
n The Elisian Fields
o The Witch Wood
p The Witch House
q The Stone Temples
r The Church
s Part of the Kitchen Garden
t The Grotto & Shell Temples
u The Alder River
w The Shell Bridge
x The Cascade and Rock
y The Lake
z The Hermitage
1 Pegs Tarras
2 Kents Bastion & Building
3 Warden Hill Walk
4 Lake Walk
5 Gibbs's Building
6 Bouget's Bastion & Building
7 Nelsons Walk
8 The Pyramid
9 Lady Temples Spinny
10 The Temple
11 Couchers Obelisk
12 Nelsons Seat
13 Rogers's Walk
14 Kitchen Garden
15 The Great Cross Lime Walk
16 The Rotunda
17 The Queens Theatre
18 The Kings Pillar
19 Garnets Walk
20 The Sleeping House
21 The Abele Walk
22 The Parterre
23 The Home Park
24 Hawkwell Hill & Field
25 The Pebble Alcove & New Garden
26 Temple of Friendship
27 Imperial Closet
28 Hawkwell Mead Walk
29 Palladian Bridge
30 Hawkwell Hill Walk
31 Thanet Walk
32 Gothick Temple
33 Gothick Walk
34 Lord Cobhams Pillar
35 Lord Cobhams Walk
36 Ladys Temple
37 Grecian Temple
38 Grecian Walk
39 Paddock Course Walk
40 Captain Grenvilles Monument

The mid-eighteenth-century picturesque English garden: Stowe garden plan, 1753. Engraving, *A General Plan of the Most Noble House & Gardens of the Earl Temple at Stow*, by George Bickham (1706?–1771). From George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow* ([London, 1753]), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

Early Palladian garden designers took care that sight lines led to an eyecatcher, such as a fake ruin or temple, on the skyline, or by serpentine paths past statuary (mostly copies of Roman originals), temples, or grottos, or along a rill. Nothing could be further from the formal baroque garden, where all was open to view. One picture after another greets the visitor following the path, who moves from light to dark, with an element of surprise, and all in green. The serpentine path forms a connecting element throughout the period of the classic English landscape.[104] Though picturesque, this landscape was never meant to be viewed as a painting, but entered into by the viewer as a participant. This type of garden would yield fruit in the colonies in the mid-eighteenth century, although never on the scale of the largest English examples.

Often perceived as a landscape with temples, the garden mode of the early Palladian movement did not survive after the time of Burlington and Kent. Capability Brown followed, sweeping away formal gardens and creating natural landscapes—without temples or follies—in their place. Whereas visitors to early Palladian gardens saw vistas, with the trees therein remaining anonymous, trees formed an essential part of Brown's design. He preferred British natives, despite the American species that were arriving in great numbers, particularly through the work of Philadelphia's John Bartram and London's Peter Collinson.[105] When the natural landscape crossed the Atlantic, it left most of its temples behind, reflecting John Adams's later view that "temples to Bacchus and Venus are quite unnecessary as mankind have no need of artificial Incitements."[106] However, alternatives such as summerhouses did survive in the New World.

* * *

In the world of the English country house, the period of the Palladian house and the naturalistic garden was an exciting time that literally created the modern world. Certainly the modern landscape emerged in this period, as did an architecture that has never gone out of fashion—we still build Palladian-style homes and banks. The period made Palladio the most influential architect in history, most notably through Palladianism's spread in English colonies around the globe. Likewise, the *jardin anglais* spread throughout the world, and through its later reincarnations, such as the Olmstedian style, it remains the most common landscape mode today. We would expect these forces to appear in that very English city, colonial Philadelphia, and we will not be disappointed.

CHAPTER 2

The Bourgeois Country House in the Colonies

In erecting country seats, early Pennsylvanians drew experience mostly from the mother country. Until late in the colonial period, communication between individual colonies and Britain surpassed that between the colonies themselves, a phenomenon observable in other cultural spheres as well.[1] However, Pennsylvania, being a relatively late colony, did have the benefit and knowledge of the earlier colonies' endeavors and their architecture. While varying cultural backgrounds, economic structures, climate, and building materials affected the architecture of individual colonies, similarities made the colonial experiences parallel to some extent. Furthermore, Pennsylvania, because of its middle position, its religious toleration, and its almost immediate economic success, attracted settlers not only from all parts of Great Britain but from earlier colonies as well. Gentry-class settlers of early Pennsylvania can be identified as coming from both Jerseys, Maryland, New York, Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Antigua, Barbados, Bermuda, and Jamaica. Moreover, known builders of early Pennsylvania country seats came from all of these except Connecticut and Rhode Island.[2]

Colonial Architecture at Pennsylvania's Founding

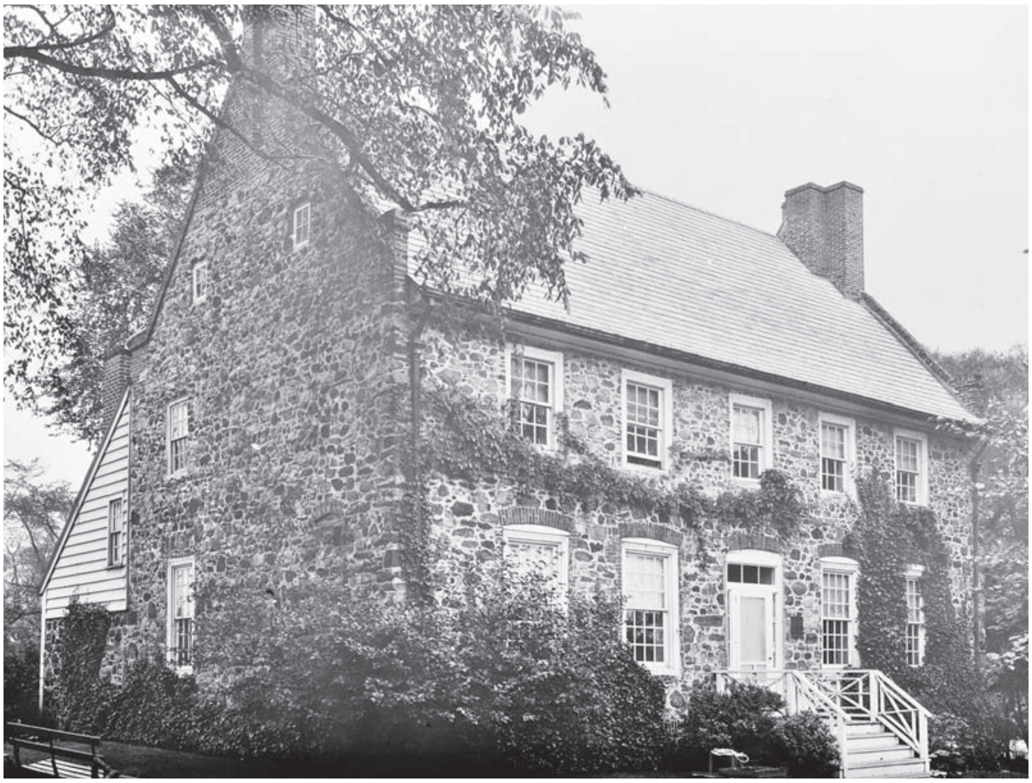
East and West Jersey, created by Charles II in 1664, were Pennsylvania's closest neighbors to the east. No country-house culture, indeed no monumental architecture, appeared in the Jerseys until well into the 1700s. When it did, it reflected the architecture of Quaker Philadelphia in West Jersey or that of New York in East Jersey. On the other hand, New York, the next colony to the north, had the beginnings of a country-house culture even before William Penn founded his colony. To judge from surviving correspondence, Philadelphia merchants were allied more closely with their peers in New York than with those of any other colony, the Caribbean islands possibly excepted.

The New Amsterdam governor Peter Stuyvesant (1612–1672) established perhaps the earliest bourgeois country seat in North America, a logical precedent, as Dutch merchants had inspired their English counterparts in the Old World in the building of suburban villas. In 1651 Stuyvesant bought from the West India Company the Great Bouwery, a Dutch word translated as "plantation" or "farm," which ran from the East River to the present Fourth Avenue and Broadway, in the area around the intersection of the present Fifth Avenue and Seventeenth Street. The street presently called the Bowery ran from the city to Stuyvesant's farm. His property included a "dwelling house, barn, barrick, lands, six cows, two horses and two young Negroes, all in such condition as the said bouwery is at present cultivated and occupied by the aforesaid Stuyvesant." His house there, which burned in 1777, was said to have been large and comfortable. Stuyvesant had a chapel of ease built nearby in 1660 so that he and his retainers could worship without returning to the city on Sundays. A visiting preacher noted of the place: "The Bouwery is a place of relaxation and pleasure, whither people go from the Manhattans, for the evening service." Although he had a "costly and handsome house" of state in the city, Stuyvesant preferred to spend as much time as possible at the Bouwery, and he encouraged others to enjoy the country as well. In 1658 he created New Harlem, as a defense for the city (Old Harlem had defended Amsterdam), to encourage agriculture, and "for the greater recreation and amusement of this City of Amsterdam in New Netherland."[3]

At least one other early New York country seat rose on the East River, just above Stuyvesant's Bouwery: Kip's Mansion, built about 1654 by Jacob Kip, receiver and bookkeeper of the revenues of the Dutch province. An old print of Kip's Mansion shows a two-and-one-half-story, five-bay house with a steep kicked gable roof and segmentally arched windows, although this appearance was apparently the result of later rebuildings. The original house was purportedly built of bricks brought from Holland.[4]

A very similar house, possibly built as early as 1680, was also a country seat: the Billopp House, better known as the Conference House, on Staten Island, supposedly built by the English sea captain Christopher Billopp (c. 1638–1726), who had obtained a grant of land there. Its very steep roof connects it with earlier Dutch building.[5] Although the Billopp House today is similar in some respects to later Pennsylvania country houses, it has been much restored, so that establishing formal influences would be difficult (and probably not particularly important). Its symmetry makes it unusual for such an early date in the colonies, but it does not lie outside the Anglo-Dutch tradition for that period.[6]

The notion of a country seat also appeared in New England in the seventeenth century, but rarely. Wealthy merchants and colonial leaders had farms near Boston, but until the 1720s they seem mostly to have used them only for additional income and food for their town houses. Some, however, clearly aspired to gentlemen's rural retreats. For example, Matthew Craddock, a merchant and London shipowner and president of the Massachusetts Company, established in the 1630s a farm on the Mystic River, where he also built ships. He "impaled a Parke" there and intended to "store it with Deere," although apparently only cattle ever actually occupied it. Similarly, Governor Winthrop (1587–1649) established Ten Hills Farm on the Mystic River, although he died before ever building a house there. This land became part of the town of Medford, and in 1732 Isaac Royall bought it and established his country seat.[7] In 1635 John Winthrop Jr. drew a plan for a

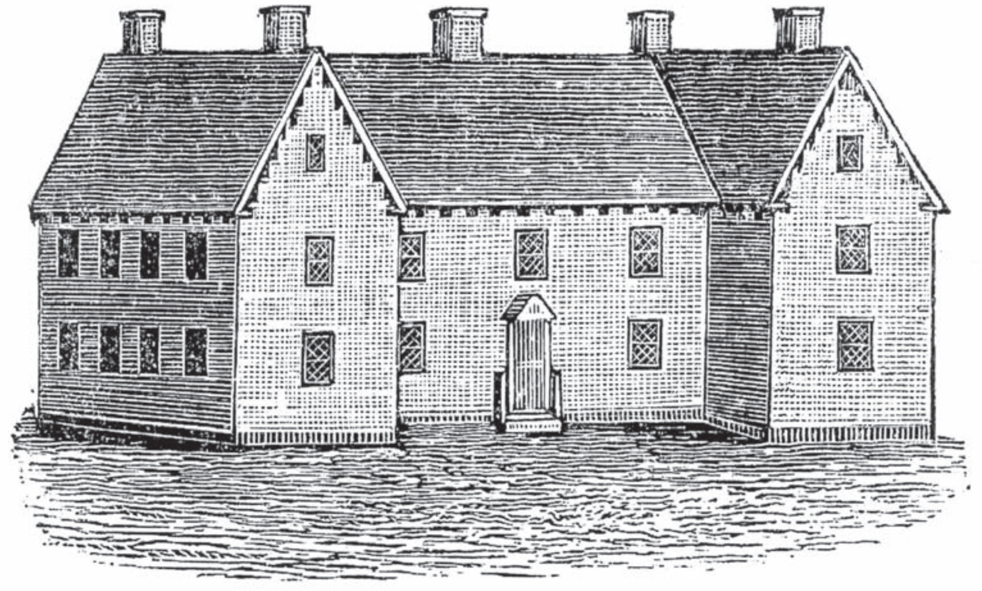


Billopp House, Staten Island, New York (c. 1689), a mid-Atlantic country house with material and formal similarities to Pennsylvania examples. HABS, NY, 43-TOTVI, 1-1, Library of Congress

rural retreat in Saybrook, Connecticut.[8] Massachusetts's first governor, John Endicott, moved in 1632 to a three-hundred-acre estate on a peninsula north of Salem, land granted him by the colony. There he built what was later called a mansion house, though no information about its form survives. He farmed the land and planted a famous orchard, giving rise to the estate's name, Orchard Farm. Endicott's will lists "Dwelling Howse, Outhouses, Barnes, stables, cowhowses," along with "orchards nurseres of fruit trees, gardens, fences meadow & salt marsh."[9] He lived here while governor until 1655, when the General Court of Massachusetts asked him to move to Boston, the capital.[10]

In early New England, yeomen and gentry built a variety of house forms, but in most cases this early variety coalesced fairly quickly into a standard type: lobby entry, hall and parlor, often with the later addition of a lean-to at the rear for service rooms. In the colonial period, such a house often evolved as a result of several periods of building. In its full form, only common in the most prosperous areas around Boston, such a house might have six rooms, four on the first floor and two on the second. Overwhelmingly, these houses were constructed of heavy, timber-braced framing. Puritan society was suspicious of behavior too far from the norm, especially the flaunting of wealth.[11]

A number of seventeenth-century New England gentry houses present exceptions to this standard form and simplicity and have relevance for later Pennsylvania. They encompass a range of English house forms available in the colonies at the time.[12] Several of these exceptional houses had single-pile plans, as did the standard hall-parlor form, but substantially more space through additional wings. Many of the earliest above-average houses appeared in Connecticut, which was perhaps exempt from some of Massachusetts's strictness. As early as 1680 an observer noted that in Connecticut "they laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fine and stately houses, wherein they at first outdid



Theophilus Eaton House, New Haven, Connecticut (before 1657). Conjectural drawing by John Warner Barber in *History of the Colony of New Haven*, by Edward R. Lambert (New Haven, CT: Hitchcock & Stafford, 1838), New Haven Museum

the rest of the country."[13] Examples include the Samuel Desborough House in Guilford, Connecticut, built c. 1641, with stone walls (unusual for New England), a linear three-cell plan, and a "Greate Court" enclosed by a stone wall.[14] The Theophilus Eaton House, in New Haven, Connecticut (by 1657), was even grander. Demolished by 1730, its form is highly conjectural, but an early engraving shows it having a double-ended U-plan, presumably with a large, single-pile central hall.[15] Finally, the Spencer-Pierce-Little House in Newbury, Massachusetts, built c. 1680, had a cruciform plan with a single-pile, hall-parlor main range with central chimney, a rear wing containing a kitchen, and a front arm with a porch and chamber.[16]

Seventeenth-century New England also produced the first North American colonial double-pile houses, which proclaimed high fashion even more. These houses differed markedly from the normative New England form and incited comment among neighbors. They presented a grand and stately mask to the public, and their wide central halls awed visitors and separated them from the best rooms.[17] These houses formed part of what Abbott Lowell Cummings called a provincial renaissance in New England architecture, a stylistic change allowed not only by increased wealth but by the emigration during the 1670s and after of many building and decorative artisans from Britain. Elements such as Dutch gables, applied orders in the manner of Inigo Jones and his followers, door hoods (with or without a shell), cupolas, sash windows, bolection moldings, and heavy turned balusters on closed stringer stairs all made their appearance in Boston during the last quarter of the century.[18] The compact, or double-pile, house belonged to this renaissance mix. This same period witnessed the founding of Pennsylvania, and, like Boston, early Philadelphia received many urban-trained English craftsmen.

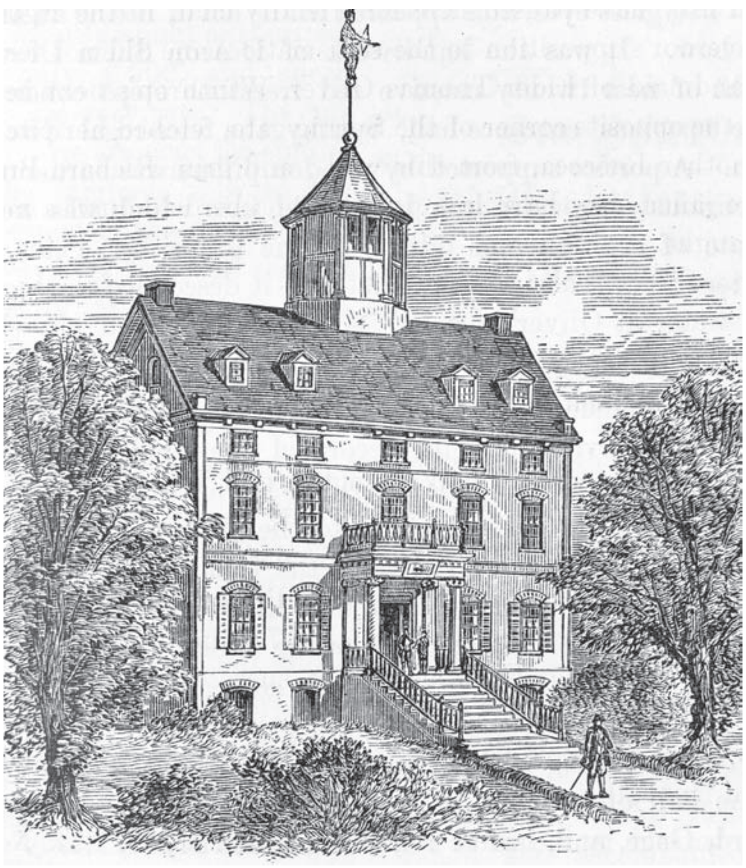
The earliest of New England's compact houses seems to have been the Peter Sergeant, or Province, House in Boston. Built in the years 1676–79 by the wealthy merchant Peter Sergeant (d. 1714), the house stood on a large lot then at the edge of the city and had plenty of room for a garden. Such a situation, which might be described as pseudo-urban, was typical of a significant branch of the country houses in the colonies. The house was three and a half stories tall, five bays wide, and made of brick, which was very rare in New

England at this date. Originally it had extravagant curvilinear, Jacobean gables and six-flue diamond stack chimneys on the ends. To judge from descriptions and views, it had a double-pile plan with a grand central hall.[19]

When William Penn settled his colony, the Tidewater region was already well established, being the home of the earliest English settlement in the New World. From Tidewater, particularly Maryland, came many of Pennsylvania's yeoman and gentry. Penn was clearly aware of the architecture of the Tidewater region. In 1684 he called for "a Virginia house of clapboard only" to be built for one of his children near Pennsbury, his country seat.[20] "Virginia house" referred to a lightly framed, clapboard-covered dwelling, distinguished from the heavy timber-framed buildings of England. Tidewater houses were predominantly small, the most normative types being one-room and hall-parlor, one and a half stories tall. The vast majority were framed in wood, although by the last third of the century brick houses had begun to appear in greater numbers, sparked in part by a rebuilding in brick of the capital, Jamestown.[21]

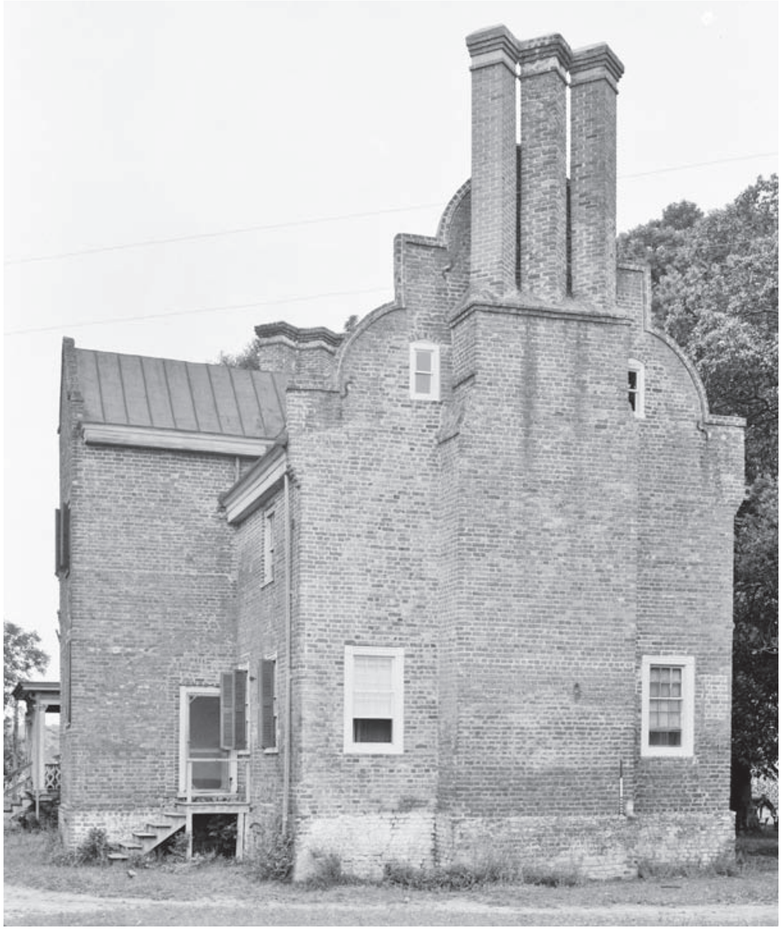
If most early Maryland and Virginia dwellings were small and impermanent, by the 1670s a more monumental residential architecture had appeared,[22] known in Maryland primarily from a single archaeological example, the house of Philip Calvert (1626–1682), the youngest son of Lord Baltimore, built in St. Mary's City, the colonial capital, in 1679 as a proprietary mansion. A reconstruction shows a large, square, double-pile house with a floor plan unique among known examples on either side of the Atlantic.[23]

Seventeenth-century Virginia Tidewater planters for the most part also lived in houses that their English counterparts would have considered quite mean. But once again a few grander examples existed, the earliest of which was probably Sir William Berkeley's Green Spring Manor House, in James City County, built c. 1645. The governor of Virginia for most of the period 1642–77, Berkeley (1605–1677) used his house for public business as well as his plantation residence. Essentially the earliest double-pile house in Virginia, it was a two-story, frame structure on a brick foundation that had an H-plan, with a large central hall flanked by two other rooms enfilade and giving access to four corner rooms, each with an exterior chimney. Behind the hall was a stair tower. The plan very much resembled that of articulated English country houses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Green Spring Manor encompassed two thousand acres and had, besides crops, flower and vegetable gardens, an orchard said to contain fifteen hundred fruit trees, and beehives. Lady Berkeley immodestly, but probably accurately, called it the "finest seat in America."[24] The Berkeleys were not finished, however. By 1674 they had added a wing to the original house to serve as a suite of entertainment rooms, very much an attempt to raise



Province House, Boston (1679), one of the earliest compact houses in the colonies. From Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (1873), LCP the social *ton* of Virginia society. It had an enormously long (almost 100 feet), three-room plan with an entrance porch topped by a curvilinear gable and nine bays across the front. An added room in an ell wing made the plan slightly asymmetrical. It also had two full stories, along with two floors of garrets under the roof. Other such "banqueting houses" in early Virginia included one jointly built by four planters in Westmoreland County (1670) and Fairhill, in Gloucester County (1694). Another very early double-pile house was Arlington, in Surry County (1674).[25]

The best-known and best-surviving seventeenth-century Virginia house is Bacon's Castle, in Surry County (1665). When it was built by the wealthy planter Arthur Allen, it was one of perhaps a half-dozen Virginia plantation houses constructed of brick. With its curvilinear gables, diamond stack chimneys, and (originally) molded-brick window and door surrounds, it typified the Jacobean, artisan mannerist style still popular in England and its colonies in the mid-seventeenth century. As Roger Leech has suggested, Bacon's Castle's proximity to the colony's capital, Jamestown, may have motivated Allen to build so grandly, and thus Bacon's Castle might be seen as a suburban villa as well as a plantation.[26] Bacon Castle's cruciform plan, a hall-parlor with entry porch and chamber at the front and a stair tower at the rear, also allies it with older articulated house forms. However, in its context, its strict symmetry and scale made it very much up-to-date and even magnificent, that is, tasteful and imposing. With its fully finished basement and garret, the house had four useable levels, nine rooms, and six fireplaces.



Bacon's Castle, Surry County, Virginia (1665), a top-of-the-line Tidewater country house near Jamestown. HABS, VA 75, Library of Congress

Colonial houses in both the North and the South also reflected traditional English room uses and at least some of the changes in use taking place in the mother country. Colonies also evolved their own room uses suitable to their culture and climate. The basic rooms of the standard yeomen's house were the hall, which functioned as the day-to-day living and eating space and often was also the kitchen, and a more private room called the *parlor* or *chamber*, a room set apart for polite company, the parents' sleeping, and the display of the family's best possessions. Upstairs chambers functioned mostly as bedrooms but on occasion were also used for dining and other social events. In New England, the addition of kitchens in a lean-to meant that the hall could be upgraded to another parlor, or "best room." In Tidewater, the same upgrading was accomplished by moving the kitchen to an outbuilding to isolate slaves from the house and eliminate the heat and smoke of the cooking fire. Halls were sometimes then known as "entertaining rooms."[27]

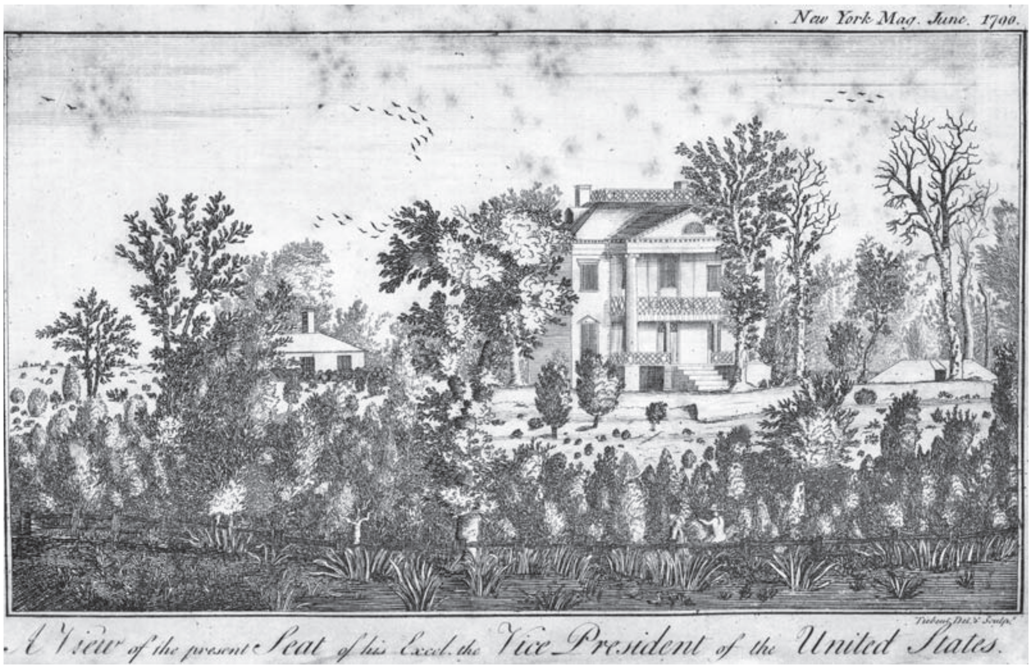
Larger houses of the gentry had additional spaces. In New England, ministers' houses might have a study for books and a writing desk. The term *library* also appeared in the early eighteenth century. A central hall was at first called an "entry" or a "passage." Later, as the space grew in size and importance, the term *hall* came to be applied to it, and in Tidewater it was sometimes referred to as a "summer hall." The multiple spaces in a double-pile plan were usually called *parlors* and differentiated by orientation ("east parlor"), size ("great" and "little" parlor), or decor ("blue" or "cedar" parlor). Upstairs chambers were distinguished likewise. The term *dining room* appeared in 1651 in Tidewater and about 1700 in New England and spread slowly thereafter. In Virginia the term often referred to the room in which the family ate on normal occasions, while formal dining still occurred in the hall. Similarly, the appellation *closet* meant a small space adjacent to a parlor or chamber and used for withdrawal, study, or dressing.[28]

The Later Colonial Bourgeois Country House

Although Philadelphia developed the bourgeois country house to a higher degree than any other American colony, other cities in the North, primarily New York and Boston, also produced country seats or villas in the later colonial period. To the south, similar seats were sometimes produced either in the form of plantation houses themselves or out of a reverse movement of plantation owners building seasonal residences in the city, most notably Charleston, South Carolina, and Annapolis, Maryland. Moreover, as Peter Martin suggests, the eighteenth-century plantations within a few hours ride of the capital Williamsburg, which attained that status in 1699, "enjoyed a cultural reciprocity with the town."[29] For example, the house of William Byrd III at Belvedere could be described as a bourgeois country house or villa rather than a plantation or farm house; although Byrd did not have a separate residence in town, he was certainly involved there. A visitor in 1759 described the house as sitting "upon a hill at the lower end of the [falls of the James River] as romantic and elegant as any thing I have ever seen. It is situated very high, and commands a fine prospect of the river."[30]

Although not as numerous as in Philadelphia, New York possessed a number of bourgeois country seats in the rural areas surrounding the city on lower Manhattan Island, Stuyvesant and Kip having paved the way. More than a dozen have been teased out of the colonial record, a few of which exemplify the whole. A large cluster occupied the land from the Hudson to the East River in what became Greenwich Village. These appear in great detail on the Ratzer Map of 1767. Most were approached by allées of trees, and many had other gardens. Stuyvesant's place fronted the East River. Oliver Delancey's, Peter Warren's, and several others overlooked the Hudson. The appearance of Warren's house, begun in 1733, survives in a print that shows a hipped-roof, double-pile, central-hall house with end chimneys and one-story piazzas front and back, most likely added later. Warren's estate comprised three hundred acres, and a 1773 plat shows an allée, a formal garden, and an orchard. A particularly grand country house and garden in the vicinity, also known from prints, was Richmond Hill, built in 1767 by the merchant Abraham Mortier. Its grand two-story portico of superposed orders set a pattern for some later New York country houses.[31]

Farther up the island, country seats were more spread out. James Beekman built Mount Pleasant at Turtle Bay on the East River, a large, gambrel-roofed, gabled house. Above

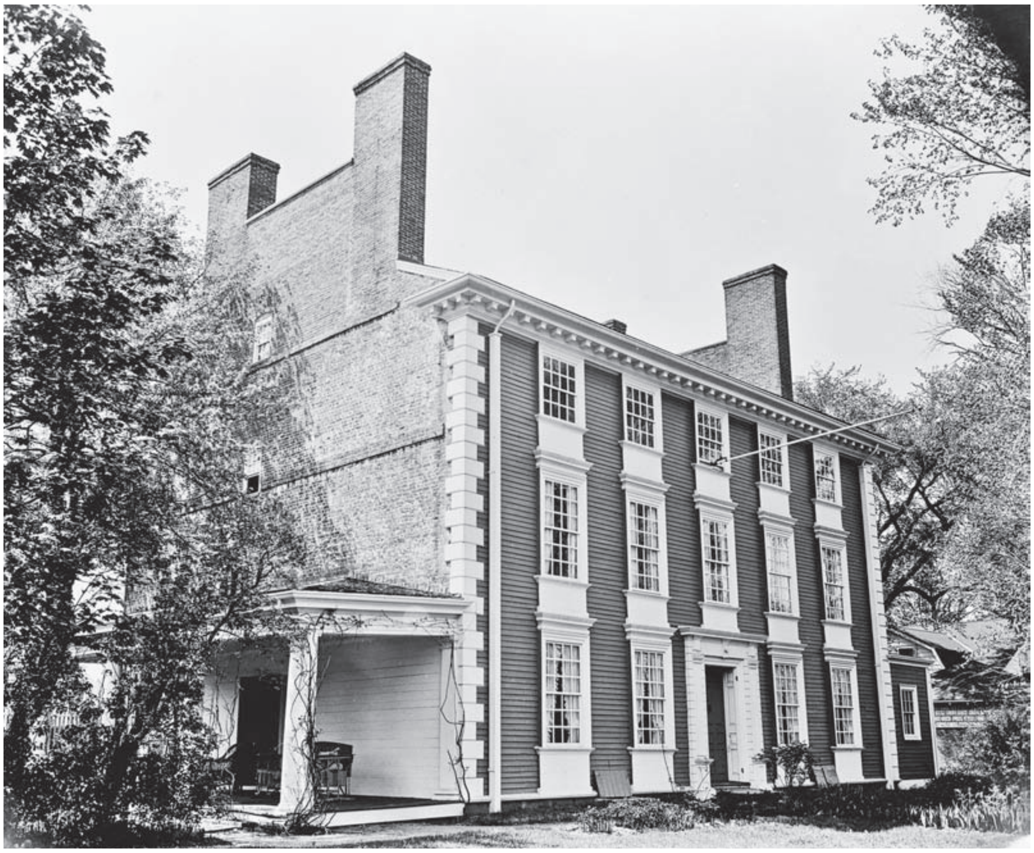

New York Mag. June. 1790.
A View of the present Seat of his Excel. the Vice President of the United States.
Tiebout Del. N.Y. Sculp.

Richmond Hill, New York City (1767), a New York Georgian country house. Engraving by Cornelius Tiebout, from *New York Magazine*, June 1790, LCP

that stood the most famous of New York country seats, the surviving Morris-Jumel Mansion of 1765, located on the Harlem River and built by Roger and Mary Morris. Very grand, the house was nevertheless frame, with wood siding scored to resemble stone, a device common in New England but unknown farther south. Similar in grandeur, the Apthorp House (c. 1767), on the Hudson, lay about midway up the island and was notable for its giant pilasters and the only full exterior entablature in the colonies. It too was wood framed, with siding imitating stone. In the Bronx, the single-pile Van Cortlandt House (1748) could easily have been built in Pennsylvania.[32]

Boston also developed a significant country-house culture in the eighteenth century, with real proliferation of country houses just before 1750. Examples of *rus in urbe*, country houses in the city with extensive lots and gardens, included Thomas Hancock's house on Beacon Hill in Boston of 1737–40. Long demolished, the double-pile, central-hall house built of granite had fine woodwork and notable gardens, terraces, walks, and trees. Hancock said of it while ordering one hundred yew plants: "The Kingdom of England don't afford so Fine a Prospect as I have both of land and water. Neither do I intend to Spare any Cost or pains in making my Gardens Beautifull or Profitable."[33] Double-pile houses were erected elsewhere in New England in this period, such as the McPhedris-Warner House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (1723).

Country houses built by wealthy officials and merchants also appeared in the townships a short distance from Boston. Some were secondary residences for urban dwellers, as would be expected, but many were primary residences. One of the earliest and most notable was the Isaac Royall House, in Medford, built on Winthrop's Ten Hills tract in the 1730s. A wealthy merchant planter, Royall (1719–1781) had a plantation on Antigua but wanted his children to be raised elsewhere. He and his family moved from Antigua with thirteen slaves into what became their primary residence. It was, in effect, a plantation with both formal landscaping and extensive agriculture.[34] The house, three full stories tall, was quite grand if a little idiosyncratic, partly brick but mostly wood, with giant corner



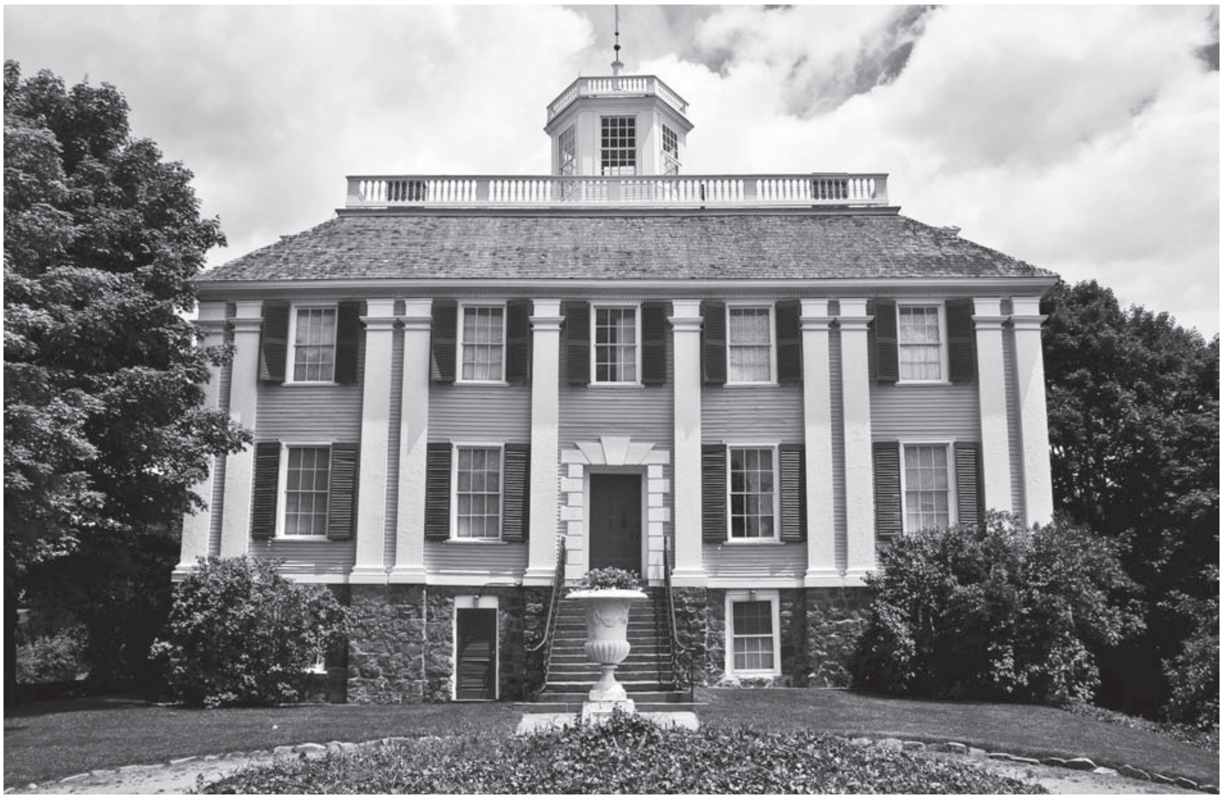
Isaac Royall House, Medford, Massachusetts (1733). HABS, MASS, 9-MED, 1–17, Library of Congress

pilasters and wood siding imitating stone on the main facade. The landscaping included a mound approached by two terraces and topped with a substantial summerhouse.[35]

The country seat of Governor William Shirley (1694–1771), in Roxbury, begun about 1747, had more architectural sophistication. With thirty-four acres, this seat was clearly a suburban villa rather than a plantation or farm. Surrounded by orchards and a parterred garden, the house overlooked Boston Harbor. It had an unusual plan featuring a dominant center with a combined entry and stairhall and a saloon. The saloon was unheated, suggesting that the house was meant for seasonal use only. Giant pilasters articulated both front and back, and a grand cupola graces the roof.[36]

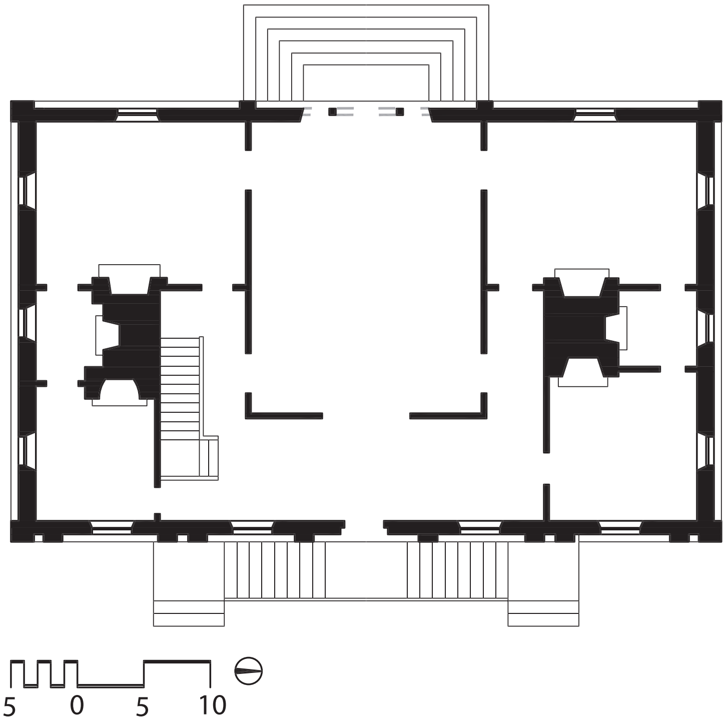
By the 1760s Roxbury had become a fashionable place for bourgeois country seats, especially for those political conservatives who would become Tories at the Revolution. The Loring-Greenough House in Jamaica Plain, a section of Roxbury, was built in 1760 by Commodore Joshua Loring (1716–1784) as the seat of a sixty-acre estate to which he retired after an illustrious naval career. Loring's house had a standard central-hall, double-pile plan and a hipped roof and was covered in wood siding in the New England tradition. In the same vicinity and even more impressive was the 1761 country seat of Sir Francis Bernard, the new royal governor of Massachusetts and a gentleman–amateur architect.[37]

Another country seat, this one in the vicinity of Salem, is worthy of note as it was called a "pleasure house" and a "folly," perhaps indicative of New England attitudes toward such places. Even in the eighteenth century, censorious Puritan attitudes toward conspicuous consumption induced care when building country seats and indeed houses in general. In 1715 a New England minister said, "I heard my neighbor Brooks is uneasy because of my



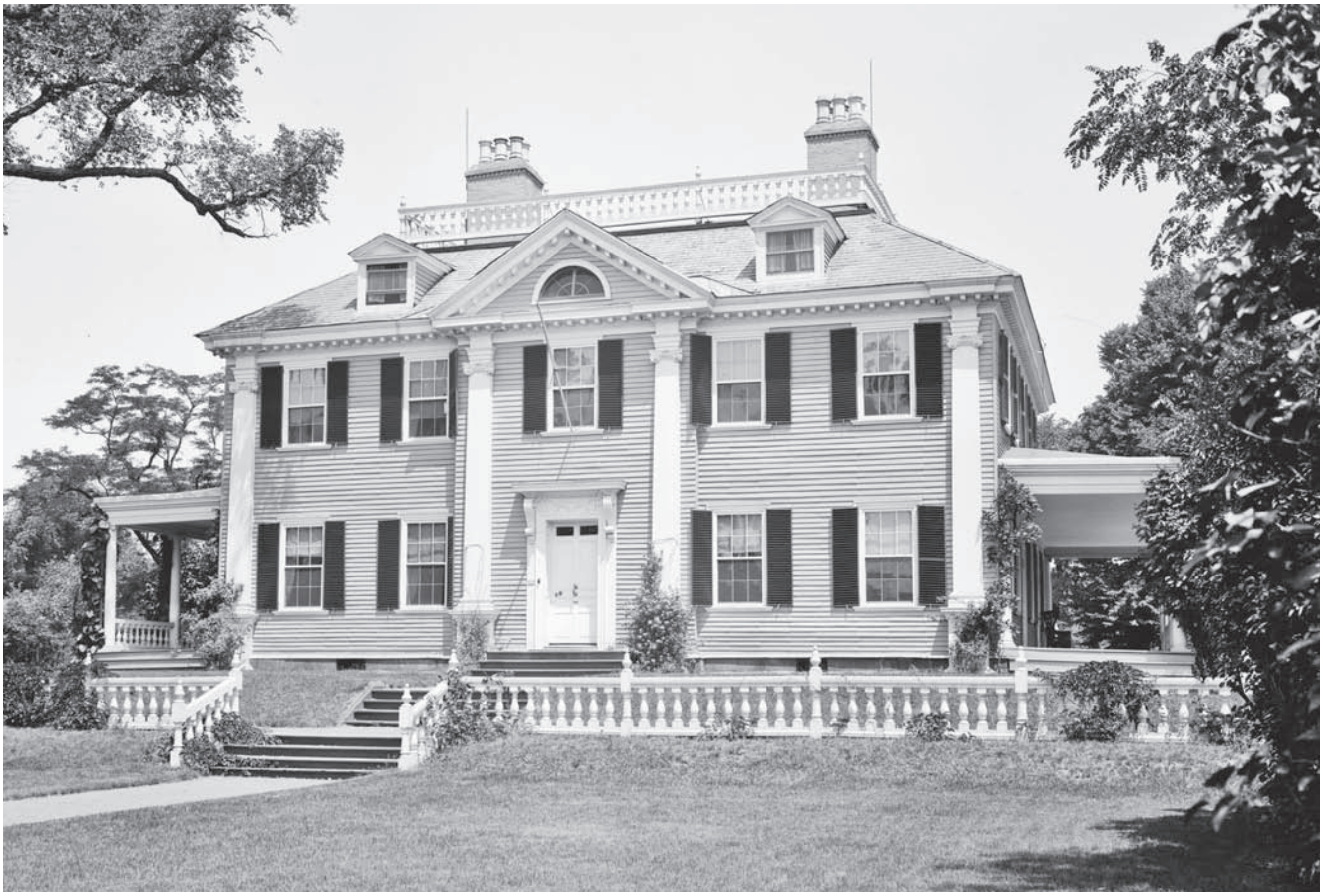
Shirley Place, Roxbury,
Massachusetts (c. 1747).
Photograph by Tim Sackton,
Wikipedia.org

Shirley Place, Roxbury,
Massachusetts, first-floor plan.
Drawing by Thomas Peters
after James D. Kornwolf,
*Architecture and Town
Planning in Colonial North
America* (Baltimore: Johns
Hopkins University Press,
2002), 2:1094



house being so stately." And another minister about midcentury reported, "Lieutenant Tainter was very Sharp upon me about the pride of Ministers, when he saw the window Frames . . . yet I endeavour'd to let him know that I was myself griev'd that the windows were so large and I have often said it that I wish'd they were less."[38] Quakers would reenact some of these same attitudes in Pennsylvania. The folly near Salem in Essex County, begun about 1740, belonged to Colonel William Browne. Browne also had a house in Salem. His country seat stood on top of a high hill that afforded views of the countryside all around, as well as the ocean. He named it Browne Hall, after a place in Lancashire where his ancestors had originated. The house was notable for its H-shaped plan, giant pilasters on the corner pavilions, and giant Ionic columns on the central portico. In the center a large room served for entertainment, complete with a gallery for musicians and a ceiling painted to resemble a dome.[39]

Cambridge, across the Charles River from Boston, provided another venue for country seats. Long a thriving Puritan town and the home of Harvard College, Cambridge around midcentury was invaded by a small group of Anglican loyalists who made the community their primary home even though their source of wealth lay elsewhere. Major John Vassall (1738–1797), a Jamaican planter, bought an eighty-seven-acre farm and built a large country house in 1759. The Boston merchants East Apthorp, David Phipps, and William Brattle also built houses after midcentury on plots of land that averaged thirty-five acres, too small for a self-sufficient farm but too large for a city dwelling. These families rented houses in Boston but spent the majority of their time in Cambridge, which



Vassall-Longfellow House, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1759). HABS, MASS, 9-CAMB, 1 was connected to Boston by a bridge as early as 1662, making for an easy commute.[40] The Vassall-Longfellow House can serve as an example of these places. The large house was nearly square, five bays deep and five wide, with a narrow central pavilion indicating a narrow passage. The exterior has the by-then typical New England giant pilasters at the corners and wood siding. On so much land, surely some agriculture went on, though the place was also noted for its gardens.[41]

Wealthy eighteenth-century Englishmen's desire for a balance of life between the country and the city and for at least a modicum of *ornamental* landscape found outlets even in the American South, which was dominated by large, slave-driven plantations. There were two ways to satisfy these desires. First, a planter could beautify his plantation, creating ornamental grounds and gardens. If possible, these could be located close to a capital city so that peers and neighbors could visit frequently. Alternatively, one could build a *rus in urbe*, a primary or secondary house in the capital city of a colony on a lot large enough to include gardens, which was common in Charleston and Annapolis.

In Virginia, where towns were scarce, the first strategy prevailed: plantations were beautified into villas, complete with pleasure gardens, so that the landscape at least in part resembled rural England. Among others, Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood referred to the Virginia gentry's "perfect retir'd Country life."[42] The English visitor William Hugh Grove found Virginia's Mattaponi River "thick seated with gentry on its Banks with in a Mile or at most 2 from Each other. . . . Most of These have pleasant Gardens and the Prospect of the River render them very pleasant [and] equall to the Thames from London to Richmond."[43] Baron von Closen wrote of his journey along the James: "For the most part, both banks of this river are embellished with plantations, one more beautiful than the other, and inhabited by the aristocracy of the country. . . . Our journey along the James River seemed to us like a pleasant dream, or, to speak as a young man, like the flight of a butterfly, who goes from one flower to another."[44] Virginia plantations with names such as The Hermitage, Mon Repose, or Tusculum reveal the mythopoetic origins they shared with retirements in Philadelphia or England, a sentiment stated by William Byrd III when he wrote that his "library, garden, a grove, and a purling stream are the innocent scenes that divert our leizure."[45]

The majority of eighteenth-century Virginia plantation houses remained small, wood framed, and unpretentious, even if their owners were wealthy, with substantial numbers of acres and slaves. However, an elite subset of plantation owners had the means and the desire for grander architecture. Among this group, the double-pile, central-hall compact house dominated architecture. After the type's introduction in the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg (begun 1706), it appeared by midcentury at, to name only a very few, The Brafferton, Williamsburg (1723), Westover (1750), William and Mary's President's House (1732), Blenheim, in Caroline Country (c. 1745), Carter's Grove (1751), and Cleve, in King George County (1754). A recent survey of colonial architecture discusses and illustrates more than forty high-style Virginia plantation houses.[46] The only exceptions to the double-pile plan are several midcentury ones—Corotoman, single-pile with front loggia (1726); Stratford Hall, an H-plan (1738); and Tuckahoe, an H-plan achieved in pieces (1733 and 1750s)—and some very late colonial villas, such as Battersea (1767) and Monticello (begun 1770), which had single-pile linear plans influenced by the writings of Robert Morris.

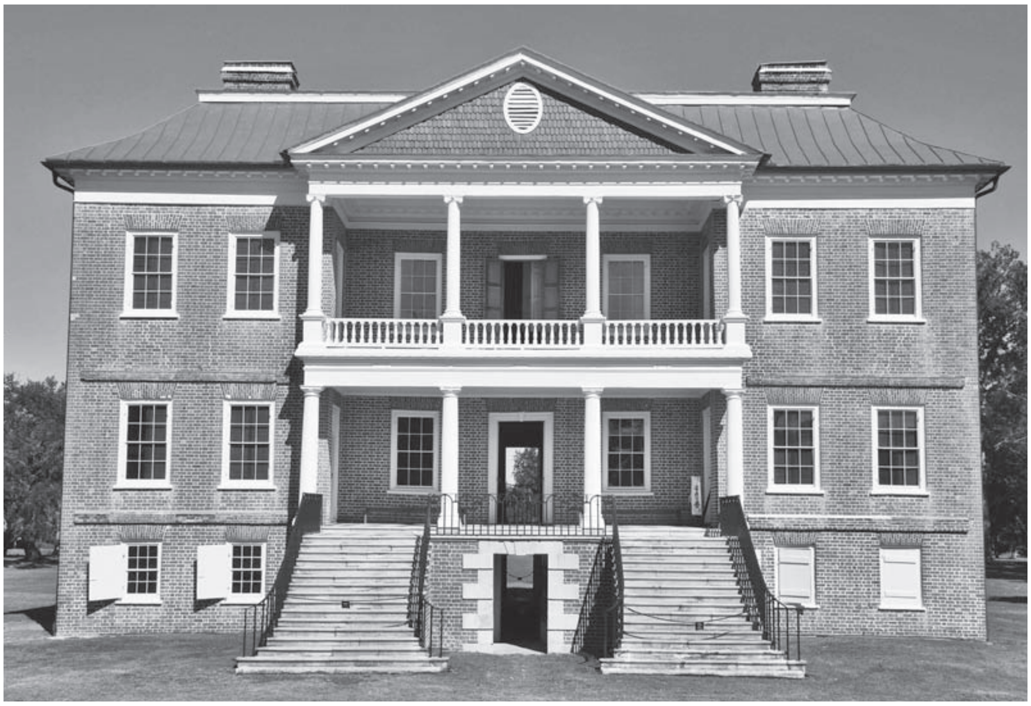
Being full-time residences, most of the Virginia houses are of substantial scale, and the group possesses some of the largest houses in colonial America, for example, Rosewell

(1726). A great many of the Virginia houses also had symmetrical flanking dependencies, which appeared conjecturally as early as the 1720s at Germanna and Rosewell and definitely by the 1750s at Westover. Palladian quadrant wings appeared at Mount Airy (1758). The chief area of experimentation in house plans was the hall—its width, whether it was divided front and back, the location of the stair, whether it was straight or T-shaped. Virginia plantation owners seem to have conceived of their houses as villas, mediating amidst a landscape of arrival and hospitality, ornamental gardens, and work. To reflect this mediation, the houses were usually treated uniformly, or at least politely, on all sides, a prime characteristic of the villa tradition stretching back at least to the Italian Renaissance.

The alternative strategy, a *rus in urbe*, was followed in Annapolis, made possible by the large lots that Governor Nicholson included in the new capitol city's plan of 1694. Most of the famous houses—the Paca House, the Chase-Lloyd House, and the Hammond-Harwood House—date from the 1760s and 1770s, but earlier ones, such as the Carroll-Barrister House (c. 1724), had extensive ornamental gardens, and the Shiplap House (1723) had a suburban character that indeed much of the city shared. Of the later houses, most have expansive five-part plans that echo Tidewater plantation dwellings, and the Paca House has one of the best-researched and best-restored colonial gardens in America, with parterres, terraces, a serpentine pond, a Chinese bridge, and a summerhouse, all on a lot of about two acres but seeming much larger.[47] A variety of wealthy bourgeois individuals built these large Annapolis houses—merchants, planter-merchants, lawyers, and businessmen. The houses exemplify a combination of urban and rural elements, pay close attention to the placement of rooms in relation to their gardens, and embody a variety of plan forms that reflect mid-eighteenth-century experimentation with the compact house, particularly with circulation and stair placement.[48] Most can easily be called villas.

The same factors that drove merchants of Philadelphia to the country drove planters of Charleston to the city, a reverse migration. On their riverine plantations, Carolina planters were exposed to tropical fevers and summer heat and humidity that were beyond oppressive. As the colonial period wore on, many planters built houses in Charleston, which caught ocean breezes from its bay. Furthermore, in the city they had the company of their peers—instead of being surrounded by their slaves, who outnumbered whites ten to one in the Carolina countryside—and could partake of the cultural pleasures of town living. The ranks of merchants, planters, and even some artisans were mixed in Carolina, with many colonists keeping both a plantation and a town house. Examples of the first two groups include Colonel William Rhett, William Bull, and William Gibbes. John Prue was a carpenter who had a city house but also owned a plantation outside of the city.[49]

Charleston city lots being generally small, houses and gardens there were rarely as large as in Annapolis. However, Charleston houses were detached, especially after a disastrous fire in 1740, and had space for a service yard to the rear, sometimes including a garden. Larger gardens appeared on a few lots, such as those of the merchant and slave trader Miles Brewton and the wealthy merchant Henry Laurens, who imported the gardener John Watson in 1767 to satisfy his wife's "ardor" for gardening.[50] The well-known side piazza of the Charleston single house did not develop until the late colonial period, but earlier houses had balconies overlooking the street that caught breezes. The Philadelphia botanist John Bartram wrote in 1765 that "the inhabitants of both Carolina and Georgia generally build piazzas on one or more sides of their houses which is very commodious in these hot climates."[51] Double-pile houses often had gardens all around, an example being



Drayton Hall, Charleston, South Carolina (1748). Photograph by Mark Reinberger

the precociously Palladian Charles Pinckney House (1745), with its giant order and pedimented frontispiece.[52]

South Carolina planters also employed the alternative strategy to achieve a fashionable life and ornamental landscape, transforming their plantations into villas, complete with elaborate gardens. However, with Charleston absorbing so much of the architectural energy and money, South Carolina had far fewer villas than Virginia. The colony possessed only a handful of architecturally sophisticated plantation houses, and of these, only a few survive. They include, however, precocious examples of eighteenth-century developments in architecture and landscape. A variety of interesting plan types appeared early, such as the H-plan of Exeter (c. 1712) and the double-pile plan with corner pavilions of Mulberry (c. 1714). Drayton Hall (begun 1748) was one of the most sophisticated architectural creations in the colonies.[53]

The Colonial Landscape

Penn had good fortune as to climate and soil in his "holy Experiment," which gave him an advantage in agriculture. He had to deal with neither rocky New England soil and cold winters nor the exceedingly hot and humid summers of the South. The former lent itself to small family-owned farms. When tobacco did well in the latter, the family farms evolved into large, labor-intensive (slave) farms.[54]

Not surprisingly, we know less about the developed landscapes or gardens of the young seventeenth-century North American colonies than we do about those of the mother country. The colonists wrote long, enthusiastic descriptions referring to the fertile soil, the flora and fauna, the plenitude of fruiting trees and shrubs, fish and game for the taking—a veritable Eden. Fewer writers testified to the plantings of the early colonists; what we have are mostly just lists of what did well—"Roots and Herbes, as Carrots, Parsnips, Turnips, Raddish with many more"—and glowing reports of orchards.[55] Colonists had to learn what would grow well by trial and error, and they had trouble letting go of some assumptions. For example, the prolific native grapes climbing trees gave them visions of wine making. William Penn, William Byrd II, and Thomas Jefferson, among many others, invested much time and effort in wine making, but native grapes made terrible wine, and European vines did not fare well in American soil.[56]

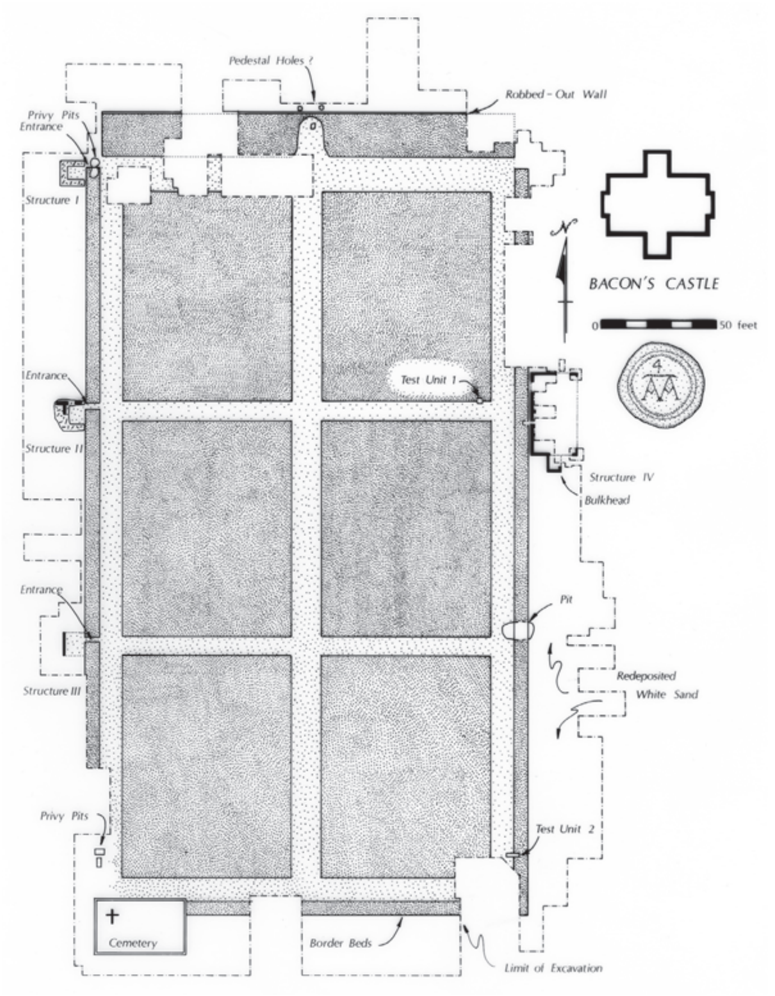
The British colonists who traveled to New England in the early seventeenth century brought with them familiar herbals, such as Gerard, Parkinson, and Culpeper.[57] While these gave a great deal of information about individual plants, their uses, and how they should be planted, they were written for European conditions. Colonists would have to learn what worked in the New England climate and soil. An early observer, William Wood, visited Massachusetts from 1629 to 1633. His *New Englands Prospect*, first published in 1634, with many subsequent editions, exemplifies what was to become the usual promotional material.[58] He described native flora and fauna in particular, as well as the Native Americans. Through him we learn what the early colonists grew:

> The ground, affoards very good kitchin Gardens, for Turneps, Parsnips, Carrots, Radishes and Pumpions, Muskmillions, Isquoutersquashes, Coucumbers, Onyons, and whatever grow well in England grows well there, many things being better and larger. There is likewise growing all manner of Hearbs for meat and medicine, and that not only in planted Gardens but in the woods, without eyther the art or the helpe of man.[59]

Wood also described orchards, but there is no mention of flowers, in or out of gardens. At the same time, John Winthrop Jr. bought fifty-nine different kinds of seeds—for vegetables, salad herbs, medicinal plants—from Robert Hill, grocer.[60] The list is pretty traditional; interestingly, however, Winthrop ordered seeds of the American native "flower of the sonne" (*Helianthus annuus*) and "pompion" from England. Again, the list includes no flower without presumed useful qualities. It seems odd that seeds for an American flower were ordered from England, but there were no American seedsmen at that time.

Described as "the most original observer among the early chronicles,"[61] John Josselyn made two visits to New England, in 1638–39 and 1663–71, which he described in two books, *New England Rarities* (1672) and *Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (1673).[62] In these he discussed native plants and their uses; for example, "White Hellibore" (*Veratrum viride*) was "good for the Toothache," among other uses. He discussed "such Garden herbs amongst us as do thrive there and of such as do not." With such information as "cabbidge growes there exceeding well," but "Lavender is not for the climate," it would have been a useful list for potential colonists. Josselyn enthused about "fair and large Orchards" but never waxed eloquent about a beautiful flower.

Originally the source of most plants was England, with the obvious exception of corn, a mainstay from the Native Americans. Peach trees came from Spain by way of Florida and made their way north through native cultivation. Colonists also cultivated native berries, such as the blueberry and the strawberry, and native American trees and wildflowers soon began making an easterly journey. Hannah Penn even used black walnuts as ballast on a return ship.[63] Moreover, seed houses sprung up from Boston to Charleston, selling familiar flower and vegetable seeds, even some for fruit shrubs, such as gooseberry. But most of the



Bacon's Castle garden, the earliest known formal garden in the colonies. From *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, ed. Therese O'Malley and Marc Trieb (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995). Courtesy Preservation Virginia

trees came from scions, and toward the end of the eighteenth century John Watson's seed house could advertise in the *South Carolina Gazette* that it had "a great variety of grafted and inoculated Fruit trees of the best kind, Viz. Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Cherries, nectarines, Apricots, English Walnuts, Mulberries, etc."[64]

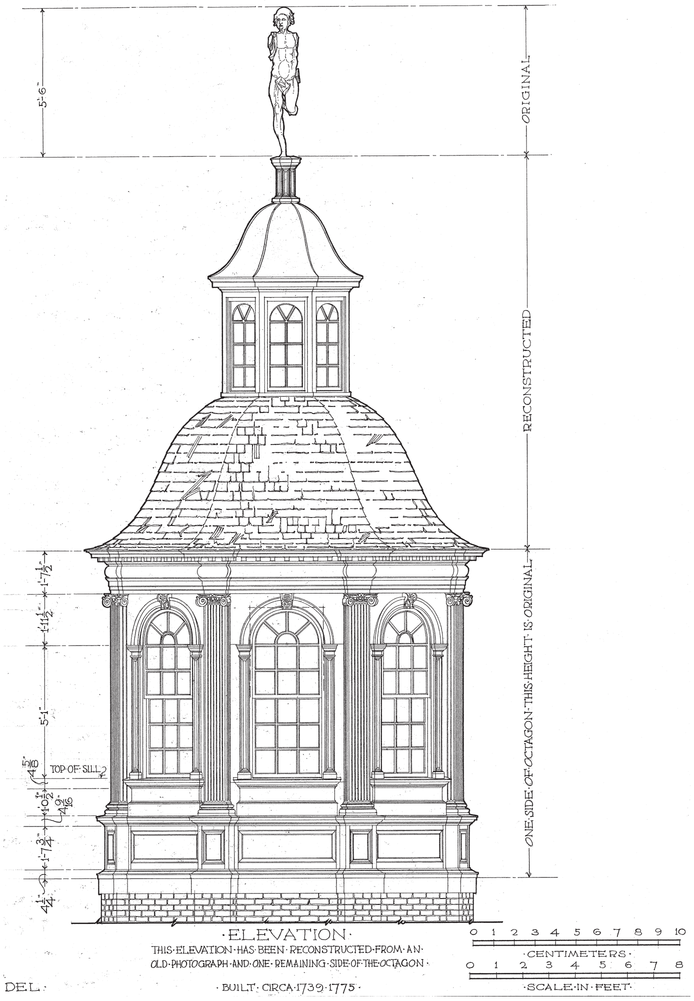
North to south, fruit trees possessed great value. The fact that Governor Endicott's early-seventeenth-century estate was called Orchard Farm gives a sense of their importance.[65] Peter Kalm commented that in Philadelphia even the poorest household, if there was room, had at least one apple tree—for cider. Cherry trees often lined a drive, combining aesthetics with practicality. The young Philip Fithian described the gardens and landscape at Nomini Hall, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in his 1773–74 journal. He admired "plumb-trees," apricots, cherries, and enjoyed figs.[66]

With all the lists of plants that grew in seventeenth-century New England, no one described garden layout. One has to assume that being "stylish" was not a major concern of these Puritans and that the forecourt, so prevalent in seventeenth-century English gardens, had been translated into the "parallelogram bounded by side fences that extended from the corners of the cottage to the road, with the front fence close to the road, the gate in the middle."[67]

Unlike the New England Puritans, the settlers in Jamestown seemed to need encouragement to plant gardens, for in 1639 the Virginia Company passed a law that "every man who acquired a hundred acres of land should establish a garden and orchard, carefully protected by a fence, ditch or hedge."[68] Early descriptions do not discuss garden styles, but an anonymous writer in 1649 reported "fifteen kinds of fruits that for delicacy rival the fruit of Italy; in the gardens grow potatoes, turnips, carrots, parsnips, onions, artichokes, asparagus, and better peas than those of England, with all manner of herbs and physick flowers."[69] Sir William Berkeley's orchards at Green Spring had "15 hundred fruit-trees, besides Apricocks, Peaches, Mellicotons [a peach grafted onto a quince], Quinces, Wardens [an old variety of baking pear], and such like fruits."[70] Although Virginia orchards continued to be notable,[71] the landscape was transformed by the monocropping of tobacco, made possible by the use of slavery and the development of large plantations.

In contrast to the small holdings in New England, Lord Baltimore in Maryland gave out large tracts of land, from one thousand to two thousand acres, as manors. This made plantations scattered and resulted in a very different landscape, "the landowner often living in a mansion flanked by outbuildings and storehouse and Negro quarters."[72] Promotional tracts praised a list of vegetables similar to those of New England and were equally enthusiastic about the fruit trees: "Pears, Apples, and Severall sorts of Plummes, Peaches in abundance, as good as those of Italy; so are the Mellons and Pumpions: Apricocks, Figgs and Pomegranates prosper exceedingly," a perhaps overly enthusiastic list, for it included "Orange and Limon trees which thrive very wel."[73]

We possess significant archaeological evidence for one seventeenth-century American garden, that of Bacon's Castle, in Surry County, Virginia.[74] Careful archaeology has revealed a c. 1680 garden with eight long, narrow beds separated by wide paths.[75] The six largest beds were raised, and all eight showed evidence of planting rows, indicating that they would have been used for vegetables. The design was very carefully laid out, with the beds in a ratio of one to the square root of two, that is, the diagonal of the square.[76] A single south-facing wall at the north end of the garden could have been used to espalier fruit trees, the warmth of the wall bringing the fruit on earlier. The remains of a number of structures at the outer ends of several crosswalks have been the subject of some conjecture. Nicholas Luccketti believes that there would have been exedras, an aesthetic holdover from the Middle Ages. Work has continued steadily since the original excavation in 1985; Luccketti, William Rieley, and Margaret Page Bemiss, who have continued the research, believe that the garden at Bacon's Castle represents the kind of garden an eighteenth-century English merchant would have had.[77]


ORIGINAL
RECONSTRUCTED
ONE·SIDE·OF·OCTAGON·THIS·HEIGHT·IS·ORIGINAL
TOP·OF·SILL
·ELEVATION·
THIS·ELEVATION·HAS·BEEN·RECONSTRUCTED·FROM·AN·OLD·PHOTOGRAPH·AND·ONE·REMAINING·SIDE·OF·THE·OCTAGON·
·BUILT·CIRCA·1739·1775·
DEL.
·CENTIMETERS·
·SCALE·IN·FEET·

Garden house, Isaac Royall House. HABS, MASS, 9-MED, 1A, Library of Congress

By the eighteenth century there were more elaborate gardens in New England, with orchards providing a continuum. We know more about town gardens, such as the elaborate terraces of Thomas Hancock of Beacon Hill, but relatively little about country-house gardens. What little pictorial evidence we have dates from the very end of the eighteenth century. What we see in the *Southwest Prospect of the Seat of Colonel George Boyd at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, New England, 1774* (color plate A) is a simple entrance courtyard surrounded by a board fence. The design of the radiating paths is formal, but the planting consists of randomly planted trees and shrubs.[78] All we know of Isaac Royall's garden, in Medford, Massachusetts, is its straightforward plan, with the main path on a direct axis through the front door and a corresponding path from the west door across a paved courtyard, through a gate in the garden wall, and continuing down to a mound. A handsome hexagonal summerhouse sat atop the mound.[79]

The merchant Abraham Redwood (1709–1788) had not only an elegant town house in Newport, reputed to have the first botanical garden in New England, but also a country residence, Redwood Farm, founded by his father, in Portsmouth. In 1767 the teenager Solomon Drown, later a botanist, reported that Redwood had

> one of the finest gardens I ever saw in my life. In it grows all sorts of West Indian fruits, viz: Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Pineapples and Tamarinds and other sorts. It has also West Indian flowers—very pretty ones—and a fine summer house. It was told my father that his garden was worth 40 thousand pounds, and that the man that took care of the garden had above 100 dollars per annum. It has hot Houses where things that are tender are put for the winter and hot beds for the West Indian Fruit. I saw one or two of these gardens in coming from the beach.

It also included a fishpond and an extensive orchard of pear, plum, and apricot trees but no apple trees. The elegant summerhouse was eventually moved from Redwood Farm to the grounds of the Redwood Library, which Redwood helped found in Newport.[80]

By this time the English natural landscape style had begun to make inroads in the colonies, with some of the earliest colonial expressions in the South.[81] William Middleton's garden at Crowfield, on the Cooper River in South Carolina, boasted "mounts, Wilderness, etc. . . . a large fish pond with a mount rising out of the middle—upon [which] is a roman temple . . . other large fish ponds . . . form a fine prospect of water from the house."[82] John Burgwin's gardens at the Hermitage, on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, "were large, and laid out in the English style—a Creek wound thro' the largest, upon its banks grew native shrubbery; in this Garden were several Alcoves, summer Houses, an Octagon summer house high and a Gardeners' tool house beneath—a fishpond, communicating with the Creek, both producing an abundance of fish."[83]

The use of terraces, or "falls," proved popular throughout the colonies. Thomas Hancock had terraces in Boston, as did Peter Faneuil, and we know of several examples along the banks of the Schuylkill in Philadelphia. John Smith had a terraced garden on the Delaware above Philadelphia, with an orchard and hedges.[84] In Maryland, Charles Carroll of Carrollton had terracing both in his town garden and on his country estate, Mount Clare.[85] Lewis Burwell's plantation, Kingsmill, on the James River, had a series of terraces ending in an enclosed kitchen garden. Governor Spotswood installed a terraced garden at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, and he had "3 Terrace Walks that fall in Slopes one below another" at his country estate in Germanna, Virginia.[86] There were a good number of "falls" along the Chesapeake, but most of these seem to have been developed in the early republic. The ultimate terraced landscape is that of Middleton Place, outside Charleston. The dramatic terraces, with their "butterfly lakes," also had a practical purpose, forming part of the water system for the nearby rice fields. The design is also unique among American eighteenth-century gardens.

* * *

These developments in landscape and architecture formed the colonial context in which the Philadelphia country house was born and matured. The Philadelphia country house shared much with these developments, though probably owing more to common ancestors in England than to direct influence upon one another. However, through travel, trade, and marriage, gentry from different colonies mixed and came to know one another's lifestyles. Craftsmen also moved, carrying ideas and skills with them. Especially as the colonial period advanced, commonalities appeared that united country houses in an American phenomenon in which the Philadelphia branch had a significant part.

CHAPTER 3

The Rise of the Philadelphia Country House

As with most aspects of early Pennsylvania, an exploration of its country houses must begin with the colony's founder, William Penn (1644–1718). Penn believed that life was only worth living if it was in contact with nature and philosophically embraced a country life in a country house. His thoughts on the country life deserve extended exploration, as they resulted in a unique land policy for early Pennsylvania and because his vision was embodied in his own country seat, Pennsbury. Penn shared his vision with many of his colonists, and a country-house culture sprang up upon the colony's settlement. The first generation of colonists established many such places, near and far from the central city of Philadelphia.

William Penn and the Country Life

William Penn was the most successful colonizer of his generation, and his plan for Pennsylvania was the most comprehensive and personal plan for an American colony up to that time.[1] Like many families in postmedieval England, the Penn family rose into the gentry from the ranks of prosperous West Country yeomen during the reign of Elizabeth. Penn spent most of his childhood in the country. At sixteen he matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford, but he found the academic city full of "hellish darkness and debauchery." He briefly attended the Inns of Court and just as briefly went to sea. In 1666 Penn's father sent him to Ireland to settle problems related to the family properties, and while there, Penn heard the Quaker preacher Thomas Loe and became a convinced Quaker. From the summer of 1667 until his death in 1718, the Quaker cause dominated Penn's life.[2] During this time he also married Gulielma Maria Springett (1644–1694), herself a Quaker and the inheritor of substantial estates in Kent, Sussex, and Ireland.

Colonization had long served as a solution to religious dissent, and in 1680 Penn took a giant step toward moving to the New World, asking Charles II for unsettled land west of the Delaware River. Penn's grant included forty-five thousand square miles, more land than any other private person in the world has ever owned. Although Penn based his request on a debt of £16,000 owed by the crown to his father, Penn was under no illusion as to why Charles agreed to give him the land: "The government at home was glad to be rid of us [Quakers] at so cheap a rate."[3]

The Delaware River serviced Penn's land, which was the largest tract of easily accessible but unoccupied land in English North America, and the river had previously attracted white attention. Three miles broad at its mouth and still a mile wide at Philadelphia, it was navigable up to its falls, thirty-three miles above Philadelphia. Other creeks and rivers, including the largest, the Schuylkill, proved navigable for shorter distances because the flat land along the Delaware quickly gave way to higher ground, which created falls and thus sites for mills. Early settlers uniformly praised the land for its abundance of trees, fruits, fish and game, and water.

By the time William Penn and his colonists arrived in 1681, the Delaware valley had been inhabited by Europeans, particularly the Swedes, who were the true pioneers of the region, for nearly fifty years. When the Swedes arrived in 1638, they found a landscape mostly empty because conflict between the Susquehanna and Delaware Indians had depopulated the west bank of the Delaware River. The Swedes left areas near the rivers mostly wild—early observers commented on the wooded banks of the Delaware—but had maize fields further inland. Cleared Indian land, referred to as "Indian fields" or "Indian old fields," had come as a pleasant surprise to the English settlers who took over the Delaware valley in 1664.[4]

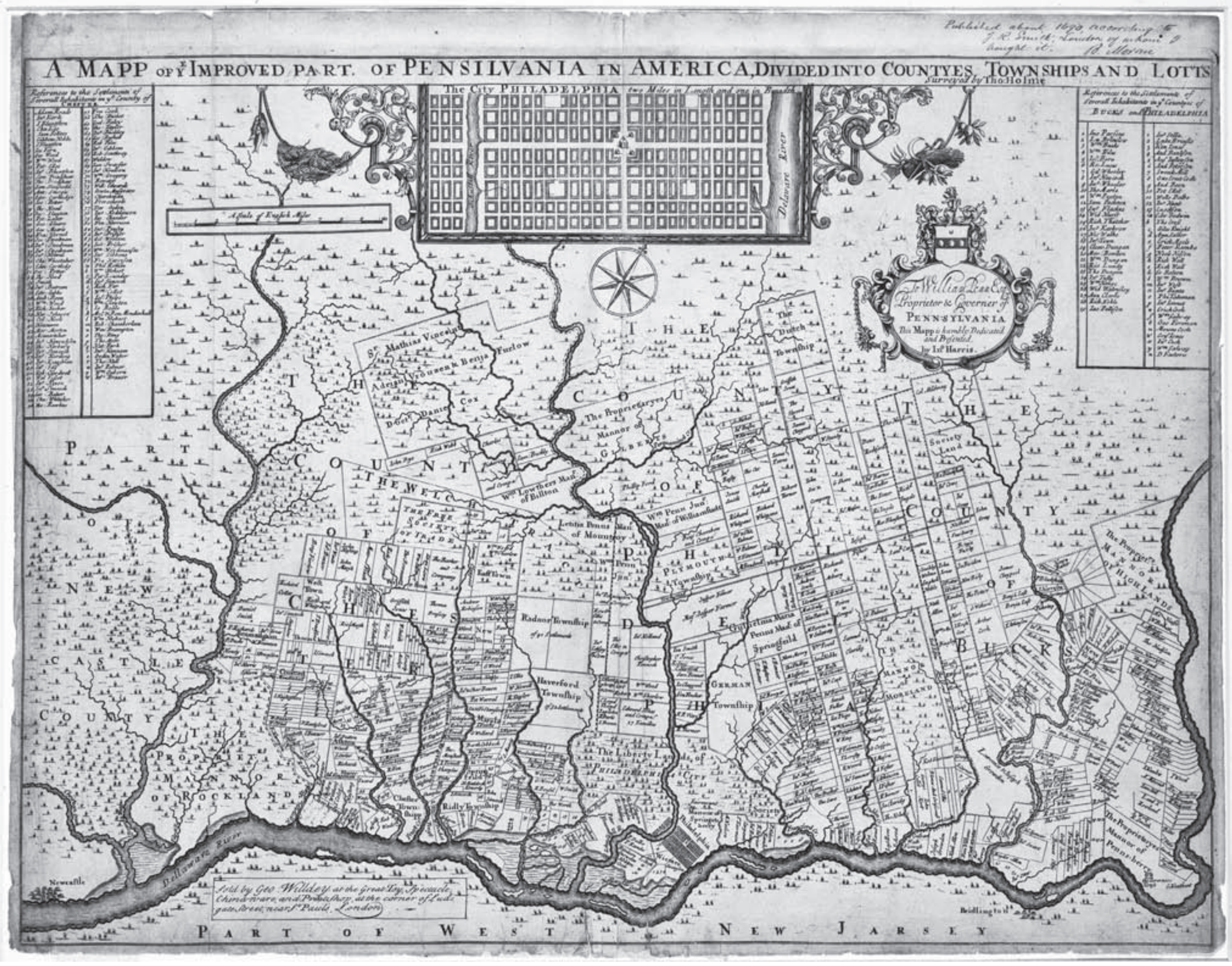
Penn's thought about Pennsylvania reflected a topic current in Quaker circles in this period, the concern for a "country life." Penn's clearest statement with regard to rural retirement appeared in *The Fruits of Solitude*, in which a chapter entitled "A Country Life" contained the following aphorism: "The country life is to be preferred, for there we see the works of God; but in cities, little else but the works of men: and the one makes a better subject for our contemplation than the other."[5] Life in the country facilitated spiritual and religious pursuits, and Penn proclaimed that the natural world should be the ground for education.[6]

Such ideas were not original to Quakerism. Penn's thought reflected a long tradition of praise for a country life over a city one, a tradition that had Virgil's *Georgics* as its progenitor and most enduring representative. Writers reflecting this tradition included René Rapin (in John Evelyn's 1673 translation of *Of Gardens*), Abraham Cowley, Katherine Phillips, and Andrew Marvell. English country-house poetry reflected this tradition and dated back to the late Middle Ages. In this tradition gardening was highly praised. In "The Garden," Cowley desired to "be master at last of a small house and large garden," and Marvell, who, like Penn, thought the country life was a religious imperative, wrote in "Upon Appleton House" that England should be the "Garden of the world ere while," tying the country house to an Edenic golden age.[7]

Penn's praise of nature and his condemnation of the city occurred in the context of a call to agriculture: "Chuse God's trades before men's; Adam was a gardener, Cain a ploughman, and Abel a grasier or shepherd: these began with the world, and have least of snare, and most of use. When Cain became a murderer, as a witty man said, he turned a builder of cities, and quitted his husbandry."[8] Elsewhere Penn wrote: "Let my Children be husbandmen and housewifes: tis industrious healthy, honest, and of good example like Abraham, & the holy antients."[9] Penn could be positively virulent in his attacks on cities and the dissipation they encouraged. In *No Cross, No Crown* he wrote, "View the streets, shops, exchanges, plays, parks, coffee-houses, etc. And is not the world, this fading world, writ upon every face?" Such places diverted people "from all serious examination of themselves."[10]

In his new colony, Penn wanted to avoid what he thought was happening in England: a movement of the aristocracy and gentry from the country to the city, which drew the rest of the population and left the land neglected.[11] Penn's beliefs allied him with the so-called country party in English politics, which considered an idealized rural gentry the group best able to resist corruption and guide the Commonwealth. These beliefs underlay the political principles of Pennsylvania's gentry.[12]

Penn's belief in the salutariness of rural living was reflected in his land policy for Pennsylvania, an elaborate scheme that became even more complex when it ran into the realities of the specific site of Philadelphia and the surrounding counties.[13] Penn's "first purchasers" would receive "Country Lotts" of from one thousand to ten thousand acres. They would also receive lots of up to two hundred acres in a town intended to stretch along the banks of the Delaware River, where they would build their houses. The proportion of country land to town land was to be 50:1 "if the place will bear it."[14] Penn reserved for himself and his family ten thousand-acre manors for every one hundred thousand acres of land available. In reduced form, these became Penn's manors, among which were Pennsbury in Bucks County and Springettsbury in Philadelphia County.[15]


A MAPP OF Yᴱ IMPROVED PART. OF PENSILVANIA IN AMERICA, DIVIDED INTO COUNTYES, TOWNSHIPS AND LOTTS
Surveyed by Tho: Holme
The City PHILADELPHIA two Miles in Length and one in Breadth
Delaware River
PART OF NEW CASTLE COUNTY
PART OF WEST NEW JARSEY

The earliest map of Pennsylvania, showing the effect of Penn's land policy and the explosive growth only four years after founding: *A Mapp of ye Improved Part of Pensilvania in America*, by Thomas Holme, 1687. LCP

Penn intended his “large towne or Citty” to have a unique form. Rather than a traditional dense nucleated settlement, Penn wanted a town that stretched upwards of fifteen miles along the Delaware River, with each first purchaser of five thousand acres having a one-hundred-acre lot with about eight hundred feet of river frontage. In the town, Penn wanted the houses placed “in ye middle of its platt, as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side, for Gardens or Orchards or feilds, yt it may be a greene Country Towne, which will never be burnt, and allways be wholsome.”[16] The reference to burning reflects the terror inspired by the Great Fire of London in 1666, and “wholsome” contrasted with the plagues that visited cities in that era. Penn recommended that the houses be set back almost a quarter of a mile from the river in order to preserve the open space around them. At the center of the town, Penn wanted three hundred acres reserved for his own seat because “severall will have Two [hundred acres] by purchasing Two Shares, that is Ten Thousand Acres and it may be fitting for mee to exceede a little.” In addition, at a convenient location there was to be a quai with wharves, warehouses, and a statehouse.[17]

Penn’s vision also reflects the concept of a middle landscape, an important theme in Western thought since Virgil and a theme related to villa ideology.[18] The middle landscape represented a mediation of nature by art (building and gardening) and avoided the luxuries and consequent corruption of the city as well as the dangers of the wilderness, nature in its raw state. Europeans often described the New World as a fecund garden in the rough that could easily be tamed into something approaching a Virgilian landscape, a place for virtuous and contemplative pursuits. Penn wrote of Pennsylvania that “whatever Men may say Our Wilderness flourishes as a Garden, and our desert springs like a Greene field. We came not to be rich, but to plant the Lords Earth, and righteousness in it.”[19]

Within a few years, a substantial number of wealthy Quakers invested in Pennsylvania, a sign of the optimistic capitalism of Restoration England. By this time Quakerism had attracted many wealthy merchants and gentry in addition to the shopkeepers and yeoman that had been its initial base. Penn felt that an upper class of devout, educated, and knowledgeable persons was necessary for social order and the good of all.[20] He appointed such men to most of the offices in the new government and in the Free Society of Traders, the company intended as the chief trade engine for the colony.[21] Penn believed that God’s light resided in all men, but Quakers were not Levelers; they believed in the rightness of a social hierarchy.

Most of the wealthy who invested, however, had no intention of immigrating to the colony.[22] Small buyers filled this void, which was good for the future colony because it meant fewer absentee landlords and more residency by yeomen and artisans. Early purchasers and immigrants included farmers, carpenters, brewers, shoemakers, a few professional men, three doctors, seven single women (testifying to Quaker ideas about female independence), and, much to Penn’s delight, no lawyers.[23]

Penn received his patent in March 1681 and sent William Markham (1635–1704), his first cousin, to proclaim the new colony to the resident Swedes, Finns, Dutch, and English. Penn also ordered Markham to make friends with the Native Americans, establish a site for the capital city, already named Philadelphia, and generally investigate and report on the country. Penn also sent Captain Thomas Holme (1624–1695), a Quaker naval man and former tenant of Penn’s, to help Markham. Settlers began to arrive as early as July 1681.[24]

Upon arriving in the New World, Markham and Holme quickly discovered that most of the land along the Delaware River had already been settled, so that for the town of

Philadelphia they could obtain only a mile of river frontage and a twelve-hundred-acre rectangle extending two miles back to the Schuylkill River. In this area purchasers received lots of one-half to one acre, still generous but by no means what Penn had envisioned. However, the "greene Country Towne" survived in the Liberties of Philadelphia, north and west of the city, where purchasers received their "town" lots of about eighty acres.[25] Thus a third type of lot appeared, yielding a tripartite classification of land for the new colony: small urban lots, mid-size suburban parcels, and large rural plantations.

Penn and the second influx of settlers arrived in the New World in October 1682. Penn, exhilarated at this point, began work on several fronts: laying out Philadelphia; visiting the leaders of neighboring colonies; and beginning his country seat at Pennsbury. Penn intended several estates for himself that would actualize the middle landscape. He never built a house in the city of Philadelphia, only renting during his stays in the colony. He developed a large agricultural plantation at Pennsbury, twenty-five miles up the Delaware River from Philadelphia; and he aimed to develop an estate at Fairmount on the tract he called Springettsbury. Springettsbury would have been a country seat, but near the commercial center, the kind of place Penn had envisioned all along. Indeed, Penn did not build in the city, because he intended to move to Fairmount from his rented house.[26] As it happened, he returned to England before developing Springettsbury, and no house appeared there until his son Thomas developed a suburban villa and pleasure garden there in the late 1730s. Penn did attempt a vineyard there, an endeavor still in progress as late as 1705.[27]

Markham had already selected the site for Pennsbury at a pleasant bend in the Delaware River, just below the falls and just above Burlington, New Jersey. In spring 1683 Penn began construction on the house, along with a garden and farm. Within the first few years forty acres were cleared, and Penn was raising cattle, sheep, and hogs, as well as growing some wheat. Fruit was growing in a paled orchard, and there were peaches in the "Indian fields."[28]

Despite propitious beginnings, within two years of landing, Penn and the colonists clashed over his rights versus theirs. Penn had a difficult, perhaps impossible, line to walk between the inevitably egalitarian tendencies of a middle-class population made up mostly of a denomination that believed in the inner light of all believers and Penn's inborn persuasion that society possessed an inherent, God-given hierarchy, put there for the betterment of all, a position with a scriptural foundation.[29] All the American colonies displayed independence, but Quaker antiauthoritarianism magnified it in Pennsylvania.[30] The freehold status of most settlers, whether Quaker or not, also contributed to feelings of independence, for in English society possession of land implied rights that many otherwise would not have enjoyed in England as non-landowners. Many settlers believed themselves raised socially by virtue of receiving land. Penn, who conferred land grants, naturally did not see it so.

The tension between Penn and his colonists would be played out in the arena of the country house from the beginning. Pennsbury was legally conceived as a feudal manor, sixty-five hundred acres on which Penn would exercise the rights of absolute feudal lord, "true and absolute Proprietaries" with "free full and absolute power."[31] Colonists dissatisfied with Penn's policies often claimed that he lived like a lord.[32] But if Penn desired it—and it is not clear that he did—Pennsbury never actually achieved such an exalted position. The vast majority of Pennsbury's acreage remained undeveloped throughout Penn's lifetime, and neighbors felt free to squabble with Penn over land, squat on parcels of Pennsbury's land, and poach materials.[33] Penn consistently referred to the place simply as his plantation, rather than as a manor or even a country seat. Pennsbury offered retirement and isolation from the capital city, and it possessed all the facilities for a rural life self-sufficient in food, drink, and fuel.[34]

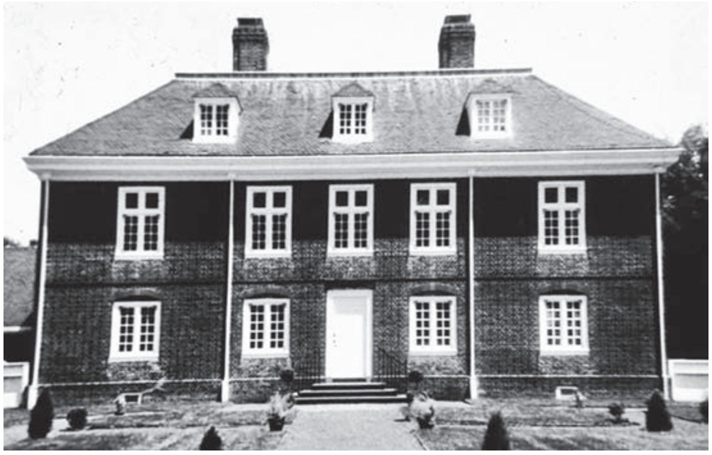
Penn's return to England in 1684 to fight Lord Baltimore's challenge to his patent contributed to the conflict between Penn and his colonists. Penn hoped it would be a short trip, but it lasted sixteen years, as political and personal troubles overwhelmed Penn and the colony. Charles II died in 1685, and the hostility of the new king William III to dissenters forced Penn to remain out of public sight. William's wars against the French sank trade and made sea travel dangerous. In the mid-1690s the international situation improved, but other affairs prevented Penn's return to Pennsylvania. Most importantly, in 1696 he remarried (his first wife had died in 1694), this time marrying Hannah Callowhill (1671–1726), a Quaker woman of Bristol, whose father, Thomas Callowhill (b. 1635), was a wealthy merchant and weighty Friend who helped the proprietor greatly.

The end of war in 1697 brought a reprieve from trouble. Trade increased, and the colony became more profitable, Samuel Carpenter (1649–1714) reporting "things quiet and as well with Friends in the Generall as I have knowne."[35] Penn returned to Pennsylvania in 1699 with a pregnant Hannah and his daughter, Laetitia, accompanied by several servants. He felt none of the exhilaration he had felt in 1682. Indeed, he expected to return to England shortly, having appointed James Logan (1674–1751) his agent to manage Pennsylvania.[36]

For a short while things went well for the proprietor in Pennsylvania, which at that point was enjoying a spurt of growth and prosperity. Philadelphia had two thousand houses and five thousand inhabitants and bustled with commerce. The Penn family at first lived in the "Great House" that Edward Shippen (1639–1712) had just built in Philadelphia and adorned with gardens. In this house Hannah bore a son, John, "the American." In April 1700 the Penns moved to Pennsbury, from whence Penn himself would commute often to the city. By summer, however, squabbles between factions of colonists frustrated Penn, who, laid up with gout, retired completely to Pennsbury, instructing Logan to keep "all business from comeing heither."[37] At Pennsbury a second period of building had commenced, with finish work on the house resuming with vigor, both inside and in the landscape.

Legal troubles forced Penn to return to England in November 1701, this for the last time. Penn hired a German-born shoemaker, John Sacher (also Sotcher), and his wife, Mary, a Penn family maid from England, to oversee Pennsbury. Except for the Sachers and a new gardener, Hugh Sharp, most of the rest of Pennsbury's agricultural work force was made up of African slaves, who Penn found more dependable than white indentured servants. Although Penn planned to manumit his slaves and make them tenant farmers on his estate, events and his family prevented this during his lifetime.[38]

Reconstruction of Pennsbury, Penn's country house. HSP



William Penn planned to return to his colony but thought about procuring a house closer to Philadelphia.[39] Penn was favorably impressed by the many country seats that had sprung up nearer the city than Pennsbury, which he now considered to be too far from Philadelphia, especially for his family. In 1703 he wrote to James Logan: "See if the Town would be so kinde to build me a pretty Box, like Ed. Ship. [Edward Shippen's] upon any of my

Lots in town or Liberty-land, or purchass Grif. owens [Griffeth Owen's], or T. fairmans [Thomas Fairman's], or any neer healthy Spott, as wicoco [Wicaco], or the like."[40] A "box" was a small suburban or country house, often for temporary or seasonal use. Penn's employment of the term is precocious, occurring five years before the earliest such use noted in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.[41]

Six years later, in 1709, still hoping to return to Pennsylvania, Penn wrote to Logan: "If he [John Evans, the late governor] leaves you indeed, then try to secure for me his Plantation, for I think from about Shackamaxon to the town is one of the pleasantest Scitituations upon the River, for a Governor where one sees & hears what one will & when one will, & yet have a good deal of the sweetness & quiet of the country."[42] A few months later he wrote again, saying, "pray get Danl Peggs [Pegg's house] or such a remote place in good order for me & family."[43] All these country places had farms and modest houses.

However, events conspired to prevent Penn from ever returning to Pennsylvania. War came again in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and trade came to a standstill, sorely battering many wealthy merchants in the colony. The economic distress renewed antiproprietary feeling, and Pennsylvania was of no use to Penn in his growing financial and legal struggle with the heirs of the former Penn agent Philip Ford, to whom Penn owed somewhere between £4,000 and £14,000.[44] In 1708 Penn went into debtors' prison over the Ford lawsuit. Pennsylvania rapidly dimmed for him, emotionally to a dream and practically to a real-estate investment.[45] As Penn's health failed in later life, Hannah increasingly took responsibility for the colony's affairs.

Pennsbury disappeared in the late eighteenth century, and opinions have varied about what it looked like and the level of wealth and grandeur it represented. A reconstruction is attempted in chapter 9; here we make general remarks about the scale and sophistication of Pennsbury's landscape and house that go to the heart of a long-made claim that Penn lived "in state." This point of view, especially popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was the departure point for the reconstruction of the house and landscape in the 1930s. During that period, both professional and amateur historians exaggerated the gentility of their colonial forebears, reflecting a notion of the Country Place Era that was considerably more refined, leisured, and secure than the often contentious, arduous, and risky life of the colonial gentry. Of no one was this truer than it was of William Penn, to whom this characterization would have seemed extremely ironic given his devout Quakerism.[46] In turn, impressions regarding Pennsbury typify beliefs about other country seats. Correcting them is necessary for an accurate picture of country-house life in the early colonial period. In particular, understanding the effect of Quakerism on country houses is key to understanding the Philadelphia country house, especially in the first generation.

Thompson Westcott best summarized the prevailing attitude about Pennsbury: "At Pennsbury the proprietary led very much the life of a lord of the manor . . . with great state and profuse hospitality."[47] Several myths about Pennsbury raised its status, for example, that the place cost £7,000 and had "considerable of the most finished or ornamental materials brought out from England."[48] In fact, the figure £7,000 was Penn's exaggerated guesstimate of the total cost of land, agricultural improvements, building, and servants, of which the house was only one item and not the greatest. There is no evidence that Penn brought materials for the house from England, except some bricks and window glass. Supposedly a chamber was "hung with fine tapestry," an undoubted element of luxury that appears nowhere in the primary documents.

Another legend was put forth that Penn held council with Indians from a throne on a dais in Pennsbury's hall.[49] No primary sources confirm such events. Although Penn did meet Indians at Pennsbury, no evidence suggests that he lorded it over them; indeed, the Quaker missionary John Richardson spoke of the cordiality, evenness, and what he called "calmness of temper" between Penn and the Indians in the council that he witnessed at Pennsbury in 1701.[50]

Penn's Quakerism, the genuineness of which has never been questioned, also worked against living in state as lord of a manor. Penn believed in the moral value of "God's trades," that is, agriculture, involving physical labor, which at that time was zealously eschewed by the upper classes but earnestly commended by Penn, who advised: "Love labour: for if thou dost not want it for food, thou mayest for physic. It is wholesome for thy body, and good for thy mind. . . . A garden, an elaboratory, a workhouse, improvements, and breeding, are pleasant and profitable diversions to the idle and ingenious; for here they miss ill company and converse with nature and art."[51] An agricultural living facilitated the "private life," which Penn favored as more beneficial to the soul than "publick posts": "A private life is to be preferred; the honour and gain of publick posts bearing no proportion with the comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other servile and noisy."[52]

The country life also encouraged that other concern of Quakers, plainness, or frugality, a virtue that Penn believed should be extended into all aspects of life, including architecture and its accouterments:

> Be plain in clothes, furniture and food; but clean, and then the coarser the better; the rest is folly and a snare. Therefore next to sin, avoid daintiness and choiceness about your persons and houses. For if it be not an evil in itself, it is a temptation to it; and may be accounted a nest for sin to brood in. . . . I have seen a ceiling of a room, that cost half as much as the house; a folly and a sin too.[53]

It is important to remember that Quakers were not ascetics. Some material comfort was right and proper; luxury was not. Distinguishing between them produced tension.

Being wealthy and having lived the first third of his life in an unconvinced state, Penn often came under attack from strict Quakers about his lifestyle. Wigs, for example, proved a bone of contention. In his youth Penn had worn a periwig, which Quakers regarded as a symbol of pride and worldliness. After his conversion, he switched to a smaller wig—George Fox called it a "very short civil thing"—to keep his head warm. He had lost most of his hair to smallpox when young and suffered from heat and cold on his bare head.[54]

Penn did run a large establishment at his English estate of Warminghurst, although there is no evidence that he lived lavishly or extravagantly there, as was sometimes charged. For example, he seems not to have had the quantity of possessions of his father's house, with its 180 tablecloths and 300 pounds of pewter. He owned a fair amount of silver, as was usual in the seventeenth century for use, investment, and as family heirlooms. However, the list of plate at Warminghurst is not extravagant, and Penn took only about a sixth of it (worth £30) to Pennsylvania in 1682. By contrast, Sir Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica, had £361 worth of plate in his Jamaica house in the same period.[55]

Penn's second wife, Hannah, had trouble with strictures of plainness. She rode in a coach given to her by a relative, apparently a handsome affair with an expensive lining, which Penn did not think appropriate for his own use. Coaches constituted a tricky matter for Quakers striving for frugality, as they formed one of the chief marks of social standing in the day.[56]

Surviving inventories and accounts for Pennsbury also do not suggest extravagance in lifestyle on the part of Penn or his household. Prominent items in accounts include agricultural items; powder and shot for hunting; food items such as pork, molasses, sugar, and rum; and construction materials—lime, lumber, and nails. Few individual items cost more than a few pounds. The inventory of 1687 indicates that Penn had only a few rooms of furniture at Pennsbury, although it does list many tools, linens, and kitchen and agricultural implements. The 1701 inventory gives an idea of the level of comfort and wealth represented. The second floor had four beds and a pallet, two mirrors, sixteen cane-bottom chairs, and a smattering of other furniture, none of it out of the ordinary. If Penn's instructions were followed, much of the furniture was made on site by indentured carpenters, not of the finest kind and not imported from fashionable shops in London or Bristol. The first, that is, ground, floor had a few chairs described as "great," along with several upholstered chairs, but only one couch and one sideboard. There was also a fair amount of cloth and dishes, some of high quality but most common or coarse. Beyond a few maps, apparently nothing hung on the walls.[57] Opponents and later historians also pointed to the barge that Penn had built to commute to and from Pennsbury to prove Penn's extravagance. However, it cost only £15, hardly a princely sum for a craft capable of carrying a family and a substantial amount of cargo. It would surely have fit Penn's general stricture that things be well built and serviceable but plain as to outward show.[58]

Penn's vision for Pennsbury's house and landscape seems not to have been grandiose, nor did it have many strictly ornamental features. It did have terraced courtyards near the house, a terraced walk lined with poplar trees from the house to the river, and a walk along the river, a pittance of features compared with those of English country estates at the time. Early writers about Pennsbury mention "shrubberies," a "lawn," and a "broad pebble walk"; however, documents dealing with the site indicate nothing about shrubbery, the lawn was a hayfield, and the walk a path of river gravel. In function Pennsbury was predominantly agricultural, and in form it perpetuated a simpler, traditional mode.[59] Similarly, the interiors of the house possessed definite elements of plainness. The rooms had wainscoting with simple paneling—no bolection moldings—but only on the exterior walls, presumably for warmth and as security from the damp, about which the Penn family was anxious: "Lett ye wainscote only be on the out walls & that as plain as may be, the bords Joyned & battened in the joynts only. Tis well enough for us."[60] Pennsbury was his retreat and retirement, not a place to live in state and hold court.[61]

Pennsbury was a metaphor—or better, a synecdoche—for Penn's vision of Pennsylvania, a part of the whole, and a part that like the whole failed to one degree or another. Penn envisioned a colony where people of faith would live together peacefully and temperately, working to build a consensus for a new society in a new world. This vision failed, as factions within Pennsylvania's population advanced their own interests, little concerned with Penn's ideals. In the end, Penn would not be paid even a modicum of his investment in the colony and became bankrupt, in his mind treated shamefully by people who should have acknowledged him as a father figure and prophet. However, Pennsylvania was a success, though its character was not what Penn had hoped for. Right from the beginning, the colony thrived and grew faster economically and socially than any other in North America.[62]

So it was with Pennsbury. Penn's vision for his country seat—given the circumstances, as unrealistic as his dreams for the colony as a whole—was only realized in part, and often poorly or crudely. The materials and skilled labor available to him were insufficient, and the project lacked adequate supervision, since he himself was there only a few years out of its lifetime. But the essence of Pennsbury, Penn's ideal of rural retreat, would bear fruit in Pennsylvania. Penn's friends in the colony's first generation of leaders would see Pennsbury as a model to be emulated, certainly in purpose and sometimes even in form.

The Lure of the Country in the First Generation, 1682–1722

Penn's tripartite land policy and the influence of his vision of a country life guaranteed that Pennsylvania would develop a culture of country houses. In early Pennsylvania, virtually anyone possessing even a modest sufficiency could obtain a landed estate or farm. The easy availability of land and the desultory way in which Penn's agents collected rents, combined with the almost continuous dislocations in trade during this era due to wars, favored the development of a country life for wealthy and even not so wealthy colonists as people put their money and time into land and farming. Although artisans flocked to early Philadelphia, many acquired land and became farmers, something impossible to do in England. Moreover, the line between country and city was a fluid one in early Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania's wealthy, Philadelphia-based bourgeoisie, especially Quaker merchants, dominated economic and social life from the beginning. Quaker merchants were astute businessmen and scrupulously honest; their reputation made people glad to trade with them, further increasing their economic success. Quaker merchants avoided the tobacco trade with Europe, finding profitable trade in grain, flour, bread, pork, beef, barrel staves, hoops, and shingles with the West Indies, Portugal, and the Wine Islands.[63] Kalm reported that Philadelphia's greatest trade was with the West Indies because it was the most profitable.[64]

Trade with the West Indies was further encouraged by the presence there of other Quaker merchants, and many families had members in both the Caribbean islands and Pennsylvania, a connection that had an effect on country-house architecture. Wealthy settlers in the West Indies were used to living out of town in rural surroundings, their houses graced with piazzas, an architectural element common in the Caribbean long before it came to English North America. In 1681 Governor Sir Richard Dutton described Barbados as "one great Citty adorned with gardens."[65] Father Jean-Baptiste Du Tetre echoed Dutton, adding: "Nay, indeed, taking a full prospect of the whole island, a man might take it for one great City, inasmuch as the houses are at no great distance one from another."[66] Perhaps Penn's vision for Philadelphia owed something to these descriptions. By the mid-eighteenth century visitors said similar things of the environs of Philadelphia. In the eighteenth century, advertisements for real estate around Philadelphia often marketed property as a suitable country seat for a "West Indian gentleman."[67]

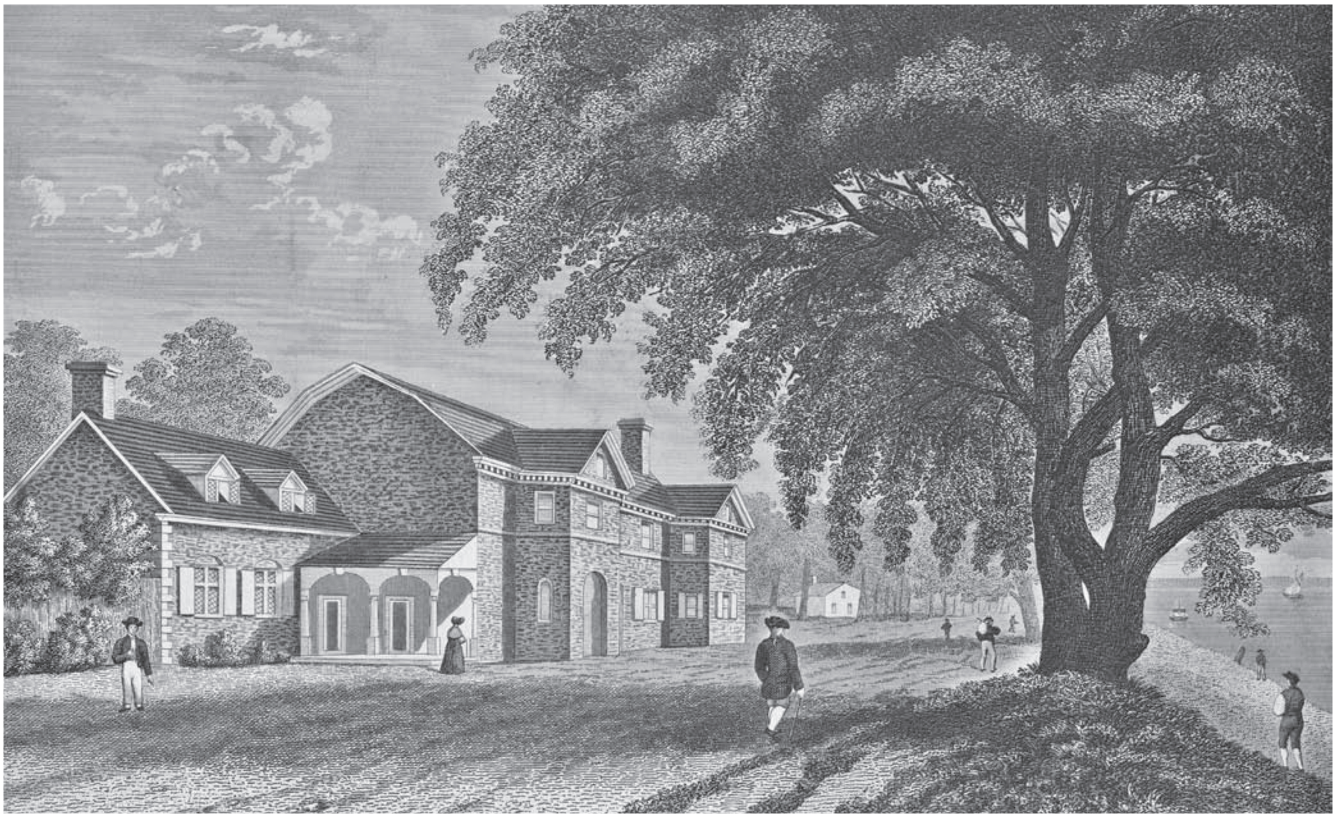
Mercantile wealth bred capital, which needed an outlet. Commerce alone did not suffice, and Pennsylvania merchants realized the advantages of diversification. Plentiful land—supplemented by a certain amount of mining, milling, and other manufactures—provided an alternative investment. By the mid-eighteenth century an observer noted: "It is almost a proverb in this neighborhood that every great fortune made here within these 50 years has been by land."[68] The development of country estates formed an important part of this investment in land. However, Penn and the Quaker leaders of Pennsylvania took steps to avoid the creation of enormous landed estates like the patroonships in New York or the vast plantations of Virginia or Carolina. Penn limited the amount of contiguous land for any one investor to one thousand acres, although there were a few exceptions. Further, early laws abolished primogeniture and required an equal division of wealth among heirs, part of the Quaker emphasis on fairness to all members of a family.[69]

Early Pennsylvania society was extraordinarily mobile, and this mobility prevented the freezing of economic classes that formed such a distinctive part of society in England and other colonies. Gabriel Thomas noted in 1698 that coopers "who went from Bristol . . . that could hardly get their Livelihoods there, are now reckon'd in Pensilvania, by a modest Computation to be worth some Hundreds (if not Thousands) of Pounds."[70] Jonathan Dickinson said twenty years later that "many who have come over under covenants for four years [i.e., as indentured servants] are now masters of great estates."[71] Carpenters, brickmakers, silversmiths, blacksmiths, coopers, and others became wealthy enough to join the colony's economic upper class. Thus the merchant class received new blood steadily from craftsmen and artisans below. The Pennsylvania government too was fluid, and its legislators represented a great diversity of trades and levels of wealth.[72] Economic and social mobility also is evident in the establishment of country seats by artisans who had become wealthy through their craft in Philadelphia. If scholars suggest that in some colonies increasing gentility resulted in a greater inequality, an increasing disparity between rich and poor, the situation in Philadelphia came closer to that in England, where the appeal of gentility extended far down the social ladder.[73]

Bourgeois country seats appeared in Pennsylvania from the very beginning of colonization. Pennsbury was only the most obvious and best known. Three patterns emerge from a review of these early establishments: entire retreat to the country by colonists initially engaged in urban economic pursuits; partial, usually seasonal, retreat to the near environs of Philadelphia while maintaining an urban house, the most common pattern; and building a house in the city that was essentially rural in character (*rus in urbe*).

To those following the first pattern belonged a mixture of people who left Philadelphia for economic or personal reasons and became farmers, sometimes with homes indistinguishable from those of other yeomen. Examples include the two chief officers of the Free Society of Traders, who virtually abandoned the capital city. Nicholas More (c. 1638–1687), the society's president and a physician, spent his time establishing his manor of Moreland, in upper Philadelphia County, and his country seat, Green Spring, about a mile and a half north of the city in the Liberties. The society's vice-president, John Simcock (c. 1630–1703), settled in Chester County and became a farmer. The removal of its officials to the countryside contributed to the society's rapid failure.[74]

Those following the first pattern who had commercial and political business in Philadelphia created their primary homes on large tracts fairly close to the city but definitely in the country, tracts that they farmed and from whence they regularly, though certainly not daily, commuted into Philadelphia. Penn established this pattern with Pennsbury, from which he would commute to the city, although at times he rented a house in Philadelphia. Neither Penn nor any of his relatives ever built a house in the city of Philadelphia. Usually thought to have begun in the 1710s, when a purported class of Quaker "grandees" emerged, the development of country property as primary or secondary residences by urban-based merchants, professionals, and artisans was a pattern in Pennsylvania from the very beginning of colonization.[75] Motives undoubtedly varied, but included the practical and spiritual reasons that drove Penn to prefer a country life.



Thomas Fairman House (1702), an early house in the near environs of Philadelphia. Engraving (after William L. Breton) by John Serz, LCP

The plantation of Thomas Fairman (d. 1714) at Shackamaxon provided a model that appealed to Penn and others. The Swedes had settled Shackamaxon, about two miles north of Philadelphia on the Delaware River, close to the mouth of Gunner's Run (named for an early Swede), a stream deep enough to handle small boats. When Penn and his colonists arrived, several Quakers who had crossed over from West Jersey already lived at Shackamaxon, notably Thomas Fairman, who had settled there by 1681, when the Shackamaxon Meeting was founded.[76] Fairman had acquired land there through his marriage to Elizabeth Kinsey (d. 1720), who had bought it from Lawrence Cock (1646–1699), a member of an old Swedish family.[77] Penn made Fairman deputy to his surveyor general, Thomas Holme, probably because of his knowledge of the country. Throughout the remainder of his life, Fairman remained a staunch ally of Penn's. Fairman certainly owned land and a house at Shackamaxon before Penn and his colonists arrived in 1682, because Holme and William Haige, a Quaker merchant and a member of the Provincial Council who helped implement proprietary land policies, lived there upon their first arrival.[78] Fairman's settlement garnered fame because it stood opposite the "Treaty Tree," under which Penn negotiated the sale of land by the Native Americans.[79] The site today is marked by Penn Treaty Park. According to Fairman's will, his several hundred acres of land included an orchard, a garden (almost certainly a kitchen garden at that early date), a meadow, and outbuildings.[80]

In 1702 Fairman built a new house, several illustrations of which survive.[81] Constructed of brick—the Fairman family was in the brick business—it stood at the northwest corner of the present intersection of Beach and Hanover Streets, with a lane that is now Columbia Street. John Fanning Watson provides probably the most accurate views, showing a four-bay house standing close to the road, with the two end bays projecting forward and topped with steeply sloped, front-facing gables.[82] The left projection contained an arched entry porch, a common feature of seventeenth-century English houses both in the mother country and in the colonies. Well-known colonial examples include Bacon's Castle in Surry County, Virginia (c. 1665), and the Spencer-Pierce-Little House in Newbury, Massachusetts (c. 1675–1700). The right bay had only windows, a feature unknown in the colonies but occurring in England.[83] The house also had leaded-glazed casement windows and a pent roof, giving it a distinctly pre-Georgian appearance and a traditional pedigree. Many similar houses can be found in England, in the country and smaller towns.[84]

A sampling of urban gentry who retired to the country gives typical stories. John Goodson (d. 1727), a wealthy Quaker surgeon and supporter of Penn, at first lived in the city but grew progressively disillusioned with the rancorous politics of Pennsylvania in its early decades. Beginning in 1690 he spent more and more time on his land in the Northern Liberties, and by 1697 he had withdrawn entirely from public life.[85] Francis Rawle (c. 1663–1727), a Quaker entrepreneur who married Martha Turner, daughter of Robert Turner (1635–1700), one of the wealthiest men in the colony, also retired to the country. Rawle intended to become a merchant, but King William's War devastated Pennsylvania's economy in the early 1690s. Instead Rawle turned farmer. In 1695 he acquired from his father-in-law a 212-acre tract at Shackamaxon, where he settled and became a wealthy yeoman, in later years styling himself a "gentleman."[86] Samuel Carpenter, a Quaker and the wealthiest merchant in Philadelphia in its early decades, lost most of his fortune in the troubled times of the early 1700s. In 1704 he too retired to a large tract in Shackamaxon and turned to farming.[87] Finally, in 1716 the Quaker merchant Joseph Shippen (1679–1741) retired to Germantown, about six miles northwest of Philadelphia, at the young age of thirty-seven. He was the first such person to move to this locale for retirement, but later in the eighteenth century Germantown became a favorite spot for country retreats.

Early Philadelphians following the second, most usual pattern for bourgeois country seats made the city their primary residence but developed nearby farms that served as second (often seasonal) homes. Protecting a family's health was a primary motivation. Retreat to the country for the sake of one's health dates at least to ancient Roman times, and colonial Philadelphians did the same. As early as May each year, people began to complain of smells from rotten fish, open sewers, and the wharves.[88] After Pennsbury, the earliest known country house belonged to Arthur Cook (c. 1636–1699), an English Quaker minister and merchant. Cook arrived in the colony in 1684 and within a year had erected what was called a "splendid brick house" on Second Street, which served as his primary residence until 1695. By 1686 he had also built a country home on land just south of Pennsbury in Bucks County. In 1696 he sold both homes and built a new pair: one on Front Street in the city and one, "a stately brick house," on a 240-acre plantation in Frankford, about four miles upriver from Philadelphia near the Delaware.[89] Cook thus became the first of many Philadelphia merchants to build country houses in Frankford.[90]

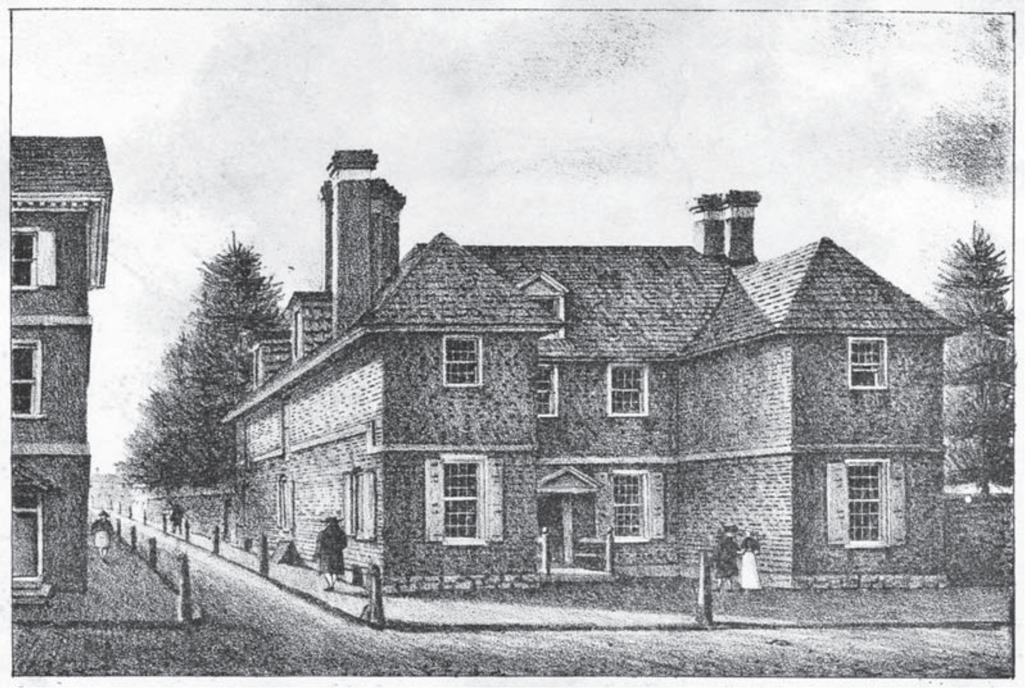
The Liberties, north of the city, served as the most common location for secondary residences in the country. Thomas Masters (d. 1723), a Quaker carpenter, miller, and merchant who had lived in England and Bermuda before emigrating to Pennsylvania in 1687, bought Green Spring, located on the southwest side of Germantown Road, from Griffith Owen in 1704 and had a house there as well as one in the city. In addition to a farm, Masters acquired from Penn the water rights for Cohocksink Creek and operated a mill there.[91]

In 1709 the Quaker merchant Isaac Norris (1671–1735) began buying agricultural land north of Masters's property that would become his country estate, Fairhill. At first Norris intended Fairhill as a seasonal residence, but by the later 1710s he had abandoned his merchant business and subsequently lived permanently at Fairhill. Fairhill is the earliest country seat for which we have extensive information (see chapter 9). One of Norris's closest friends, Jonathan Dickinson (c. 1663–1722), followed his lead. Like Norris, Dickinson was a Quaker merchant who had come to Philadelphia in the 1690s from Jamaica, where he too had been a planter. In 1718 Dickinson bought 1,230 acres of Penn's Springettsbury Manor that stretched across the northern edge of Philadelphia. Dickinson built a country house on the Vineyard Tract, a portion of Springettsbury near Fairmount and named for Penn's attempted vineyard. In 1719 another close friend and associate of both Dickinson and Norris, Richard Hill (c. 1667–1729), bought 202 acres of Dickinson's land northeast of Fairmount and east of Wisahickon Road to develop his country seat, Green Hill.[92] These seats stood on high ground, on a plateau lying eighty feet above the Schuylkill River and the city. Hill, a Quaker ship captain and merchant, had come to Pennsylvania from Maryland in 1700 and made a large fortune in trading and real estate in the economic boom of the early 1700s. Documents called Green Hill a "messuage and capital plantation."[93] The name survived through the eighteenth century, and the place was depicted in the 1790s, when it belonged to Samuel Meredith, Esq., although the depiction clearly was not of Hill's original.[94]

Farther from the city, James Logan, the Penn family secretary and agent, established one of the most notable of Philadelphia country seats, Stenton. Logan, a Quaker, had come to Pennsylvania on Penn's return in 1699 and stayed to manage his master's affairs. He became wealthy through work for the Penn family and independent trade and began buying land in the Northern Liberties, almost as far up as Germantown, in 1714. Besides farming, he vacillated in his intentions for the place between complete and partial retirement and between a modest farmhouse and something grander (see chapter 10). Stenton, the house, was begun in 1723 and was indeed grander, being the first double-pile house in Philadelphia, a model for many others.

About the same time as Stenton, but much farther out, Governor William Keith (1669–1749) built Fountain Low (later renamed Graeme Park) in Horsham, at the very northern limit of Philadelphia County. Originally it accompanied an industrial settlement intended to make malt and distilled beverages, though little came of this. The house had an old English form and many features that make it vernacular and distinctly old-fashioned despite the pretension of its owner. Fountain Low is examined in chapter 9, and its reborn successor, Graeme Park, in chapter 12.

Wicaco, a former Swedish settlement along the Delaware, and the nearby area became a popular, corresponding location south of the city. The merchant William Trent (1666–1724) built an early country house in this region. He had moved to Philadelphia in 1701 and bought the Slate Roof House, which he used as his primary residence. In 1703 he bought thirty-six acres in Passyunk, where he built a house about a mile and a half below the city, near the center of the peninsula. He later bought another Passyunk plantation of 515 acres.[95] After his wife died in childbirth in 1708, he sold the Slate Roof House to Isaac Norris and may have lived for awhile in Passyunk. In 1710 he remarried and returned to active business in the city, although scandal marked the rest of his life and eventually resulted in a second retreat to the country, this time to New Jersey.[96]

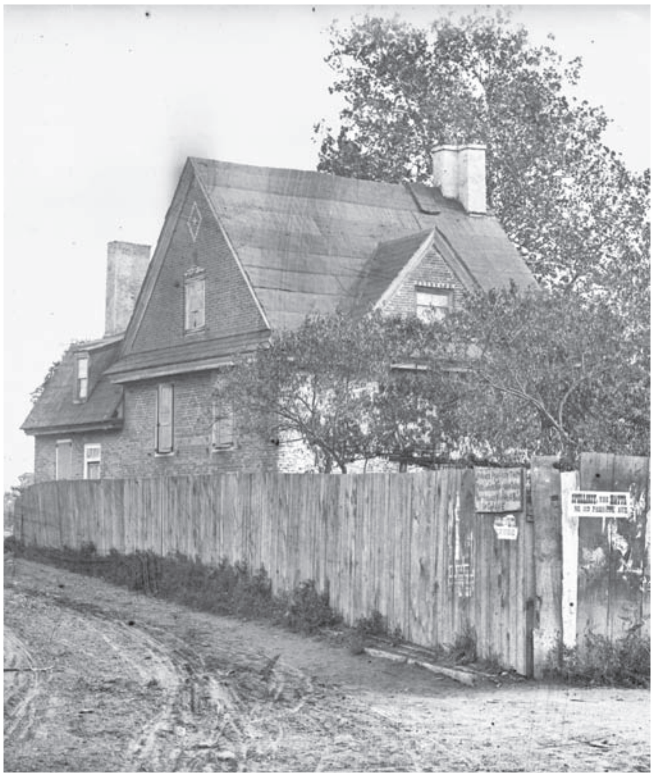


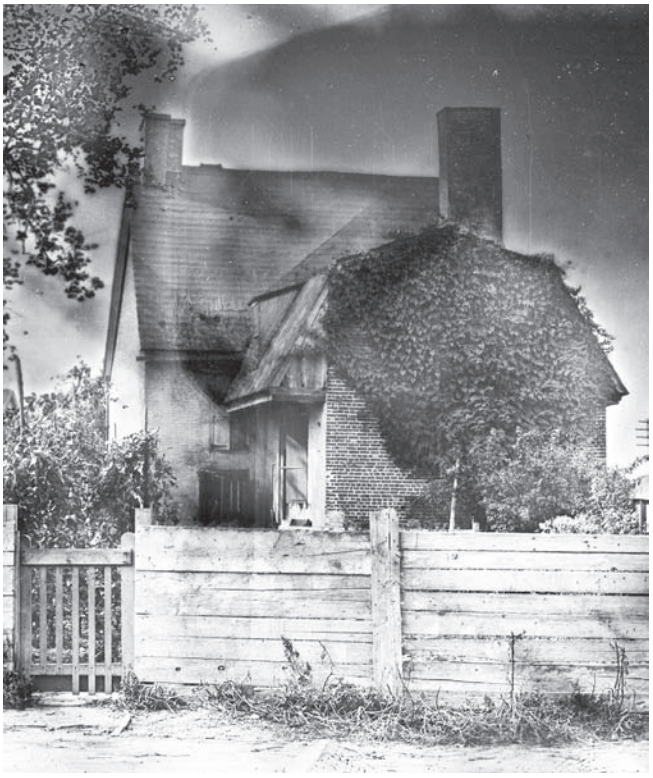
Slate Roof House (1699), a highly unusual Philadelphia town house that influenced later country houses. HSP

The house Trent built, called Plain Pleasant by its second owner, Andrew Hannis, survived until the late nineteenth century, and several photos record its appearance. Its early date is suggested by its architectural features, particularly the very steep roof, the T-shaped chimney, and the front gable.[97] The two-and-a-half-story front block apparently had a two- or three-room plan, with an unheated room to the west (left from the front) and two rooms to the east heated by corner fireplaces that exhausted into a single central chimney, perhaps an example of the so-called Quaker plan.[98] To the rear stood a one-and-a-half-story gambrel-roofed kitchen wing. The front block had a type of patterned brickwork, with diamond lozenges, common in the Delaware valley in the early eighteenth century.

Even farther south, the Quaker merchant Samuel Preston (c. 1665–1743), who like Richard Hill had come from Maryland, developed a country estate at the very bottom of the peninsula formed by the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers. Probably inspired by his close friend Isaac Norris, Preston acquired the land and began building his house in 1714, when Fairhill had just been completed. Known since the nineteenth century as Belair, Preston's estate functioned as a retreat and a farm. Like Norris, Preston initially resided at his country estate only intermittently but in later life spent increasingly more time there. One of the few surviving early country seats close to Philadelphia, Belair is discussed in chapter 9.

The third pattern for owners of bourgeois country estates developed estates within the platted city of Philadelphia but a short distance away from the settled area, which stretched only a few blocks to the west of the Delaware and north and south of High Street. They thus lived in detached houses in a quasi-rural setting, a type of establishment common in England as well.[99] Edward Shippen built the most famous country house in or near the city, known after his death as the Governor's House because several chief executives lived there. Shippen moved to Philadelphia from Boston in 1694 after twenty-six years in the Massachusetts port, where he had lived on two acres of land with gardens and orchards,





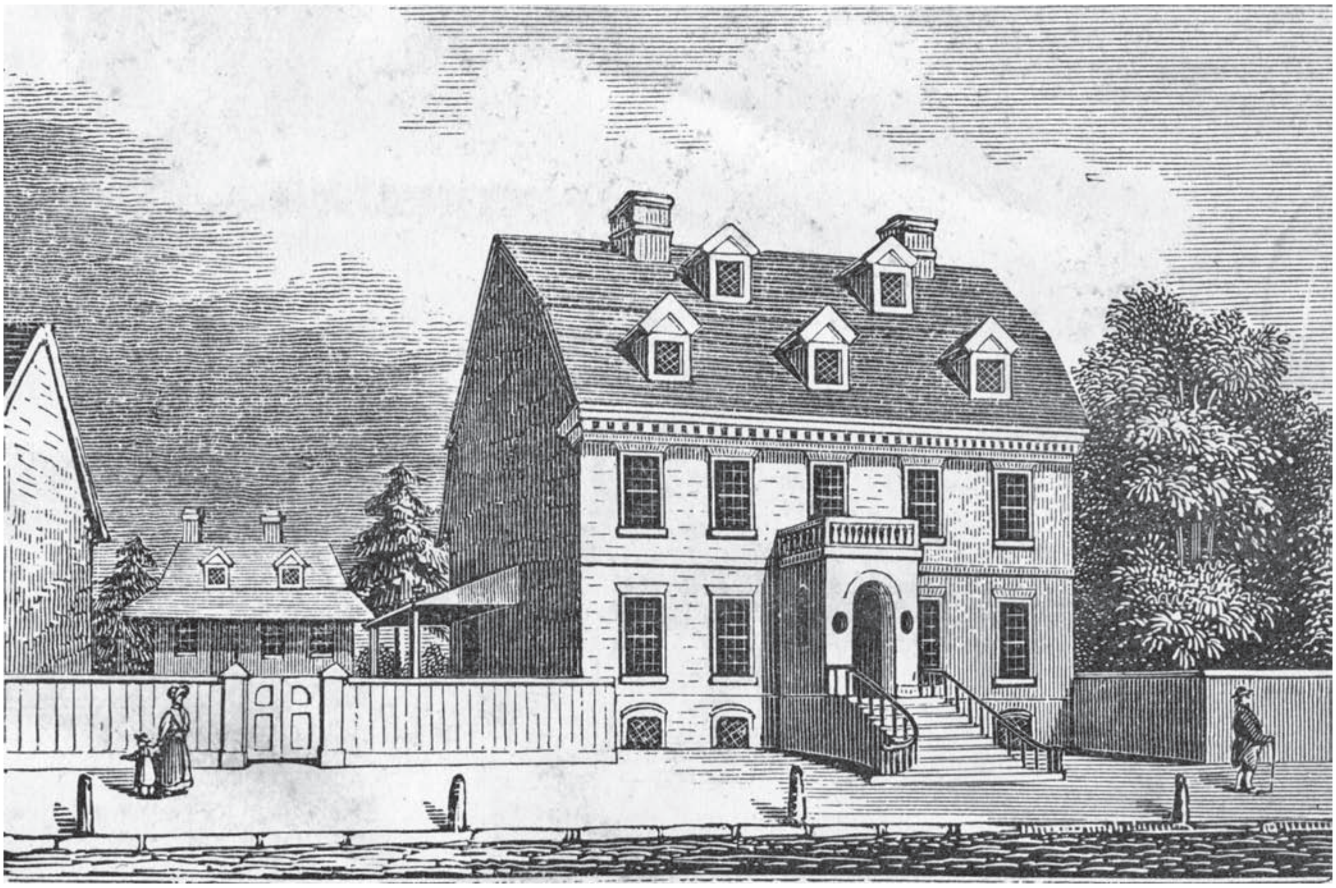
Two views of Plain Pleasant (1703), the early and very modest country house of William Trent, just south of the city. Photograph by John C. Browne, LCP

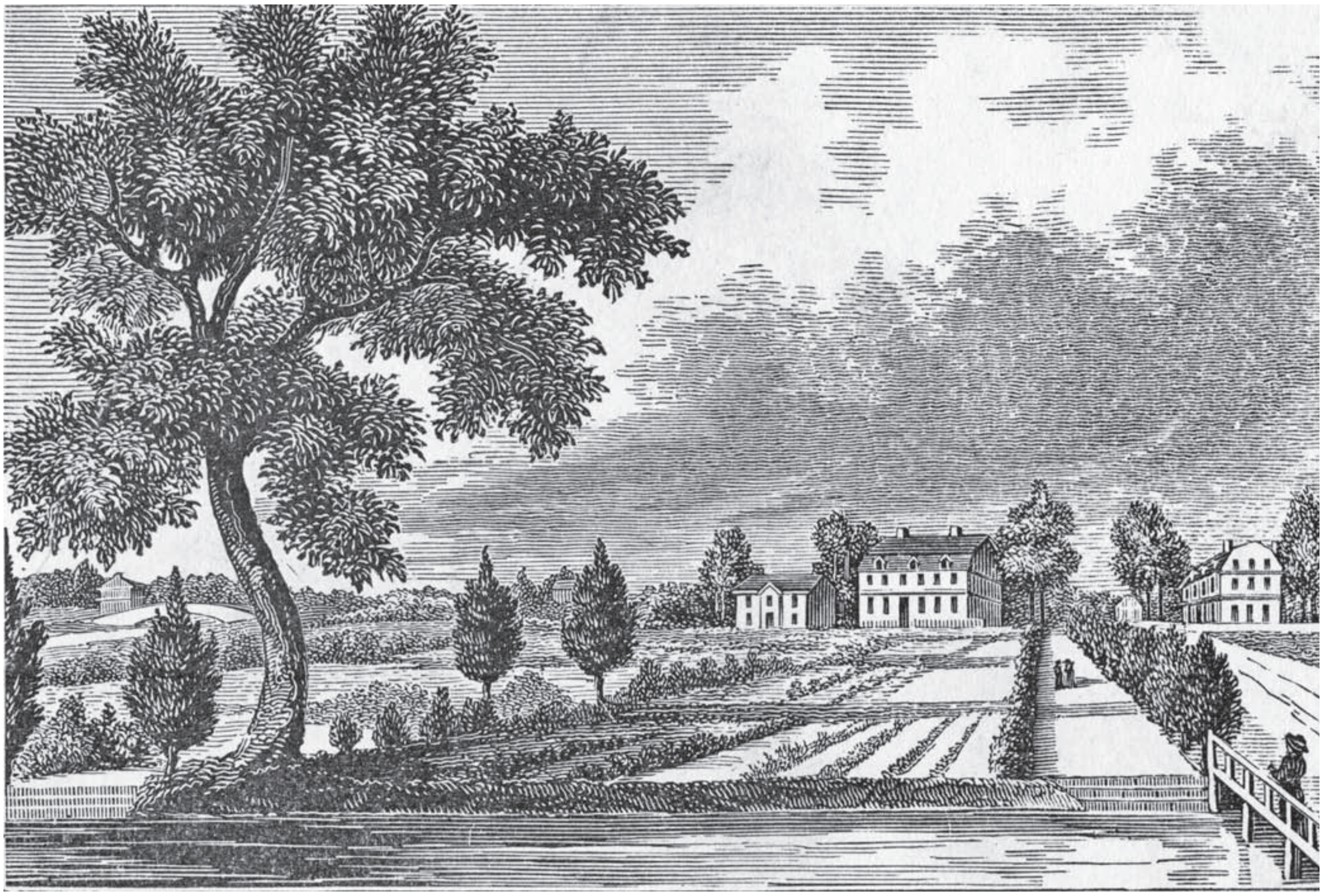
which he intended to replicate in his new home. Shippen had arrived in Boston the Anglican younger son of Yorskhire gentry, but he soon converted to Quakerism, for which he was persecuted. Despite this, he became wealthy in Boston through trade with tropical lands, and he was far and away the richest man in Philadelphia during his lifetime. His Pennsylvania land purchases alone cost him £3,200. For the 1696 tax assessment for Philadelphia he was assessed twice as much as any other resident.[100]

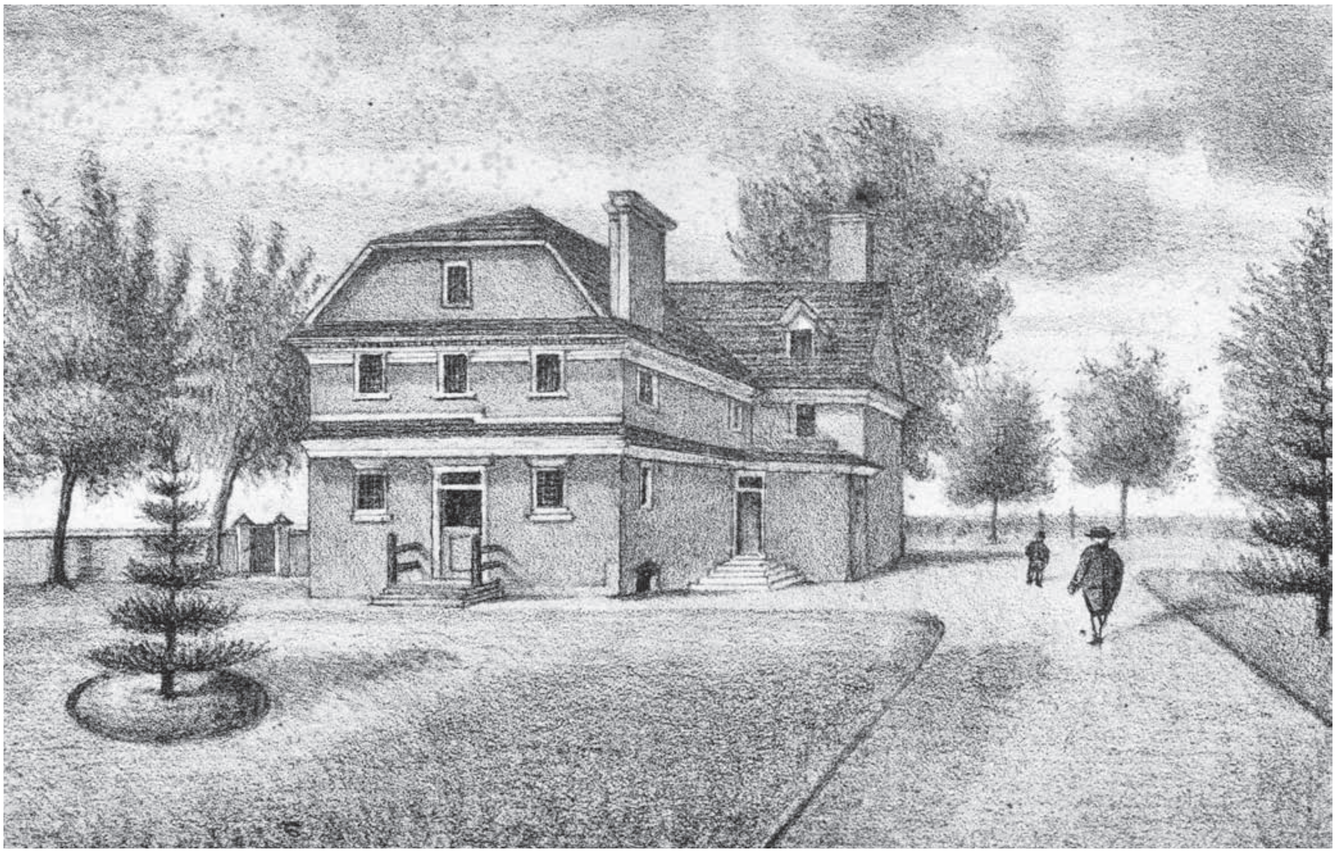
Soon after moving to Philadelphia, Shippen built "Shippey's Great House" on the west side of Second Street north of Spruce, at the time located at the southern edge of the city, where he owned numerous other parcels of land.[101] The house overlooked Dock Creek, and its view stretched uninterrupted to the Delaware River. The grounds behind the house reached to Third Street and contained gardens, a grove of pines, and Shippen's famous orchard. John Watson noted that the place was "beautifully situated, and surrounded with rural beauty."[102] As Randolph Klein, the Shippen family biographer, has noted, "Shippen's life style perhaps strained a bit at the limitations set by the Quakers who preferred a plain style." Shippen also drove the largest coach in Pennsylvania. However, he managed to stay within the good graces of Philadelphia's Quakers, his wife and children even signing pledges to avoid extravagant clothes and furniture.[103]

Clarke Hall also stood in a garden overlooking Dock Creek, in this case near Chestnut Street, on what would later be the site of the First Bank of the United States. William Clarke (c. 1630s-1705) was a wealthy Quaker merchant whose base was in Sussex County in the lower colonies, but his increasing political stature led him to build a home in the capital so that he could attend to his offices.[104] By 1695 he had built a substantial, freestanding house with grounds. A later print shows it as a two-and-a-half-story, gambrel-roofed structure six bays wide.[105]

(Opposite, top) Shippen's House (c. 1700), probably the earliest compact house in Philadelphia and an example of a house and garden with rural character in the city. Engraving by Thomas Howard Mumford, LCP. *(Opposite, bottom)* Clarke Hall (c. 1695), an early country seat at the edge of the city. Engraving by Thomas Howard Mumford, LCP







Carpenter's Mansion (c. 1701), freestanding at the limits of city growth, with fields of hops nearby for the owner's brewery. Engraving by William Breton, LCP

Finally, in 1701, Joshua Carpenter (d. 1722), an Anglican brewer, bought an entire city block bounded by what would become Sixth, Seventh, High, and Chestnut Streets. On this large and at the time entirely rural tract Carpenter built a house, Carpenter's Mansion, later renamed Graeme Hall. He also had extensive gardens, including an acre of hops, which he used in brewing. Like Fairman's, Carpenter's house was distinctly pre-Georgian, although with some architectural pretension. It faced south onto Chestnut Street; however, surviving views are from the northeast and thus of the side and rear. Jonathan Dickinson put a new front on it in 1774, so that its original appearance is unknown. Very similar in appearance was a house, later called Benezet's, that Watson illustrated and attributed to the Quaker David Breintnall. It too was on Chestnut Street, just west of the built-up part of the city near Dock Creek, long an open area.[106]

These large, detached houses and grounds muddy the definitions of town and country dwellings, although they fit well into the class of primary suburban dwellings then emerging in England: a large house on a relatively small parcel of land at the edge of a nucleated settlement. Wenceslaus Hollar's c. 1660 aerial view of London shows many such houses at what was then the western edge of the city.[107] These do not belong to the same pattern as the English manor house at the edge of village or town, because that stood on a substantial tract of land, with the village forming a service community for it. The Philadelphia examples usually had only several acres of land, and their owners walked or rode to work in Philadelphia. They recall the garden houses, also referred to in documents as summerhouses or lodges, noted around several English cities by the late seventeenth century.[108] At this scale these establishments also fulfilled Penn's original vision.

Several patterns emerge from this survey of builders of early country houses. Quite expectedly, the group represented the wealthy—where known, in the top 15 percent of taxables for Philadelphia County—and included many political leaders serving in the Assembly, the Provincial Council, or both and often holding other offices. In other words, they formed the gentry for the colony. They also mirrored the religious demographics of early Pennsylvania: mostly Quakers but a few Anglicans.

A bit trickier to discern is a common political alignment within the shifting allegiances of early Pennsylvania politics, generally dominated by pro- and antiproprietary factions. Middle-class artisans and yeomen made up most of Pennsylvania's colonists, but Penn intended to rely on a small number of wealthy Quakers to provide leadership for the colony. He recruited these leaders mostly from the growing number of wealthy merchants that Quakerism had attracted by the 1680s. Penn gave offices to wealthy Quakers who emigrated, a move that created jealousies and tensions even within the normally tight Quaker community.[109]

Support for Penn and proprietary policies came mostly from a group of wealthy merchants and large landowners that included the great majority of the early country-house owners encountered in the survey above.[110] Of the roughly two dozen people mentioned, only two consistently and actively opposed Penn's interests, while fourteen consistently took the proprietor's side on most issues and a few others began on the proprietary side but shifted. Many in the survey had personal ties to Penn, whether they had emigrated with him or came later on their own, and remained on his side in the struggle over who should govern Pennsylvania.

Wealthy members of the proprietary group had the means to support two houses. Great wealth existed on the antiproprietary side as well, but members of this faction either did not care for country living or viewed land merely as a source of wealth. For example, of Penn's opponents, Griffith Jones, Joseph Wilcox, and Robert Turner, who were among the wealthiest of colonists, had extensive landholdings in both the city and the country but never lived in the country. All three of these men were land speculators on a massive scale and opposed Penn largely because of his proprietary land policies.[111]

Another pattern also seems expected: people established country seats primarily during good economic times and held back during the many downturns of this volatile period. In the 1680s Pennsylvania grew rapidly, and trade was brisk. Of the houses mentioned above, nine were begun between 1681 and 1689. Between 1689 and 1695 King William's War with France and its accompanying privateers interrupted trade, and no country seats were founded. The resumption of trade in 1695 ushered in another period of prosperity. Benjamin Bullivant, of Massachusetts, wrote in 1697 that Philadelphia was "a very Magnificent City" with stately dwellings belonging to merchants and a building boom in progress.[112] Jonathan Dickinson, newly arrived from Jamaica in 1700, said that Philadelphia was "so thronged with people that there is hardly a house Empty and rents grow high."[113] Many new merchants arrived in this period, including Dickinson, Richard Hill, and Samuel Preston. Also during this period, another group of country seats appeared. Only a couple more country houses rose during a subsequent period of depression, 1701–9, caused by another round of war with France. Seven more country seats appeared during the prosperous second decade of the century. During that decade Philadelphia's trade doubled in volume and a massive influx of Germans into the colony increased prosperity and drove up land values. Prosperity lasted until 1722, when the South Sea Bubble of 1720 caused yet another economic depression.[114] This panic caused bankers and merchants in London to call in debts, and specie drained out of the colonies. Workers lost their jobs, and farmers could not sell their produce. This depression was particularly deep and lasted until 1726, ending this first period of Pennsylvania's history.

There is only fragmentary knowledge of many of these early country seats. The majority disappeared entirely, and only a few documents testify to their existence. Several of the houses are known from old photographs or prints, a few houses survive (Belair, Stenton, and Graeme Park), and one other can be reconstructed fairly completely (Fairhill). This small set displayed a diversity of house forms that mirrored contemporary building practice in England and other colonies. Except for the very late and pathbreaking Stenton, strikingly absent are examples of the emerging English gentry norm—two stories high with hipped roof, double-pile plan, and central hall. Several appear vernacular in their unconcern for symmetry or any particularly high-style features, such as Plain Pleasant or Thomas Fairman's house. Many appeared primitive to a later generation more concerned with architectural pretension and conversant with later architectural styles. For example, Daniel Pegg's dwelling was called the "Dutch House," never a moniker of distinction. Shippen's Roebuck Inn was noted for its size rather than for its style.

Hiatus in the 1730s

After the depression that followed the South Sea Bubble, Pennsylvania's economy grew steadily from the late 1720s until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1755.[115] Certainly the population of Philadelphia and its hinterlands grew, as German and Scots-Irish immigration swelled. This immigration, however, made the ruling class, especially Quakers, nervous, as they feared the loss of their hegemony in the face of non-English-speaking hordes.[116] Moreover, the exact pattern of growth within this long period is unclear due to a lack of statistics. Some sectors of the economy seem to have been constrained at certain points, so that the scene at the time often looked dark. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* melodramatically presented the situation c. 1730: "Money here seems very scarce. Trade has been long in a deep Consumption, her nerves relax'd, her spirits languid, her Joints have grown feeble, that she has had of late so terrible a Fall that she now lies bleeding in a very deplorable Condition."[117]

The state of the economy is worth emphasizing because the Philadelphia bourgeoisie never constituted a class of hereditary wealth with fortunes sufficient to ride above bad times. Nor could many in the group survive without working; they did not constitute a leisure class. Fortunes rarely rose to grand levels and were often unstable. Moreover, the merchant and professional class in Philadelphia was divided along religious, economic, and ethnic lines, which prevented it from acting cohesively. Add in the abundance of middling economic activity—shopkeepers, artisans, and successful farmers—and the resulting fluidity made Philadelphia's elite far less cohesive than in England or elsewhere in the colonies.[118] All of this affected the building and keeping of country estates.

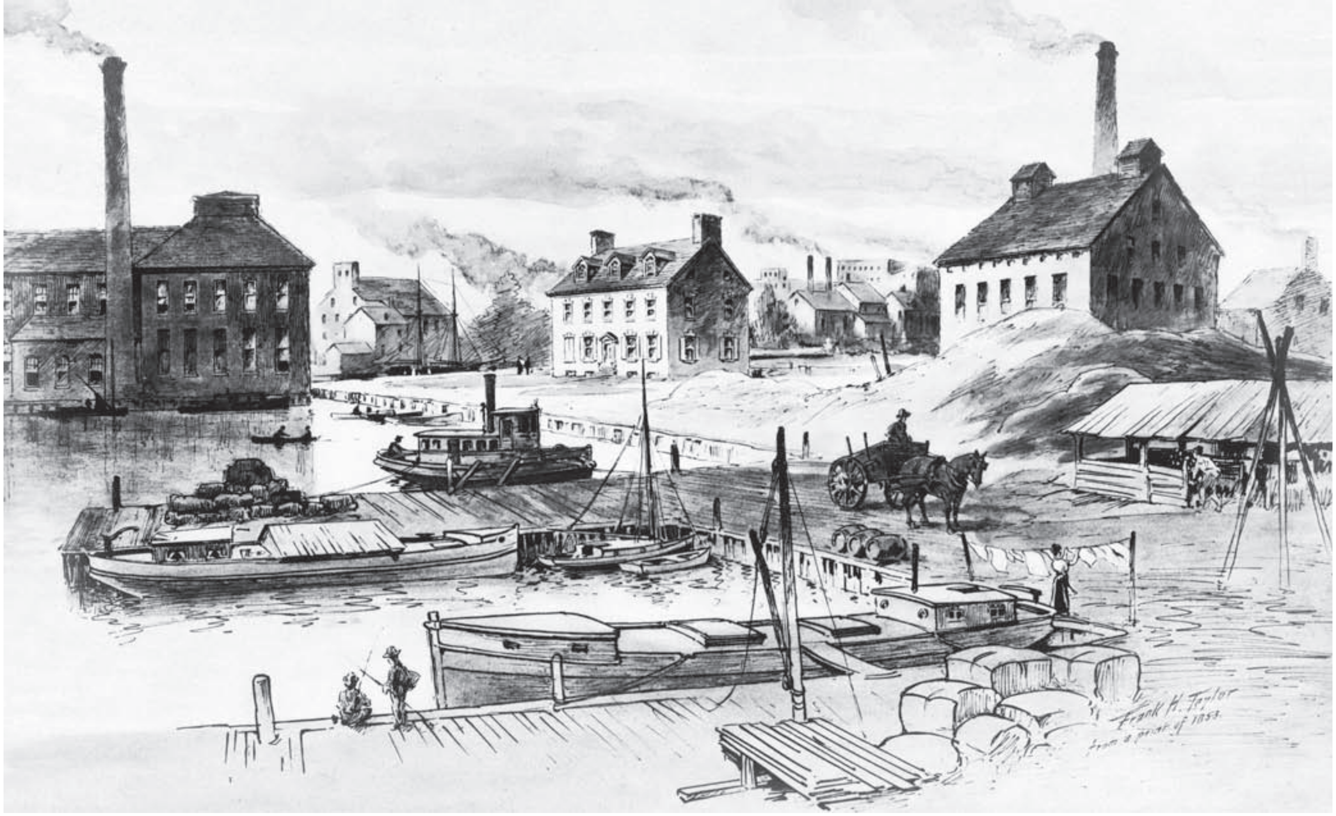
True prosperity did not return until after 1740.[119] For example, wholesale prices dropped from their levels of the late 1720s and remained low for the entire decade of the 1730s; thereafter they generally rose for the remainder of the colonial period.[120] The figures indicate a period of deflation and economic uncertainty that discouraged building, including the creation of country seats around Philadelphia; few deeds from this decade mark the establishment of such places. Moreover, land policy was uncertain during the 1730s. Thomas Penn (1702–1775), son of William, together with his brothers Richard and John, had inherited the proprietorship upon the death of their father in 1718. In the colony for much of the 1730s, Thomas Penn had determined to gather more quitrents than before, but collections remained confused and the subject of wrangling.[121] Even more unsettling, this decade marked the apogee of the dispute between the Penns and Lord Baltimore over the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary, with outright violence on both sides. Until a tentative settlement was reached in 1739, the Penns' ownership of much of the colony was in dispute.[122] Rural land values in the environs of Philadelphia also remained stagnant during this period. For example, a marginally improved tract in Passyunk Township had virtually the same value in 1727 that it had had in 1699, just over a pound per acre; it more than doubled by 1742.[123] Similarly, marginally improved land in Germantown increased somewhat in value between 1700 and 1740, not quite doubling from just over one and a quarter pounds per acre to just over two pounds. After 1740 it skyrocketed in price from two and a quarter pounds to fifty-nine pounds per acre.[124]

For at least some, especially in the Quaker community, the social mores in Philadelphia may also have militated against building projects seen as extravagant. An observer in 1729 commented on the lack of fashionable social life in the city: "Here are no Masquerades, Plays, Balls, Midnight revellings, or Assemblies to Debauch the Mind, or promote Intrigue. . . . [A young women who] ventures a Mile out of Town for the Benefit of Air, or [admits] Pleasure of Retu'd [Returned] Conversation, is sure to suffer her Character, by a Censorious Brood of Ditractors, and Calumniating Preciants."[125]

In the years following the construction of Stenton a unique group of country seats sprang up not far from Logan's plantation, in the area along the Delaware River known as Point No Point or Richmond. These represented a retreat to the country, perhaps due to a slowing of business. In 1728 William Ball (d. 1744), a Quaker merchant in Philadelphia, bought 676 acres just above Gunner's Run; he named the place Hope Farm, perhaps suggesting the promise of a new beginning. Entirely forsaking the city, he began calling himself a yeoman farmer.[126] Within a decade, he had been joined by eight well-off Quaker merchants and artisans, some of whom kept their businesses in the city and divided their time between the city and their plantations along the river, while others abandoned their trades and became permanent farmers at Point No Point.

The first group included the merchant William Callender (1703–1763) and the blacksmith Jeremiah Elfreth (1723–1765). Besides Ball, the second group, permanent émigrés, included Robert Hopkins, formerly a Philadelphia baker, and Joseph Lynn (d. 1742), formerly a shipwright. Others in the group included George Peter Hillegas (1728–1814), potter; Michael Hillegas (1729–1804), musician and instrument seller; Joseph Oldman, blacksmith; Hugh Roberts; Joseph Fox (1709–1779); and Edward Warner (d. 1754), carpenter.[127] These men cooperatively improved the marsh meadow along the river, and in time they or their heirs incorporated themselves as the Richmond Company "to enable the owners and possessors of the meadow at Point-no-Point . . . to keep the banks, dams, sluices and flood-gates in repair."[128] While property owners around Philadelphia often improved and regulated meadows through drainage engineering, incorporation occurred less often.[129]

Little is known about the farms or houses of these men, the entire area having long ago been buried under nineteenth-century industrial expansion. Edward Roberts, son of Hugh,



Hope Farm and Richmond Hall, c. 1922, country seat of William Ball, the only house at Point No Point, or Richmond, to survive long enough to be illustrated. Engraving by Frank H. Taylor, LCP

built a new house in 1768, and Hopkins's house "burned to the ground" in 1769.[130] William Callender's plantation, called "Richmond Seat" by the family, was described by his daughter Hannah in 1760, by which time the landscape had acquired ornamental as well as agricultural aspects: "The plot belonging to father contains 60 acres, 30 of upland and 30 of meadow, which runs along the side of the river Delaware. Half the upland is a fine woods, the other orchard and garden. A little house is in the midst of the garden[, which is] interspersed with fruit trees. The main garden lies along by the meadow."[131] The house, built c. 1742, was elsewhere described as "a small, well-built brick house with a boarded kitchen."[132] In 1746 another Quaker merchant, John Smith (1722–1771), joined the group.[133] In 1747, in words that echo William Penn, Smith described having

> taken a house on the Banks of the Beautiful River Delaware and from my window I have a pleasant view up and down the River for 10 miles. I have a handsome garden of near an Acre Inclosed with a Brick Wall, a good Orchard of 6 Acres, and 60 Acres of Pasturing and mowing Land and these things give me many Necessarys of Life for my family as well as Support my horses, Cows, sheep and Poultry and when I am tired at my Library this Little Farm may be Innocent Amusement as well as an Advantage to my Health.[134]

The only house at Point No Point of which we have a representation is William Ball's Hope Farm, which survives in a print from the early twentieth century, by which time industrial works had completely surrounded it and occupied its grounds. The house faced the Delaware River at no great distance. It had roughly the form of Stenton: two and a half stories, a symmetrical facade with a central door (and thus hall), the first story nearly at grade and the basement mostly underground, probably a double-pile plan (though the perspective is ambiguous). Ball presumably built it c. 1730, soon after buying the property. Like all the other Point No Point houses, Hope Farm is long gone.

* * *

In early Philadelphia the city and country thoroughly embraced each other, the former still small and the latter intertwining with roads and waterways that connected people and places. Near and far from the city, along these routes of movement sprung country seats belonging to city dwellers, extending the reach of the capital and its manners but returning the country's material and spiritual fruits. As the first generation of colonists passed and a new one assumed their position, these outward and reflexive movements only increased. The city grew, and so did the culture of country houses.

CHAPTER 4

Fulfillment in the Middle and Late Colonial Periods

The evolution of the colonial country house in Philadelphia divides nicely into two generations, with the date 1740 a line between the two, a date often seen as a watershed in colonial material culture. The second half of the colonial period witnessed the continuation of some trends from the first generation but also saw the emergence of new styles in architecture and landscape and a new purpose for country houses. It witnessed the apogee of the Philadelphia country house in both quantity and quality. Many more houses appeared in the countryside, and it became standard for Philadelphia's gentry to own or rent one. They were an expression of a more expansive consumer behavior, present throughout the Atlantic world and less hampered in Philadelphia owing to weakening Quaker strictures on behavior. The number of these houses was such that observers noted the change in the landscape near the city. Their presence also affected economic behavior, especially real-estate marketing, the subdivision of farmland—newer estates often had significantly less acreage than their predecessors—and the gentrification of the countryside. Their use also changed, especially their place in the lives of gentry women.

A New Generation of Country Seats

Point No Point excepted, the second half of the story begins as the first half did, with the Penn family. Although Penn's three surviving sons inherited the position of proprietor, only Thomas played an active role in managing the colony. Thomas assumed control of Pennsylvania in 1732 and was the dominant proprietor of the colony until his death in 1775. He spent one long sojourn in Pennsylvania (1732–40), the first visit by a Penn to the colony since William Penn left in 1701. During this stay he reorganized the rent rolls and collections, which resulted in greatly increased revenue for the Penn family, and worked diligently to strengthen the hand of the governors. These actions led many to regard him as cold and greedy.[1] When he returned to England, Thomas intended to periodically visit the colony, but business and family pressures kept him in England, from whence he managed the colony by letters to close friends and proprietary officials.

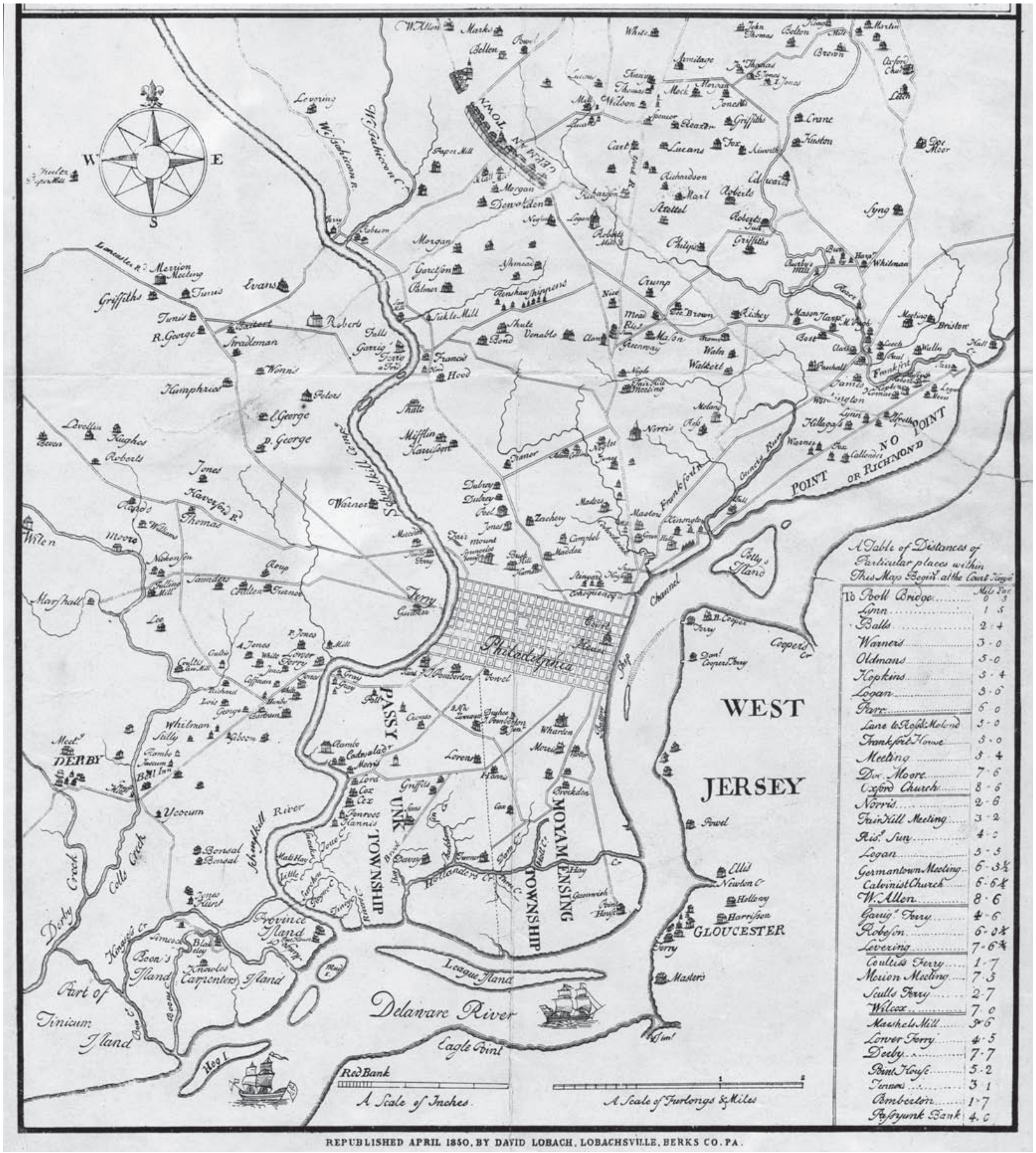
The new generation in Philadelphia was announced by three new country seats, all built by Thomas Penn or his close associates on large properties along the Schuylkill River, henceforth the site of the most illustrious Philadelphia seats, in a probably conscious emulation of Twickenham, near London. Between 1737 and 1740 Penn himself improved the old family property at Springettsbury, near Philadelphia, known above all for its gardens, the first extensive formal landscape in the colony. These gardens established the vocabulary of landscape forms that would grace many Philadelphia country seats for the remainder of the colonial period. Next door, James Hamilton (1709–1779), friend of the proprietors and governor of Pennsylvania, improved the seat Bush Hill, inherited from his father, Andrew. By 1750 James had built one of the largest of Philadelphia country houses, known for its architecture, grounds, and art. The third of the triumvirate, Belmont, belonged to William Peters (1702–1786), an important gentleman–amateur architect and a high official in the Penn administration. Constructed from 1742 to 1750, it lay across the Schuylkill River and upstream from Springettsbury and contained one of the most substantial landscape compositions in the American colonies, along with one of the earliest and purest examples of Palladian villa design on this side of the Atlantic. These three houses are the subject of chapter II.

The Proliferation of Country Seats in the 1740s and 1750s: A Landscape of Villas and Farms

Springettsbury, Bush Hill, and Belmont anticipated an explosion of bourgeois country seats in the Philadelphia environs, a building boom that accompanied a corresponding wave of construction downtown. In this era it became truly common for wealthy city residents to have a place in the country to which they retired for weekends and in the summer. By midcentury more than sixty country houses owned and inhabited by wealthy city residents could be identified in the townships near Philadelphia, the majority of which were bought and/or built in the 1740s. A series of yellow fever epidemics that hit Philadelphia in this decade were a practical reason behind this trend.[2] However, greater discretionary wealth and an obvious fashion for such places were more powerful reasons.

The emergence of country seats did not go unnoticed. Richard Hockley kept Thomas Penn informed about building in town and country, and by 1750 Thomas Penn sought someone to make a perspectival view of the city of Philadelphia, which was published in London in 1754. The men entrusted with the task, Nicholas Scull (1700–1762) and George Heap (d. 1754), had just completed a map that dramatically illustrated the gentrification of the area.[3] This map portrayed the parts of Philadelphia County near the city and showed approximately 150 rural establishments. Of those named that can be identified, about half were country seats or farms of wealthy city residents (see the appendix); the remainder were mostly farms of substantial yeomen or other notable sites in the landscape, such as inns, mills, and churches.

Nicholas Scull became surveyor-general of Pennsylvania in 1748 and had made surveys in and around Philadelphia since 1722. George Heap, probably Scull's nephew, held a pub-


Philadelphia
WEST JERSEY
GLOUCESTER
PASSY UNK TOWNSHIP
MOYAMENSING TOWNSHIP
POINT NO POINT OR RICHMOND
Delaware River
Schuylkill River
League Island
Province Island
Carpenters Island
Boon's Island
Part of Tinicum Island
Hog I.
Eagle Point
Petty's Island
DERBY
Derby Creek
Cobbs Creek
Wissahickon C.
Frankford
Germantown
Channel
Red Bank
A Scale of Inches
A Scale of Furlongs & Miles
A Table of Distances of Particular places within This Map Begin.d at the Court House
Miles Fur.
To Pooll Bridge 0 3
Lynn 1 5
Balls 2 4
Warners 3 0
Oldmans 5 0
Hopkins 3 4
Logan 3 6
Parr 6 0
Lane to Robt. Molend 5 0
Frankfort House 5 0
Meeting 5 4
Dr. Moore 7 6
Oxford Church 8 6
Norris 2 6
Fair Hill Meeting 3 2
Ris.g Sun 4 0
Logan 5 5
Germantown Meeting 6 3½
Calvinist Church 6 6¼
W. Allen 8 6
Garrig.s Ferry 4 6
Robeson 6 0¼
Levering 7 6¾
Coulters Ferry 1 7
Merion Meeting 7 3
Scull's Ferry 2 7
Wilcox 7 0
Mashels Mill 3 6
Lower Ferry 4 5
Derby 7 7
Point House 5 2
Tennes 3 1
Pemberton 1 7
Passyunk Bank 4 0
W
E
S
REPUBLISHED APRIL 1850, BY DAVID LOBACH, LOBACHSVILLE, BERKS CO. PA.

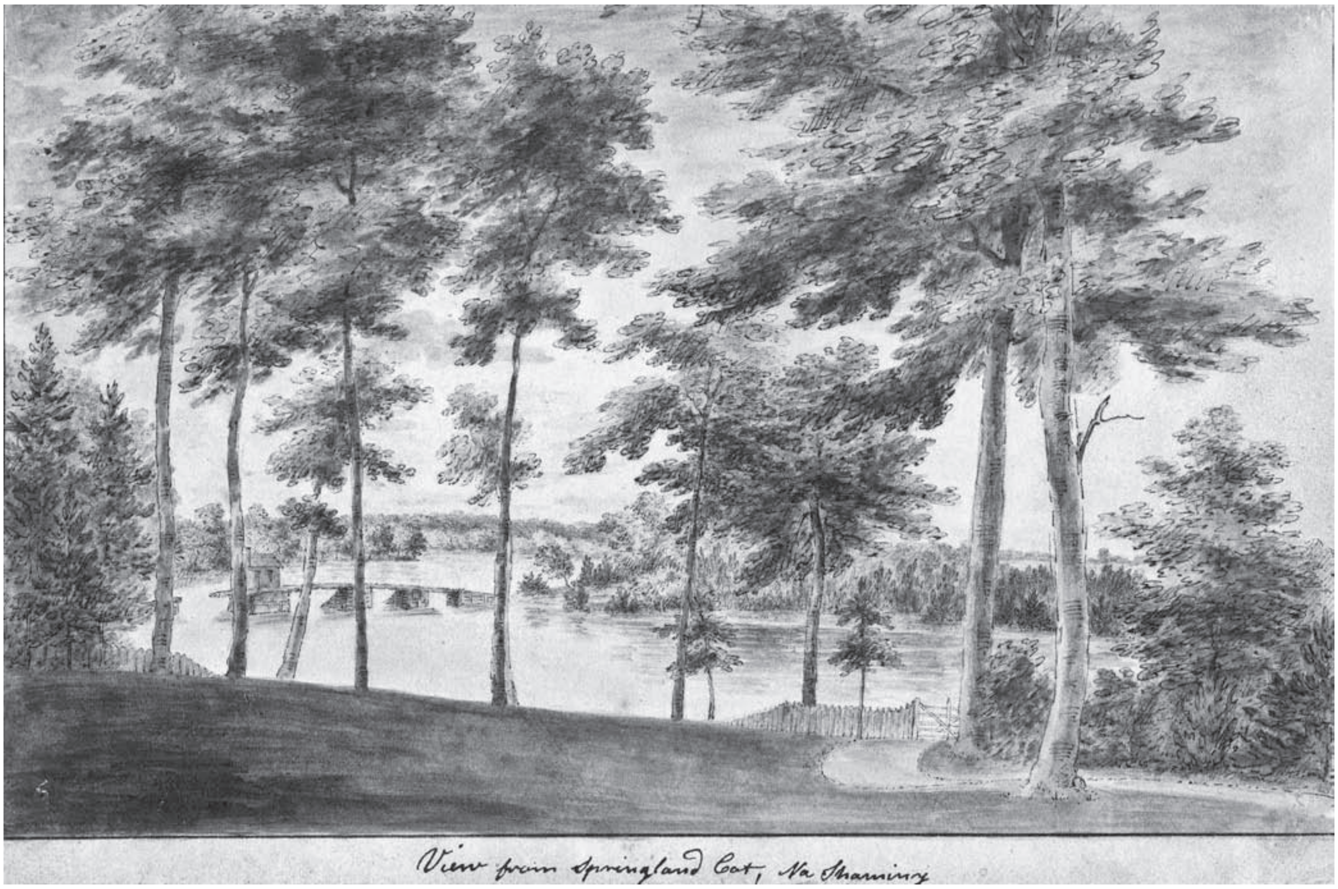
Scull and Heap map of the environs of Philadelphia, 1850 reprint of 1752 original, Thomas Penn's proud display of development, especially country seats, around Philadelphia. LCP lic post as coroner but could also draw. His part in the drawing of the map may have been limited to the view of the State House, which stands at the top of the map. He had been the lead artist for the perspectival view. No evidence records it, but Thomas Penn probably requested the map, as he had the view, for general information and for advertising his colony. Scull was on Penn's payroll, and upon its completion Penn was immediately sent a copy of the map, which he had re-engraved, to correct Heap's view of the State House, whose steeple leaned precariously. He wrote to officials in Pennsylvania that he was pleased with the map.[4]

So much building went on in both town and country that Penn, while obviously proud of the colony's growth, worried about extravagance and the danger of ruinous building schemes: "I must immediately set to building whenever I can get over or I shall be ashamed to see company at my house," he wrote to Richard Hockley, "but I should be concerned to see people run into a great expense that way, and in a young country I think people should be content with what is useful and convenient."[5] In reply, the sycophantic Hockley parroted back an expansion of Penn's sentiment, though not without a measure of provincial pride:

> What astonishes me is to see the extravagancy and luxury that prevails in every respect in this place. This has been taken notice of by the Gov'r since his arrival amongst us, and many others who see it with regret. Where it will end the Lord knows. Claret, burgundy & champaigne are to be met with at many tables and not only on particular occasions but frequently so as to be taken notice of by many, and I am told by several gentlemen that the appearance of our Ladys at ye Assembly is very little inferior to those in England and no woman of Fashion here but what has a rich suit of brocade & brussells laced Heads from 20 to 30 guineas price. Was I to descend into particulars I should astonish you by keeping strictly to truth.[6]

What effect did all this building have on the landscape in Philadelphia's environs, between and around the country seats? Throughout Pennsylvania, mixed agriculture dominated, giving the colony its reputation for plenty: "Provisions are cheap in Pennsylvania. . . . People are amply fed, especially on all sorts of grain which grows well there because the soil is virgin and rich."[7] For the immediate environs of Philadelphia, sources around midcentury paint a picture of a countryside having farms and villas. Andrew Burnaby wrote about the land south of Philadelphia after riding from Chester in 1759: "Upon the whole nothing could be more pleasing than the ride which I had this day. I ferried over the Schuylkill, about three miles below Philadelphia; from whence to the city the whole country is covered with villas, gardens, and luxuriant orchards." Especially was this true along the Schuylkill, which, "though not navigable for any great space, is exceedingly romantic, and affords the most delightful retirements."[8] This account contains the earliest use of the word *villas* in association with Philadelphia.

Burnaby described the townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk, just south of the city. There names on the Scull and Heap map are abundant, and many indicate country seats of city merchants. In general, wealthy city residents wanted locations close to town, and at this time land was still available. For the Scull and Heap map as a whole, the names closer to Philadelphia represent mostly city residents with country seats. Names farther out more likely indicate permanent rural residents. The only concentrations of country seats farther out were Germantown—just then beginning to be popular for rural residences—and an-


View from Springland Cot, Na Shaminy

Landscape along the Schuylkill: view from Springland Cot Na Shaminy. Drawing by William R. Birch, LCP

other in and around Oxford, fairly far north of the city, built mostly by Philadelphia doctors, notably Philip Syng, John Michael Brown, and Samuel Moore. By contrast with merchants, perhaps doctors could not afford land closer to town, especially because they often desired relatively large tracts (called *plantations*) in the old style of Stenton and Fairhill. All the really large tracts of land near the city had long been bought up. Perhaps too, physicians, more cognizant of the danger of disease, wished to get their families a greater distance from the city.

In the two townships south of the city, some of the names on the map represented farms owned by descendants of the original Swedish settlers. However, most of the land in these townships was owned by people from Philadelphia, some of whom had country houses and some who merely owned a plot of marsh meadow to provide hay for their carriage horses and for sale to other city dwellers.[9] Small hay plots were particularly common in the southern part of Moyamensing. Forty percent of the land in Passyunk belonged to six absentee owners, most notably the merchant Joseph Turner (1701–1783), who owned more than nine hundred acres, which was more than a quarter of the township, including his country seat, Wilton. Passyunk and Moyamensing had little woodland left, but about 12 percent of the land was marshland. Kalm noted that the woods had mostly been cut down and corn surrounded the houses of "country people." The soil was predominantly sand but mixed with clay, a fertile mix. Frogs filled the marshes with extremely noisy croaking.[10]

Among these few landowners and part-time city dwellers lived a large population of landless workers, a reminder that an upper class needs a lower class to survive. Indeed, these townships were overwhelmingly occupied by tenants; only one-quarter of the permanent population owned land, and the average tract size was very small, comprising twenty acres or less. Many tenants were in the milk business, supplying the nearby city. They had anywhere from three to ten cows—more than enough for a subsistence farm—and two horses to pull a milk wagon. Milkmen often also produced "garden truck," that is, vegetables for sale in the city. An advertisement for the renting of the Passyunk farm of Henry Elves, a Philadelphia merchant and shopkeeper, noted its suitability for such activities.[11]

Because of the spread of the city and industrialization, almost none of the midcentury country seats in what is now South Philadelphia (Moyamensing and Kingsessing townships) survive. Estates there seem to have been especially notable for feasting. Robert Erwin owned Primefield, where beef was often on the menu, perhaps supplied by the nearby cattle ranch on Province Island.[12] William Bartram noted the large and fat cattle produced by the "rich grazing pastures" of this area, and English colonists up and down the coast kept large herds of cattle on islands, where fencing was unnecessary.[13] The master carpenter Robert Smith (1722–1777), the most successful builder in Philadelphia, had a country house in Moyamensing, where he had famous barbecues. At Garlick Hall, the plantation of John Trump, Jacob Hiltzheimer dined just after Christmas with a large company in 1765. Finally, William Jones's Greenwich Hall, at the south end of Moyamensing, was the site of famous fish feasts in the spring.[14] Close-in country seats were popular in large part because city inhabitants could visit for such social occasions. Catching and eating fish were important aspects of life in a country house, at least for those on rivers or streams. The spring shad runs were famous in the Delaware valley, and shad fisheries were often commercial assets of country property. Several fishing clubs, most especially the famous Colony in Schuylkill and the Schuylkill Company, counted owners of country houses as important members.

Country seats also abounded in the Northern Liberties, above Philadelphia. This area contained many properties belonging to merchants and lawyers from Philadelphia. The names on the Scull and Heap map in this area indicate no fewer than thirty-three such places. The greatest concentration of country seats lay just above the city and along the Wissahickon Road and the Schuylkill River. Some of the earliest country seats had risen here, and new ones continued to appear, although properties were smaller because land was harder to come by and many city dwellers had come to prefer smaller sites. Poplar Hill, with thirty-one acres, adjacent to the vast Fairhill, typified later seats. It was bought in 1757 by Jonathan Mifflin (1704–1781), a wealthy Quaker merchant.[15]

By the 1750s, owners of land in the Northern Liberties had become acutely aware of the phenomenon—and opportunity—of the country seat and marketed likely farms for upgrading:

> A most delightful, healthy and pleasant Situation in the Northern Liberties . . . containing four Acres and a Half . . . A Dwelling house well finished, Kitchen and Stable, two Wells of excellent Water, about three Acres of choice red Clover and Timothy. The Buildings uniform, not little nor too great; a Garden about one Acres, grateful to the Eye, containing a Variety of the choicest Fruit, Flowers, &c. the Situation being on a rising Ground, commands a Prospect of part of the River Delaware, the City, and several Gentleman Country Seats.[16]

Note that the property contained only a very modest amount of land. Subdivision became a common real-estate strategy for properties close to the city, in the hope that multiple lots could replace what formerly was one farm, meeting a demand for smaller estates and reaping greater profits. For example, Ann Croston, widow of Edward, advertised their seventy-acre country seat in the Northern Liberties as follows: "The said Tract is a pleasant Situation for Gentlemens Country Seats, being about two Miles distant from the City of Philadelphia, in a very healthy Air, is divided into Lots from 5 to 9 Acres, to suit the Conveniency of these Purchasers."[17]

Along the Schuylkill several large estates provided readily available, underutilized land. Closest to the city, Bush Hill remained intact throughout the colonial period. Above that lay Springettsbury, the upper parts of which, called the Vineyard Tract, had been sold by the land commissioners for William Penn to Jonathan Dickinson. Some of this property became Peel Hall and the Dubree family land, and the rest ended up in the hands of the Jones family (all on the Scull and Heap map), who sold it to Tench Francis Jr. (1730–1800), who in the 1760s subdivided it into thirty-five lots for country houses.

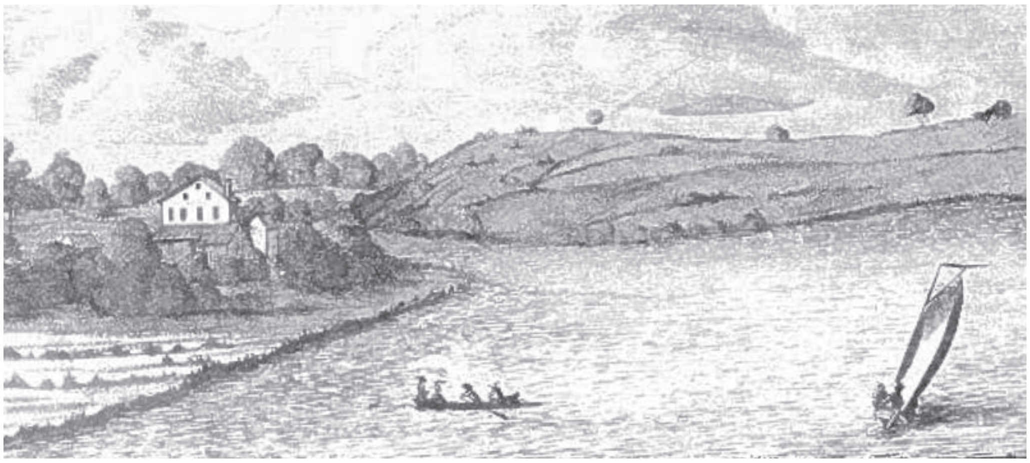
Farther upriver, the Mifflin family (noted on the Scull and Heap) subdivided their property in the 1750s, keeping key portions of it. The Cliffs was one of the country houses built on this land that survived into modern times (see chapter 12). Farther up the Schuylkill another major example of subdivision was the land of Thomas Shute (also on the Scull and Heap map), who owned approximately two hundred acres east of the Schuylkill River and west of Wissahickon Road. Shute had several tenant farms on his land—his will mentioned "messuages"—and after his death his heirs divided the plantation.[18] Shute had been a yeoman or farmer, and this breakup of his land and its conversion from farmland to rural retreats was part of the gentrification of the Northern Liberties that began in the mid-eighteenth century. Six country houses eventually stood on former Shute land, three of which dated from the colonial period: Woodford (see chapter 12), Laurel Hill (see chapter 14), and Bellville, the long-disappeared plantation of Joseph Galloway.[19]

At the upper falls of the Schuylkill, the only country seat on the east bank at the time of the Scull and Heap map belonged to Tench Francis Sr. (d. 1758). Hannah Callender (1737–1801) described the place in 1762:

> Ascending a high hill [up from the Schuylkill] into the road by the Robin Hood [an inn], went to the widow Francis's place. She was there and behaved kindly. The house stands fine and high, the back is adorned by a fine prospect. Peters's House [Belmont], Smith's Octagon, Baynton's House &c. and a genteel garden, with serpentine walks and low hedge. At the foot you descend by slopes to a lawn, in the middle [of which] stands a summer house [covered with] honeysuckle &c. Then you descend by slopes to the edge of the hill terminated by a fence for security, [the bank] being high and almost perpendicular [with] rocks and shrubs that diversify the scene.[20]

The son, Tench Francis Jr., realized the value of subdividing suburban land in choice spots. A few years before his scheme at the Vineyard Tract, he subdivided his father's old country seat near the falls, roughly in the area above Woodford, where Laurel Hill and Mount Vernon cemeteries now lay.[21]

Across the falls, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, William Denny, the lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, developed a country seat on land bought c. 1760 from Francis Garrigues (who appeared on the Scull and Heap map as the ferry owner) and Robert



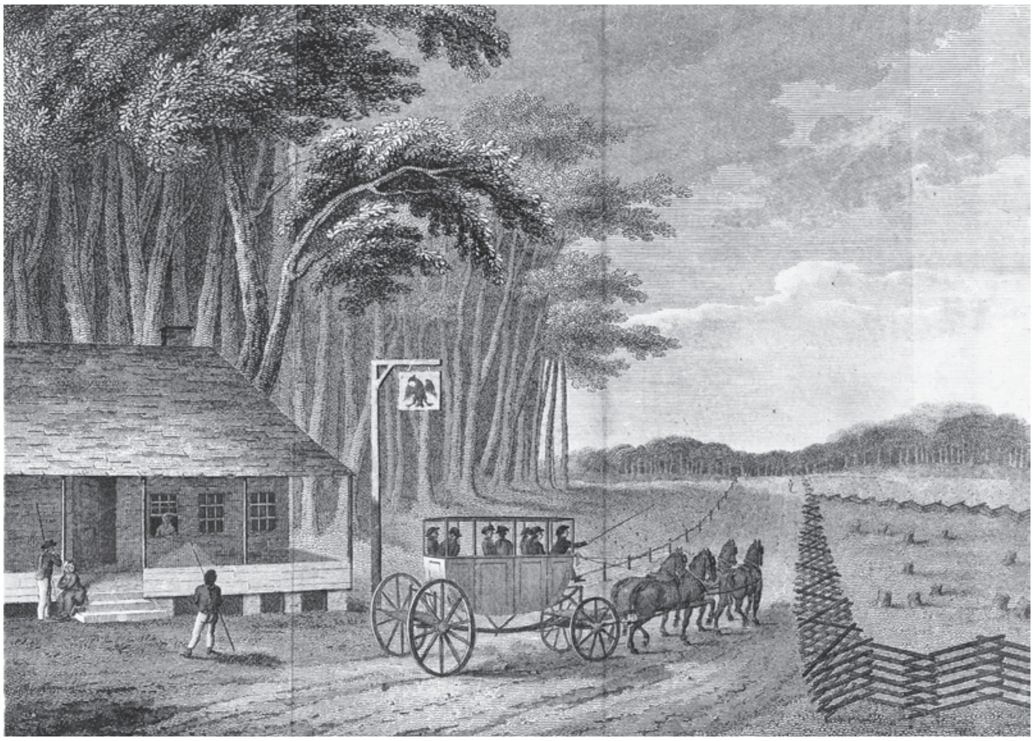
View showing the openness of land along the Schuylkill near the city. Attributed to Charles Willson Peale, *Columbian Magazine*, November 1789

Roberts (also appearing on the Scull and Heap map, on the road to Merion). An advertisement noted of the place: "The Dwelling house is situated near the River, has an agreeable Prospect up and down the same, and is particularly calculated to form a pleasant Country Retirement in Summer, for a Gentleman and his Family."[22] Hannah Callender described it in 1762 as "a pretty [house] adorned with a green and clumps of trees. They have a private ferry"; indeed, she used the ferry to cross the river.[23]

As in Passyunk and Moyamensing, in the Northern Liberties a large lower class lived among the villas. Only about a quarter of the residents of the Northern Liberties owned land; the vast majority were tenants. Small-scale farmers formed the largest occupational group, but many others were craftspeople—joiners, carpenters, tanners, butchers, weavers, and tailors. Again many of the farmers were "milkmen," with a small herd of cows and horses for a wagon. There were still a few enormous estates, such as Fairhill with its twenty-three tenant farms, but generally tracts were small. A bit of woodland survived on the large estates in the western half of the Liberties, but mostly the land had been cleared. This openness appears in eighteenth-century views, especially along the rivers, with trees only near the great houses, where they formed a backdrop.[24] The openness can also be seen on maps from the Revolution and later.[25] Marshland lay along the Delaware, and there was a little along the Schuylkill. Tax records show the greatest disparity in wealth of any township in Philadelphia County, and land was very valuable.

Farther away from the city the landscape changed and became more like what James Lemon described in Chester and Lancaster counties, with more self-sufficient farms and much woodland. Peter Kalm wrote of this landscape in 1748:

> In the afternoon I rode with Mr. [Peter] Cock [a Philadelphia merchant], to his country seat, about nine miles from the town, to the northwest. The country on both sides of the road was covered with a large forest. The trees were all deciduous and I did not see a single fir or pine . . . and the wood was so much thinned and the ground so uniformly even that we could see a great way between the trees under which we rode without any inconvenience, for there were no bushes to stop us. As we went on in the wood, we continually saw, at moderate distances, little fields which had been cleared of the wood. Each of these was a farm. These farms were commonly very pretty, and a walk of trees frequently led from them to the high-road. The houses were all built of brick or of the stone which is here commonly met with.[26]



American Stage Waggon. Farm and woodland some distance from Philadelphia. From Isaac Weld, *Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (1799), LCP

The northern zone of Philadelphia's environs comprised the townships of Oxford and Bristol. This area came closest to Lemon's typical Pennsylvania farm country.[27] A majority of people worked in agriculture, supplemented by a few taverners, tanners, millers, and building craftsmen. Crafts were especially common in the areas adjoining Germantown, famous for its cottage industry. The population was mixed linguistically, but Oxford had more English speakers and Bristol more German. Among the farms stood a few bourgeois country seats, such as those of the physicians mentioned above and the Bristol seats belonging to John Richardson, merchant of Philadelphia, Joseph Thomas, gentleman of Philadelphia, and John Ross (1714–1776), an Anglican lawyer who bought a 127-acre plantation on Frankford Road in 1746.[28]

The distinction between well-off yeomen and city gentry as to both wealth and houses was not so clear in this area, and farming was the dominant activity even among city folks. An example was the plantation of Reverend William Sturgeon, which he called The Sharon, an appropriate biblical reference by a clergyman to the Plain of Sharon in the Holy Land, which had been a dense oak forest but became a pasture for flocks and noted for its wildflowers.[29] Sturgeon's land encompassed 350 acres and was a "noted and admired farm," with arable land, woods, and meadows and two quarries. It also had a "stone dwelling house, with a weather boarded addition," a stone barn, a stable, and a spring house.[30]

The size of the average owner-occupied tract in these two townships was about seventy-five acres, although the average farm comprised just over one hundred acres, a little smaller than the typical farm in the hinterlands. Just over half the land belonged to resident owners, with another third under tenants. Tenants' tracts were generally smaller, averaging forty acres. Although only 12 percent of the townships' land was recorded as wooded, single-family, owner-occupied farms generally had about one-third of their land wooded, a high rate compared with townships closer to the city. On these farms, woodlots served a useful purpose, providing lumber and firewood, unlike the wilderness groves of fashionable country seats. Of all the townships around Philadelphia, Bristol had the most evenly diffused wealth, with the least differentiation between the top and the bottom of the income scale and few absentee owners.

Another area that became popular for country houses around midcentury was Germantown, a settlement almost as old as Philadelphia and located six miles northwest of the city. Germantown stood on a steep rise above the relatively flat terrain north of Philadelphia, well above the city, and thus was cooler and presumably healthier. Germantown Road—also called the Great Road and now Germantown Avenue—was the major route from Philadelphia to the northwest hinterland.[31] Along it lay important country seats, such as Fairhill and Stenton.

Guided by the land-distribution policies of its founder, Daniel Pastorius (1651–c. 1720), Germantown developed in a pattern unique among Pennsylvania settlements, a linear town along the Great Road with a center at Market Square. By the end of the population and building boom of 1745–54 the Great Road had been extensively built up between the sixth and seventh milestones, that is, roughly from the present Manheim Street to Walnut Lane.[32] Lots were deep with narrow street frontages, so that between these points the Great Road presented the appearance of a bustling provincial trading town with a significant number of shops and industrial establishments.[33] However, behind and beyond these confines an agricultural landscape reasserted itself and lasted well into the nineteenth century.[34] It thus provided a nice mixture of country life with some amenities of a town, such as shops and readily available help and services. Though a few tanneries in the dense part of town might have caused local pollution, throughout the eighteenth century Germantown was known for the wholesome quality of its air.[35]

Despite its rural landscape, Germantown was not a community of farmers. In 1773 only 28 out of 450 taxpayers listed their occupation as farmer, and only 15 percent of the lots in Germantown were large enough for a self-sufficient family farm.[36] The majority of the residents, mostly German before the Revolution, practiced a craft of some sort, although many residents engaged in small-scale agriculture to supplement their incomes. For example, Dirk Jansen, whose lot at Wyck encompassed forty-six acres in 1760, which could have held a self-sufficient farm, listed himself as a weaver and later a yeoman and gentleman. His inventory included both weaving and agricultural tools.[37] The mention of orchards, vegetable gardens, milkhouses, barns, and stables in advertisements for properties too small to be farms also indicates the mixed agricultural and trade economy and landscape of mid-eighteenth-century Germantown.[38] In 1708 John Oldmixon described "about 200 houses, [with] peach trees planted all along before the doors, which in the time of bloom, make a beautiful road for a mile together. The town is very pleasant and airy, being wonderfully cleared from trees."[39] By 1748 Peter Kalm could say that "each house has a fine garden."[40]

The midcentury boom in Germantown country houses began in 1744 with Grumblethorpe, the seat of John Wister (d. 1781). The German-speaking Philadelphia merchant Jacob Marks also built an early house at the edge of the community c. 1750. The first non-German to locate there was the fabulously wealthy Scottish merchant and landowner William Allen (1704–1780), and with him the boom was on. Land prices soared as people from the city poured in, and Germantown rapidly Anglicized, with hoards of rich seasonal visitors (see chapter 12).

The General Character and Use of Country Seats at Midcentury

The majority of midcentury country seats around Philadelphia have long vanished, but newspaper advertisements and other sources suggests that they varied widely in terms of size, lavishness, and pretension of architecture or landscape. Only a few could vie with Bush Hill or Belmont, and many were quite modest in size and character. The evolving terminology employed to refer to these places gives evidence of their owners' and the public's consciousness of them. The earliest and most universal term for such a place was *plantation*, which could refer to almost any establishment in the country with relatively large acreage. This term remained popular through the colonial period. The term *country seat* first appeared in 1739 in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* to refer to a rural establishment but was rare through the 1740s.[41] It became very common thereafter. *Retirement*, used in the 1740s by Thomas Penn and William Peters, did not appear in the *Gazette* until 1756, but it appeared often thereafter.[42] Burnaby used the word *villa* in 1759, but it did not appear in the *Gazette* in reference to a Philadelphia country seat until 1773.[43]

Some of these terms were ambiguous, as was the character of rural properties owned by the bourgeoisie. In the 1767 tax roll the term *country seat* was used only for establishments in the townships close to the city, that is, Moyamensing, Passyunk, the Northern Liberties, and Germantown. Similar estates farther out were termed *plantations* or merely noted as land and dwelling. Oftentimes older estates were called out in the same way, as when Belair was called a "plantation," Graeme Park was called "750 acres and dwelling," and William Ball's place at Point No Point was named "200 acres dwelling and plantation." All three owners had their primary residence in the city. Increasing the ambiguity, William Peters, who gave his primary residence as Belmont, in Blockley, and owned a dwelling and other property in town, had his estate described as twenty acres and dwelling, in the manner of the city-dweller owner of Graeme Park.[44]

Real-estate advertisers often hedged on the purpose of their places, suggesting multiple possibilities. An example was Daniel King, who had earlier moved his brass-founding business from Philadelphia to his farm and advertised his property as "a healthy Place, most part lies high, and capable of great Improvement, so that it might suit a Gentleman, Marketman [i.e., truck farmer], or any publick Business."[45] Another "plantation," in Oxford Township, was noted as "very pleasantly situated for a Gentleman Country seat, and very convenient to Market, being but 8 short Miles from Philadelphia."[46]

Many of the bourgeois country houses indicated on the Scull and Heap map were modest and unpretentious, even though occupied by wealthy people. An advertisement for the country place in the Northern Liberties belonging to the Philadelphia merchants Samuel Parr and later to his son William Parr was described as "a plantation . . . containing 152 acres, or thereabouts, 40 acres whereof is good woodland, a house, and 6 acres of orchard, large young bearing trees, of the choicest fruit; the whole under good new fence, and a fine stream of water (whereon a mill might be erected) running thro' the whole."[47] The property was large, and agricultural and economic advantages were emphasized; the house appeared to be almost an afterthought. Like Stenton, the Parr place was probably intended first and foremost as a farm.

Similarly, the Venable family's longstanding country place, also a substantial farm, near Stenton was described laconically, at least as far as the house was concerned, as "contain[ing] upwards of 299 acres, about 170 of it cleared, or thereabouts, a good quantity of meadow; there is a good house, barn, cow houses and stable, a large handsome garden, and good orchards, and a great many peach and English cherry trees."[48] "Handsome" suggests that the garden was at least somewhat ornamental.

A fairly large, if not particularly grand, house was indicated by a description of the Philadelphia brewer Anthony Morris's place in Moyamensing, advertised as "having thereon a good two story frame dwelling house, with cellars under the whole, 3 rooms on a floor, with a fireplace in each, a kitchen adjoining, a well of excellent water, with a pump therein, near the door, a convenient room for making cyder, with a large hay loft over it, a barn, stable, cow house, several hundreds of bearing apple trees, of the best grafted fruit, 9 or 10 acres of meadow, a large garden, &c."[49] Again, the seller emphasized agricultural amenities. Apparently, the primary point of most country seats was the country, not the seat. This property contained only sixty acres, indicative of the tendency toward smaller country seats as the eighteenth century progressed. Prior to 1740, country seats universally had more than one hundred acres of land. By midcentury many had half that or less, and some had only a few acres. Land was more expensive, and in most cases gone was Norris's or Logan's idea of permanent retreat or rural self-sufficiency.

William Masters's two-hundred-acre Green Spring, in the Northern Liberties, kept the old agricultural and productive emphasis. Although nominally a city merchant and representing the city in the Assembly, Masters spent most of his time at Green Spring, working at agricultural improvements and brewing, so much so that a writer in 1758 facetiously called him "the Masterol of the suburbs," an early use of the term in Philadelphia, though another more seriously praised him as an "Ingenious and publick-spirited Farmer." He improved the soil by augmenting cattle manure with fallen leaves—collected by poor children whom Masters hired—an experiment that attracted the attention of Benjamin Franklin. He also built a "Cyder and Still House, a small Still with a Head Copper and Cooler fix'd, . . . [and] a Cyder Mill with Horizontal Lignam Vita Rowlers and 2 Cyder presses." Lignum vitae was an extremely hard wood harvested and used in the Caribbean sugar industry. Indeed, Masters's son William Jr. became a distiller because of his experience on the plantation while growing up. At his death, William Sr. owned thirty-four slaves, an astonishing number for a Pennsylvanian. Only a few worked at Green Spring; the majority were either minors, bound out to others to learn trades, or house servants, probably in Masters's large household in the city.[50]

Advertisements usually called out more pretentious houses. Thus an advertisement for Belair in 1744 described "a large brick House and Kitchen, a large Barn and Stable, with sundry other Conveniencies necessary for a Plantation."[51] The country seat in the Northern Liberties owned by Alexander Sage, a city merchant, was referred to a "plantation," but its buildings and amenities suggested that a gentleman would be the likely buyer. It had "a neat stone house, wooden kitchen, and chair [i.e., carriage] house, an oven, and a well of excellent water." According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a "neat" house at this time would have been "characterized by elegance of form or arrangement, with freedom from all unnecessary additions or embellishments; of agreeable but simple appearance," a genuine positive in a Philadelphia still imbued with lingering Quaker principles. Although only twenty acres in size, the place contained an orchard with three hundred apple trees, along with plum, peach, and cherry trees, and a garden with fourteen beds of asparagus, raspberries, and currants, a reminder of the increasing knowledge that fruits and vegetables contributed to health. Located only a quarter mile from the Schuylkill, not far from Springettsbury and Bush Hill, it had an easement for a landing on the river.[52]

In this era, visiting between country houses became common, especially for women and girls. Evidently, the prohibition against ladies' venturing into the country had relaxed. For example, we know that females of the Warner family spent much time visiting in the Northern Liberties in the years around 1760. On a typical day the Warners might visit Bush Hill to view the paintings and walk in the gardens, or they might drive around the country and spend one or several days at the Howell place on the Schuylkill, Edge-le-Point. Walking was one of the chief amusements in the neighborhood. Elizabeth Drinker noted in her diary: "I took a walk before tea with [Anna Warner] Sen'r (mother of Rebecca and Anna) and Katty [Howell] to Skulkill, which runs but a small distance from ye House. I was much diverted with Dorothy, a dutch Woman, who lives in a little (adjacent) House, quite alone, has everything aboute her neat and clean, and appears to be as happy, as those that are possessed of thousands."[53]

In the summer of 1762 Hannah Callender recorded visits to several country houses along the Schuylkill. At one point she and her companions crossed the river in a fishing boat that had been left for them (note that the women had the skill to handle the small craft) but on their return found the boat marooned because of the tide. Then

> at a house we learned it was half a mile to the ferry and we walked it cheerfully and agreeably. . . . We passed safely after the method of Schuylkill with a boat and rope. Winding around the foot of a hill covered with rocks, shrubs and earth we opened on a neat little hut surrounded with trees, inhabited by an old woman and her daughter, the pictures of good nature, hospitality and honest simplicity. A seat on their bench with a cordial draught of water introduced conversation. [Our friends] having got intelligence of us brought our chairs [i.e., carriages], when leaving our good hostess we went to Edgely dined and took leave for town.[54]

These passages give a glimpse of activities at a country house and romanticize the life of the rural poor (generally tenants) in the vicinity of the country houses. Such visits with the less affluent allowed city residents to vicariously partake of "real" country life, part of the charm of "roughing it" in their summer retreats.

Callender relates her visit to Belmont as follows: "We marched along the shore to the road leading to Peters's. Going by the side of a limpid rill, passed a stone quarry and called to see some Welch people. Then went to William Peters's house having some acquaintance with his wife. She was at home and with her daughter Polly received us kindly in one wing of the house."[55] Peters's wife and daughter then took them through the house and garden. Callender apparently had arrived unannounced, which also was increasingly common in the country, in contrast to the more formal etiquette in the city.[56] Moreover, the entertaining was done entirely by the women of the house. They as much as the husband could display the place properly, point out items of note, and guide the ramble through extensive gardens. With Peters often working in the city, his wife and daughter had to run the household and entertain visitors.[57]

Visiting took place mostly during the daytime, as a lack of light would have hindered maneuvers in the dark, unless the moon was near full, when country visiting was common in England. In the city, illumination of houses by candles allowed night visits, but this was apparently not done in Philadelphia country houses in the colonial period. Rebecca Shoemaker (d. 1819) noted late in life that the lighting of Woodford with candles had allowed a late visit, and she stated that this was the "first country illumination that she had ever seen."[58]

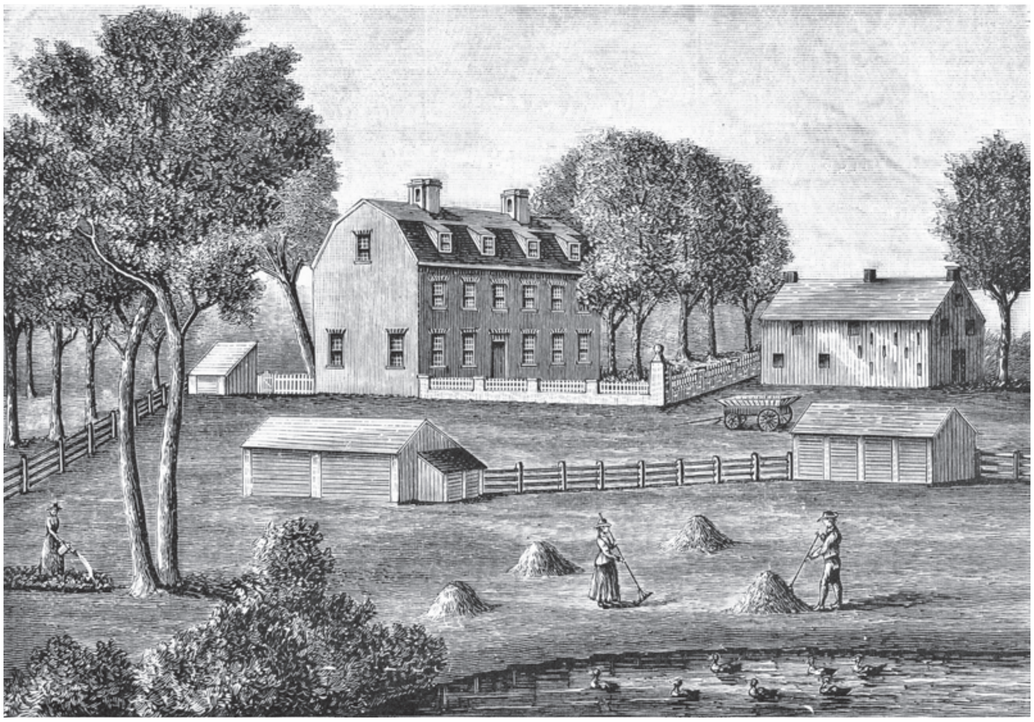
In the country, one of Elizabeth Drinker's goals was diversion. Both diversion and quiet could be found in country life. The later diary of Hannah Wharton, granddaughter of Rebecca Shoemaker, records that women desired both during visits to their country homes. Women perhaps had less there to occupy them than did men, who could hunt and direct farming operations. Soon after moving to their country house, Woodford, Hannah noted that it was "an agreeable change from the heat and bustle of a city life to return to the quiet pleasures of a country life. . . . The country is exceedingly pleasant, my health is so perfectly established and I feel in such good spirits that I think I never enjoyed life more."[59] However, a month later she noted activities for diversion, such as walking, visiting, and reading—"Books are a delightful recourse against Ennui in the country."[60] No doubt life in the country became tedious after a while for seasonal residents, especially women, who were glad to get back to the city for its more interesting pleasures. In general, the two lifestyles complemented each other. In the words of Hannah Callender, "The diversities of Town and Country, make each the more agreable."[61]

Letters of the Graeme family give other glimpses of life in the country. The family wrote almost all of them in July, August, or September, the season for leaving the city. From the 1750s until the end of Thomas Graeme's life in 1772, the family almost always spent these months at Horsham. Rarely did large parties assemble, as these did not usually form part of the country-house scene in colonial Philadelphia; however, Graeme's daughter Elizabeth (1737–1801) did sometimes have groups of young ladies and even young gentlemen out for short periods.[62] The summer residents at Graeme Park included the Graemes, their relatives the Stedmans, and occasional guests, such as Richard Peters, a proprietary officer, and James Young, who would marry Graeme's daughter Jane. A Mrs. Campbell stayed with Mrs. Graeme for a time in 1760 to help soothe the latter's pain the first time she returned to "a place where I lost so great a Blessing," referring to the death of a child at Graeme Park the previous year.[63]

The activities and health of women were central to the Graemes' life at Horsham. When the Graeme family went to the country often depended on the health of the mother or Elizabeth Graeme, who was often sickly. Eliza Stedman, who arrived ahead of the Graemes, wrote to Elizabeth Graeme complaining about having to play cards every evening, when she would rather have been outside taking advantage of the warm weather. Another time, Stedman wrote that the weather had been fine in Horsham, so much so that Miss Graeme might have been tempted to walk too much in the garden in the evening. Horsham's higher elevation and open green space made the weather cooler than in Philadelphia. In a delightfully picturesque reference, Stedman wrote that she spent her leisure time in "rambles through the Park or the little grove near the milk house."[64]

For Elizabeth Graeme, who became a widely known poet in later years, Graeme Park was her muse. The following letter from a friend suggests how a country seat was imagined at the time:

> You have all the advantages that any poet can wish for; for the season of poetry [spring] is fast approaching, and everything about you must contribute to inspire it: so that you have nothing to do but to invoke the muses and begin to sing. As for the scene I'm sure Graeme Park may vie with Arcadia; for poetry may easily convert



Fountain Low, later Graeme Park (1722), an early country seat, with agricultural and formerly industrial outbuildings. The scene was later prized for its picturesque qualities. Copied from an original painting by William J. Buck in 1854, LCP

> Neshaminy [the creek that flows through the estate] into Helicon, the Meadows into Tempe, and the N. Park into Parnassus: so that I shall certainly expect to see something of the Pastoral kind in your next magazine.[65]

Pastoral poetry was widely associated with domesticity and the feminine.[66] Elizabeth was only the most famous of Philadelphia poets inspired by the country; many women spent long hours writing in the country.[67] Men too channeled the muse of the rural landscape. For example, Thomas Livezey wrote about his country seat, Glen Fern, along the Wissahickon below Germantown.[68]

Women did not spend all of their time in pursuit of leisure and the pastoral muse. They also played a significant part in the agricultural life of country estates, helping especially in the orchard and the dairy.[69] Elizabeth Graeme even recorded carding, spinning, and weaving wool sheared from Graeme Park's sheep.[70] Echoing William Penn on the wholesomeness of honest labor in the country, some women identified agricultural chores as promoting health by wiping away the stress of city life.[71] Country life, particularly scientific observation and investigation, also provided important aspects of young women's education—and no doubt of young men's as well. Those fortunate enough to engage in a country life found it "improveing" as well as "pleasant."[72]

The Flowering of the 1760s and Denouement in the 1770s

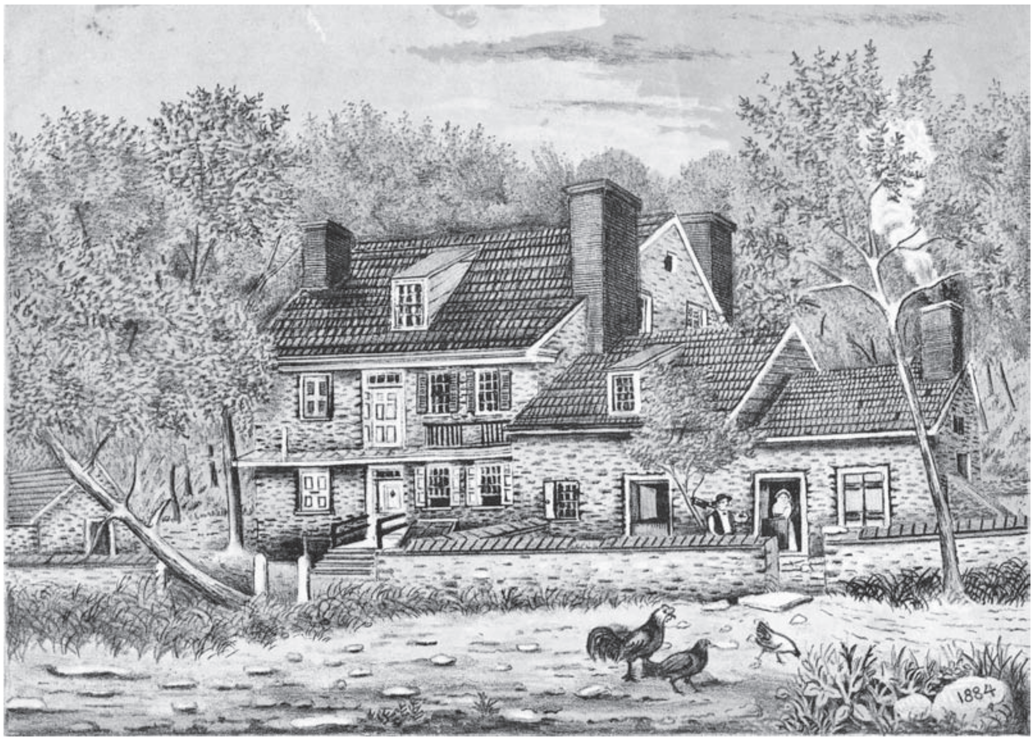
The Seven Years' War, also known as the French and Indian War, which lasted in Pennsylvania from 1754 to 1759, resulted in a lull in trade, in construction, and in country-house building. However, at the end of the war, which devastated the Pennsylvania backcountry and kept the Philadelphia gentry on edge, Thomas Barton exclaimed to Thomas Penn:

"This is the most happy era that Pennsylvania ever knew. The war which at first was looked upon as the greatest misfortune that could happen to this country, has really been productive of the greatest blessing to it—numbers have got rich by it & all enjoy plenty & peace."[73] The 1760s were a remarkably fruitful decade for Philadelphia, with the volume of shipping and business rising steadily and the real-estate and building markets following. The decade witnessed a substantial number of major new buildings in town and country.

Curiously, the absolute number of country seats that we can identify around Philadelphia did not increase as much as might be expected between the time of the Scull and Heap map (1752) and a 1767 tax roll. The Scull and Heap map noted sixty-three establishments that can be identified as bourgeois country seats. The corresponding number for the same region on the 1767 tax roll was roughly seventy, with another eight possible. The ownership had changed a great deal, as families bought and sold property and older generations died. Undoubtedly too, improvements were made. But the number of such establishments stayed roughly the same, although a new development, the rental of country seats, probably also skews the apparent number. Rental properties are not easily spotted on the tax roll.

Among country seats that can be identified on the tax roll, Passyunk, south of the city, had the same number as the Scull and Heap map, ten in each case, although there were at least a few new ones. For example, in 1759 Samuel Rhoads (c. 1710–1784), a Quaker master builder, real-estate developer, and architect of the Pennsylvania Hospital, bought sixty-two acres for a country seat in Passyunk near Gray's Ferry;[74] unfortunately, nothing is known of his house there. Further down the river, the West Indian merchant Daniel Roberdeau (c. 1726–1795) erected a country house in the 1760s on a six-acre tract in Passyunk, part of a scheme similar to that at Port Richmond called the Schuylkill Point Meadows Company.[75]

The Northern Liberties also had roughly the same number on the Scull and Heap map (33) as on the 1767 tax roll (35). Only on land further out, which was more available, did the



Glen Fern, Thomas Livezey's country seat, near Germantown. Lithograph by John Richards, LCP number of country seats increase significantly. In Oxford, for example, Scull and Heap recorded only two country seats, while there were seven in 1767. In addition, there would have been a few country seats beyond the area covered by Scull and Heap, especially in the later period. As a single example, in 1773 Samuel Miles (1740–1805), a Baptist Philadelphia merchant, bought a 205-acre plantation in Whitemarsh to which he retired a year later.[76]

One thing that did change between 1752 and 1767 was the social class of owners of country seats. In 1752 the vast majority of country seats had belonged to professional men—merchants, lawyers, doctors. In 1767 a majority still belonged to this class, but a significant number of others listed themselves as tradesmen who had amassed sufficient wealth to own country property; these included a founder, a carpenter, a carriage maker, a cooper, a brewer, and even a skinner.[77] Typical was Samuel Howell, a hatter of Quaker ancestry, who bought 265 acres along the Delaware River in 1765 for a country seat.[78] As land along the Schuylkill filled up with country seats, they became more common along the Delaware. Another scenario that has gone unnoticed was the conversion of a working farm to a country seat by a yeoman turned bourgeoisie. Thus John Hughes, who began life as a farmer on the border between Blockley and Merion townships, moved to the city about midcentury and became a wealthy baker. His enhanced economic position enabled him to retain his "farm" as a country seat.[79] Such conversions testify to the fluidity of wealth and social mobility in early Philadelphia. Also living in the townships around Philadelphia were a number of women with city origins, widows with children who had fallen on hard times and probably found living cheaper in the country. An example was Susanna Foster, of Moyamensing, who had thirteen and a half acres and a dwelling with one slave and one cow and rents in the city.[80]

The new building boom produced some of the most elaborate, expansive, and expensive country houses seen yet. Perhaps the best-known Philadelphia country house, Mount Pleasant, represented an early fruit of the boom, but Port Royal and Cliveden rapidly followed. Their locations testify to the broad geographical spread of country seats in this era: Mount Pleasant along the Schuylkill in the Northern Liberties; Port Royal in Frankford, up the Delaware; and Cliveden in Germantown. These three are the subject of chapter 13.

The 1770s were the time of the denouement of the story, the subject of chapter 14. The times were troubled, with rumors of revolt, especially upsetting for the ruling merchant class, who were torn in allegiance. Many of the wealthy considered flight to England or elsewhere. Some sought refuge in their country seats, away from the mobs of Philadelphia and the danger of attacks on the city.[81] Not surprisingly, fewer new country houses appeared in this era, though there were still some. Waln Grove, in the Northern Liberties, was improved from a farm to a fashionable country seat by a family of yeomen turned merchants. Chalkley Hall grew from a modest Quaker country house to a substantial, architecturally distinguished seat. One of the financiers of the Revolution, Robert Morris (1734–1806), began his villa at Fairmount, The Hills, later Lemon Hill. Finally, we end as we began, with the Penns and what was hailed as "the best country house in America," Lansdowne, across the Schuylkill from Mount Pleasant, the country seat of John Penn (1729–1795), grandson of the founder.

CHAPTER 5

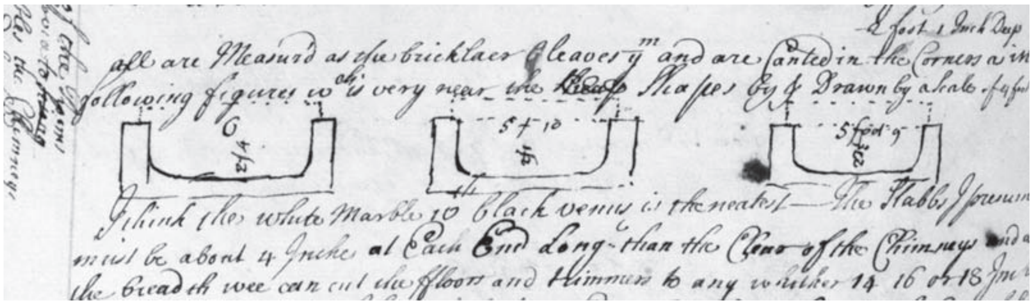
The Process of Design and Building

In many parts of America, building a genteel dwelling was considered an ordeal, but not in Philadelphia, at least not after the very earliest period. For example, Virginia society, being spread out over a vast area, had a perennial shortage of skilled labor.[1] John Carlyle, who built a mansion in Alexandria, exclaimed during its construction, "Its a Pleasure to build in England but here where we are obliged To Doe Everything With one's own Servants & these Negroes makes it Require Constant Attendance & Care—& So much Trouble that If I had Suspected it would have been What I have met with, I believe I should have made Shift with A Very Small house."[2] Craftsmen were often itinerant and thus difficult to contact and likely to disappear.[3] Philadelphia, by contrast, possessed skilled people to help design a house and no shortage of worthy craftsmen in all the specialties. A wealthy gentleman might still (and usually did) act as his own general contractor, but except at the very beginning of colonization, he would find plenty of merchants and artisans at hand to help.

Design and Drawing

In colonial Philadelphia, as in the rest of America, country houses were designed by two groups of people, master builders and gentlemen–amateur architects, the latter including house owners. At least two of the master builders in colonial Philadelphia identified themselves as architects or surveyors trained to make designs: George Harrison, an English marble worker who for a short time advertised architectural services; and the better-known Robert Smith, a master carpenter. Both groups produced drawings, a few of which survive.[4]

Early in the colony's history, few residents of Philadelphia could design and draw a substantial building, and the identification of designers is difficult. Neither the designer or



2 foot 1 Inch Deep
all are Measur'd as the bricklaer Cleaver y^m and are Canted in the Corners a in
following figures w^ch is very near the [illegible] Shapes by & Drawn by a Scale of y^e f
I think the White Marble w^th Black veins is the neatest — The Slabbs I presum
must be about 4 Inches at Each End Longer than the Cleno of the Chimney and a
the breadth wee can cut the ffloors and Slimmers to any whither 14 16 or 18 Inc

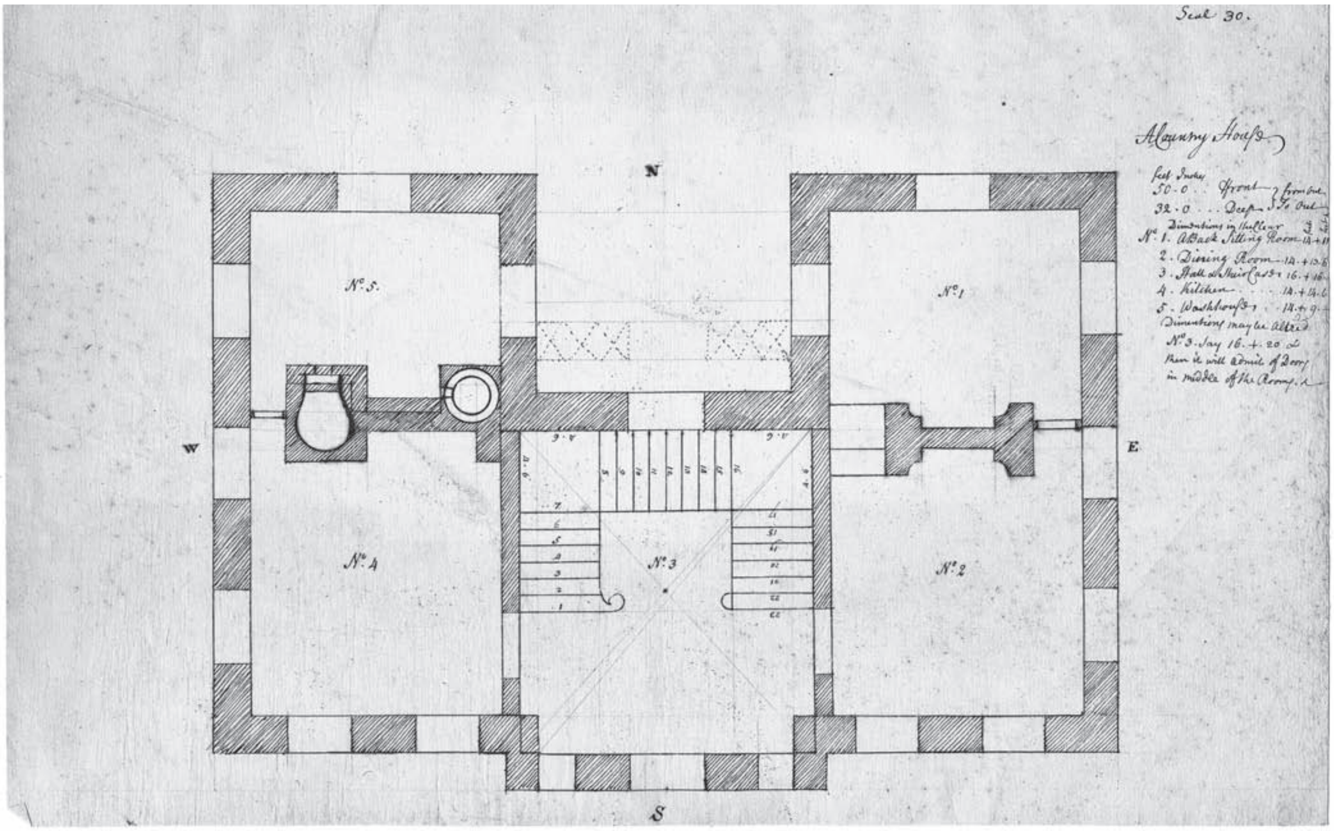
6
5 f 10
5 foot 9

A gentleman building a county house writes to England for marble for mantelpieces. Sketches by Isaac Norris Sr. Norris to John Askew, 3 July 1714, Norris Letterbook, 1709–16, 455, HSP

builder nor the drawings, if any, for Pennsbury are known. When he later contemplated building a house in Philadelphia, Penn sent over from England a "Modell," that is, one or more drawings,[5] suggesting that he may have brought a design for his earlier country house with him from England as well (though no letters refer to such a design). Prior to Pennsbury, Penn himself had no experience with drawing or architecture. Perhaps Thomas Holme, the only person in the colony at that time known to possess skill in drawing, had a share in the design.[6] Penn asked repeatedly, though in vain, for a drawing of Pennsbury: "I should be glad to see a draught of Pennsberry wch an Artist would quickly take, with the land scip of the hous, out housen, their proportion & distance one from an other, the river, gardens & orchards."[7]

Perhaps the most likely designer for Fairhill is Isaac Norris himself. Sketches of fireplaces drawn by Norris are among the several examples of his and the family's interest and ability in drawing. A family collection of architectural drawings contains plans and elevations of country houses probably drawn by Isaac Norris Jr. but also some that must predate

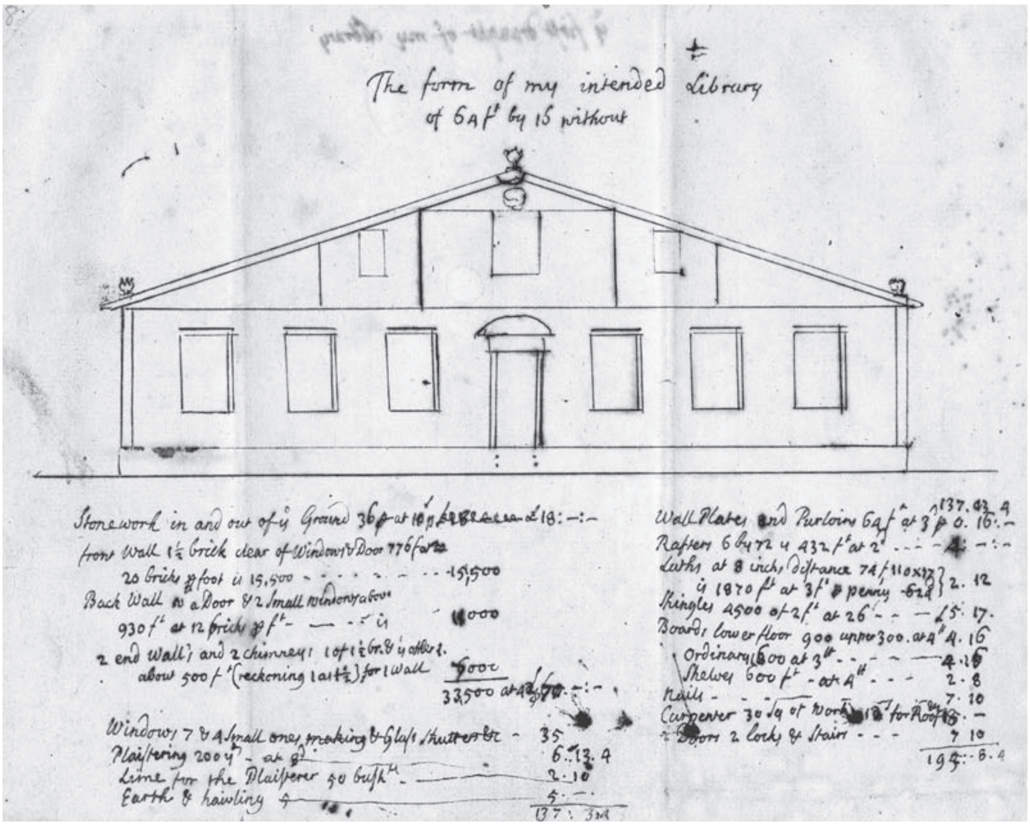
Plan for an unknown house, perhaps a variant of Fairhill. Norris Family Album, HSP


Scal 30.
A Country House
feet Inches
50 . 0 . . Front } from Out
32 . 0 . . . Deep } to Out
Dimentions in the Clear
N.^o 1. A Back Sitting Room 14 + 1[illegible]
2. Dining Room 14 + 13.6
3. Hall & Stair Case 16 + 16
4. Kitchen 14 + 14.6
5. Washhouse 14 + 9
Dimentions may be Altered
N.^o 3. Say 16 + 20 &
then it will admit of Doors
in middle of the Room
N
W
E
S
N.^o 5
N.^o 1
N.^o 4
N.^o 3
N.^o 2

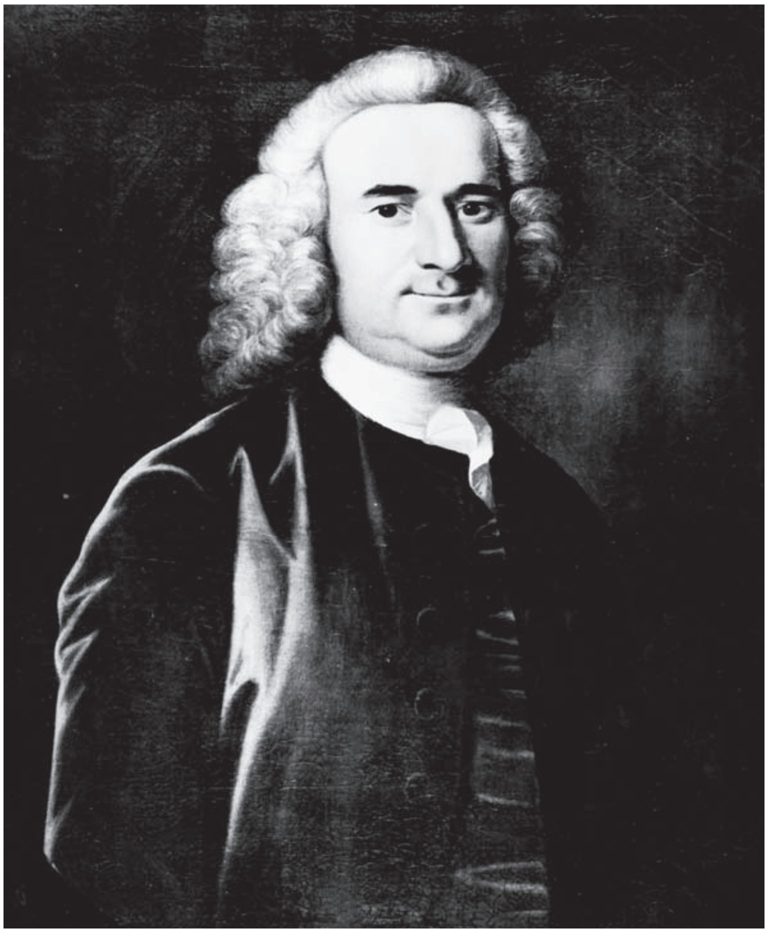
the son. Norris Sr.'s correspondence shows an intimate knowledge of the details of construction and a close relationship with the builders. Both he and the builders had important roles in the design process.[8]

Norris's letters reveal the attention he paid to the construction of his country house. Norris specified dimensions and quality of material. He was clearly acquainted with every aspect of construction and approved every detail. His counterpart of a hundred (or even fifty) years later would much more likely have hired a master builder or architect to handle such details. Letters discussing the windows also reveal a fluidity in the design of the house as it rose. In December Norris doubled a May order for sashes, saying that he had decided to add a second story. However, a month later he canceled the additional order, "having alter'd my mind and got over the persuasions of the workmen for another story."[9]

Stenton's primary historian believes that James Logan should get credit for the design of his house.[10] Like Norris, Logan could design and draw, as shown by a surviving drawing of the Loganian Library and "Draught of Drawers in a Table." The former shows his intentions for a very unconventional building and provided a basis for a cost estimate and a list of building materials. While not skillfully executed, Logan's drawing is to scale, shows a command of pen and ruler, and even depicts ornamental architectural details such as urns on the roof, a segmental pediment over the central door, and a niche in the center of the upper floor.[11] It compares favorably with Andrew Hamilton's 1732 drawing of the Pennsylvania State House.[12] Logan owned at least a few books on architecture, including Claude Perrault's *The Theory and Practice of Architecture* (1703) and Richard Neve's *The City and Country Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (1726). He also could survey, a skill often related to architecture in this period.[13]


The form of my intended Library
of 64 ft by 15 without
Stonework in and out of ye Ground 36 p at 10 s p £18:–:–
front Wall 1½ brick clear of Windows & Door 776 feet
20 bricks p foot is 15,500 – 15,500
Back Wall w a Door & 2 Small windows above
930 ft at 12 bricks p ft – is 11000
2 end Walls and 2 chimneys 1 of 1½ br. & ye other 1.
about 500 ft (reckoning 1 at 1½) for 1 Wall 7000
33500 at 42/ 70 –:–
Windows 7 & 4 Small ones making & Glass Shutters &c – 35
Plaistering 200 yd – at 8d 6.13.4
Lime for the Plaisterer 50 bush – 2.10
Earth & hawling 5.–
137.3.4
Wall Plates and Purloins 64 f at 3 p 0.16.–
Rafters 6 by 72 is 432 ft at 2d – 4 –:–
Laths at 8 inches distance 74 f 110x17
is 1870 ft at 3 ft p penny 624 2.12
Shingles 4500 of 2 ft at 26 – £5.17.
Boards lower floor 900 upper 300. at 4d 4.16
Ordinary 600 at 3d – 4.16
Shelves 600 ft – at 4d 2.8
nails 7.10
Carpenter 30 sq of work 12 for Roof 18.–
2 Doors 2 locks & Stairs 7 10
195:8.4

James Logan's drawing for the Loganian Library. HSP



A gentleman–amateur architect of colonial Philadelphia, William Peters. Portrait attributed to Robert Wollaston, HSP

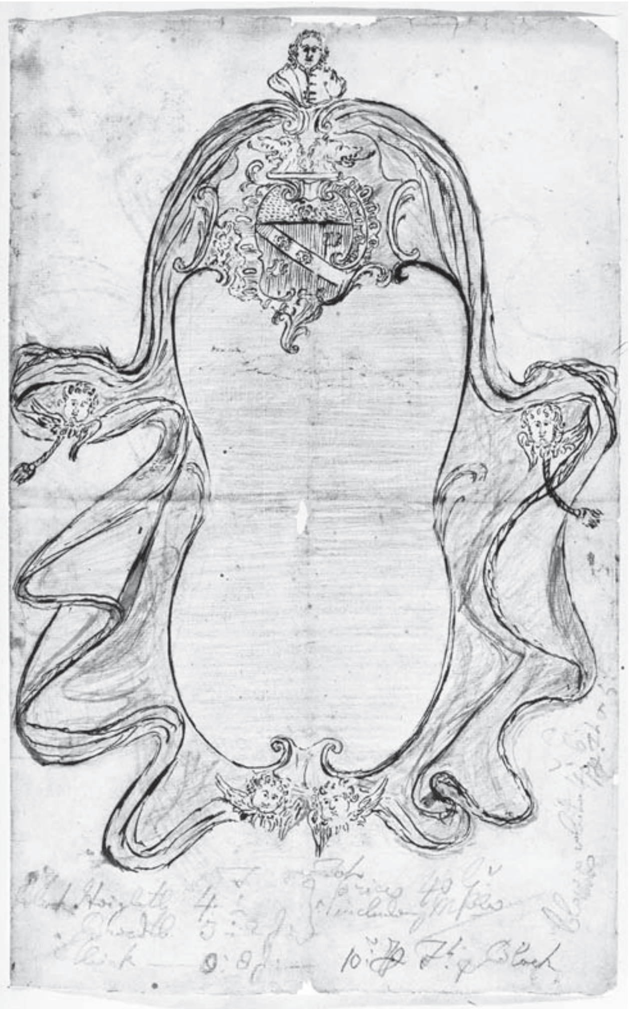
One of Logan's letters dealing with Stenton mentions a "model and disposition," very likely referring to an elevation and plan, respectively, indicating that drawings existed for Stenton. Certain proportional distributions in plan and elevation, as well as subtle alignments in plan, also make drawings likely. In that same letter Logan specifically stated, at least of his first version of the house, "I designed it."[14] In addition, he consistently and constantly referred to Stenton as "my plantation house," suggesting both ownership and authorship.[15] Moreover, no one craftsman appeared often or consistently enough in his accounts to indicate an alternative designer. Logan directly hired the craftsmen and purchased the materials, thus acting as his own contractor. These facts, plus arrogance about his own intellectual ability, make it highly unlikely that he would have delegated such an important task. He undoubtedly was influenced by the work of others in the British Isles and the colonies, and he probably discussed the overall design and various features with fellow gentry men and with the artisans engaged in the work.

Fairhill and Stenton were built early in the colonial period. Undoubtedly, the wealthy continued to play an important part in the design of their houses later in the period, bolstered by a gentleman's education that sometimes included drawing, architectural books, conversation among peers, and travel to England—there are frequent references in the narratives below to a trip to the homeland just before beginning a new country house.[16] However, evidence of other designers increases as the eighteenth century progresses, and it seems that the gentry increasingly called on fellow members of their class or master builders for designs.

The most important gentleman–amateur architect to emerge from our research was William Peters, the owner and designer of Belmont and its gardens and known as the designer of at least one other substantial country house, Cliveden. An attorney and high government official originally from Liverpool, Peters had a more than ordinary interest in and knowledge of the arts of *disegno*. Documents show that he accepted paintings, particularly landscapes and seascapes, as payment for rent from the impoverished artist Joseph Molineaux in Liverpool, paintings that may well have appeared at Belmont. Such patronization of painters by all the moneyed classes was new in the eighteenth century, a significant aspect of the period's increased refinement. It was also new in Philadelphia, which had been dominated by Quaker suspicion of fine art.[17] That they were landscapes suggests the genre's increased stature. The eighteenth century turned upside down the traditional hierarchy of paintings that had placed historical subjects, religious and classical, at the pinnacle of importance, followed by portraiture and finally, much further down, landscape and genre scenes. When Thomas Penn requested a perspectival view of Philadelphia, a request that resulted in the Scull and Heap view of 1752, Richard Peters wrote him:

> We have attempted several times while the river was froze over to take the perspective from Cowpers, but thru' haziness rain or dull weather to have been disappointed. As the Governor [James Hamilton] and my brother [William] have good judgment in this sort of science and speak well of Winter the painter who has undertaken to make and put down the view, I am in hopes you will be furnished with a good one for a copper plate.[18]

The Peters Papers, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, also contain a rough sketch of a monument to William's father, Ralph.[19] Although this could have been drawn by anybody, its presence with William Peters's papers suggests that he was the artist. The design shows many points of similarity with funeral monuments reproduced in James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, of 1728 (plates 128–32), a book Peters almost certainly owned, as Belmont has features that appear in it. Gibbs explicitly wrote for builders such as Peters—"Gentlemen as might be concerned in Building, especially in the remote parts of the Country, where little or no assistance for Designs can be procured."[20] Moreover, certain motifs in the monument drawing appear in the ceiling of Belmont's hall. Could Peters have helped design this ceiling as well?



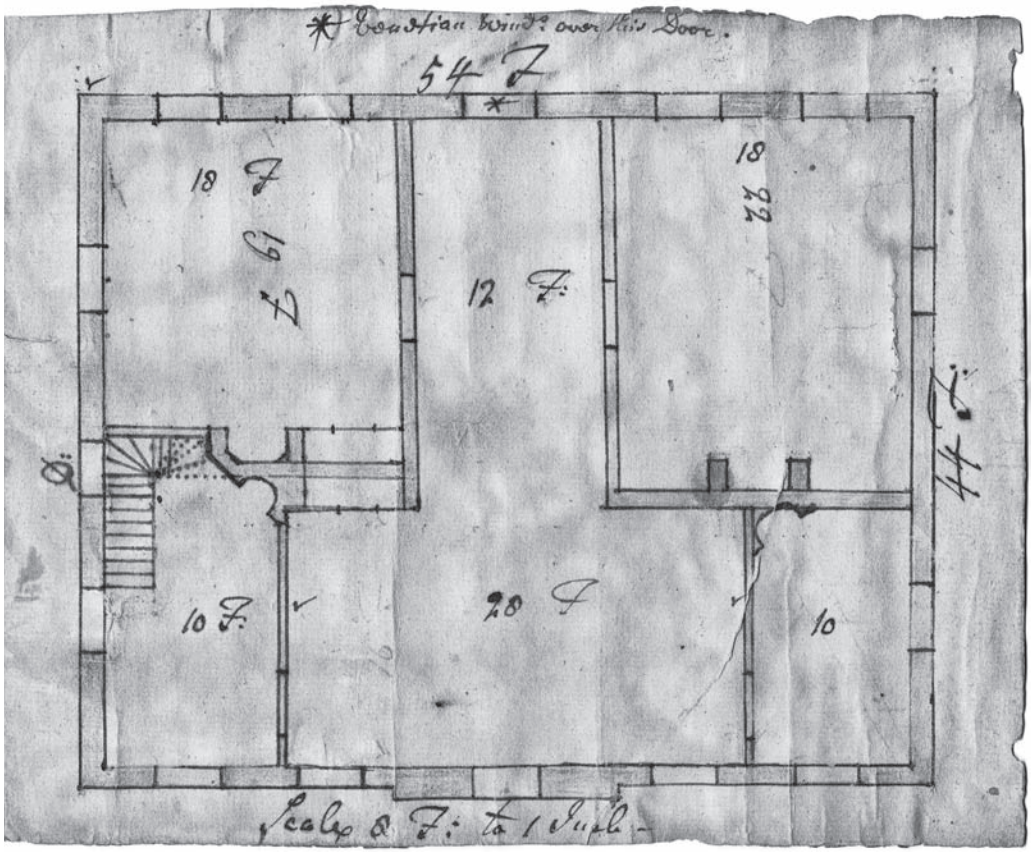
Design for a cartouche, probably for a funerary monument for Ralph Peters, father of William Peters, possibly drawn by William (c. 1743). PP, 1:100

Further evidence that Peters could make architectural drawings is Richard Hockley's statement that he was building a house in Society Hill with "the plan as drawn by Mr. Wm Peters & one Harrison." Hockley said of the design: "Tis a very compleat one, of the dimensions, and the best I think by far in this place and most convenient and commodious."[21] Further, Peters's handwriting appears on the earliest plan for Benjamin Chew's country house, Cliveden;[22] thus it appears that Peters acted as a gentleman-architect for the wealthy of Philadelphia. If he designed for others, he certainly designed for himself as well, so that the design of Belmont can confidently be ascribed to him. The designs of Belmont and Cliveden alone make Peters a major architect of the colonial era.

Peters also had substantial practical knowledge of building, evidenced in many small ways, as when Hockley took Peters along when he went to buy a block of marble for Thomas Penn.[23] More substantially, Penn entrusted to Peters the planning and construction of a ferry house at Greenwich Point on the Delaware. Peters corresponded with Penn about driving piles into soft ground, requesting a drawing and model of the pile driver used on the "new bridge" in London, which Penn obligingly sent, although he hoped that the ferry house could be more simply constructed of frame without elaborate foundations or a cellar. The building was constructed of frame, although with stone cellars, the stone provided by Peters himself and shipped in his own boats.[24] Peters attempted to supplement his professional income with quarrying on his Belmont property, very likely near the river, from which his son Richard (named after his uncle) would later also remove stone for sale. By midcentury Peters also burned lime on his land. And he had a marble business in conjunction with a partner, David Chambers, probably providing such elements as fireplace surrounds and hearths, though whether the marble was imported or domestic is unknown.[25]

William Peters (1702–1786) invites comparison with the much better known Peter Harrison (1716–1775), of Newport. Both were born in the early eighteenth century in provincial centers of England, Harrison in York. Both had professions appropriate for gentleman, Peters an attorney and Harrison a sea captain and merchant. Neither came from wealth, and consequently both had to work for their livelihood. Both reached the height of their wealth as high public officials, Harrison as collector of customs for New Haven. Harrison forsook Quakerism prior to his marriage to a wealthy Anglican. Both used their Anglican religious connections to secure position and subsequent wealth. Apparently, neither charged fees for architectural design, which they did as an avocation for both public and private clients.[26]

Both men also depended heavily upon books for their designs. Harrison's use of the latest Palladian texts from England helped push New England architecture to a new level of sophistication. Like most gentlemen-amateurs up to and including that greatest of the tribe, Thomas Jefferson, William Peters relied heavily on books such as Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* for the design of Belmont. Drawings for Cliveden suggest that Peters also

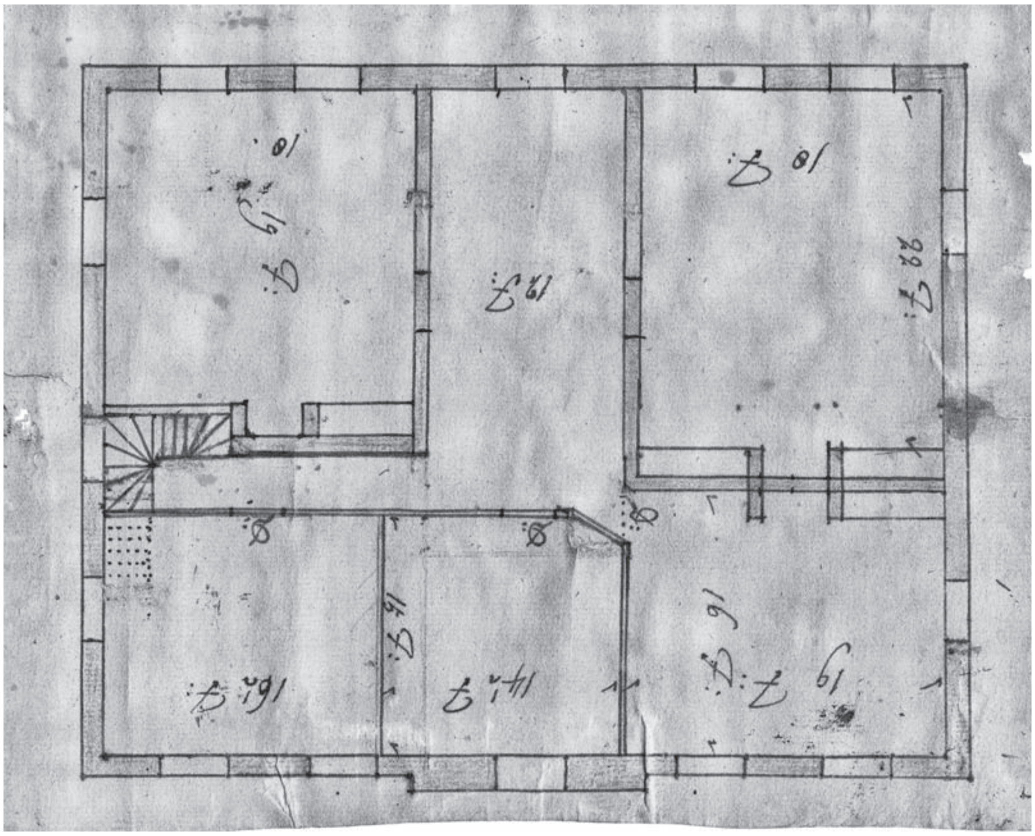


Cliveden (c. 1763), drawing 1, William Peters's first draft of the first-floor plan. CP borrowed from Abraham Swan's *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (1757), the favorite pattern book of Philadelphia builders in the 1760s.

The drawings for Cliveden deserve a close look. A set of nine drawings in the Chew Papers chart the course of Peters's thinking about Cliveden, a rare and tremendously valuable eighteenth-century survivor.[27] These drawings, in conjunction with the extensive Cliveden building accounts, provide a remarkable window on the entire process of design and construction of a major eighteenth-century building. Given the great, apparently self-conscious variety evident in the plans and elevations of many of the large Philadelphia country houses, there were probably drawings for most of them.

Among the nine drawings in the Chew Papers, evidently two floor plans (drawing 1, of the first floor, and drawing 2, of the second floor) were preliminary drawings for Cliveden.[28] Drawing 1 represents a modification of plate 1 or 4 in volume 1 of Swan's *Collection of Designs in Architecture*. Plate 1 is the plate that inspired the master carpenter Thomas Nevell's design of Mount Pleasant (designed June and July 1763), and the similarity in the facades of Mount Pleasant and Cliveden demonstrates the continuing impact of Nevell's masterpiece. Indeed, the first design of Cliveden was more faithful to Swan's plates than Mount Pleasant.

A later plan for the first floor (drawing 3) refines Peters's drawing and presents Cliveden mainly as constructed. Three sheets of elevations (4–6) present a succession of ideas for Cliveden's front elevation, all probably drawn by the same draftsman; they all share inscriptions in the same handwriting, which belongs to Richard Tea, at the time a clerk and surveyor in Penn's Land Office, run by William Peters.[29] Another sheet (7) shows the design presented on sheet 6 in perspectival form, likely also the work of Peters or Tea.[30]

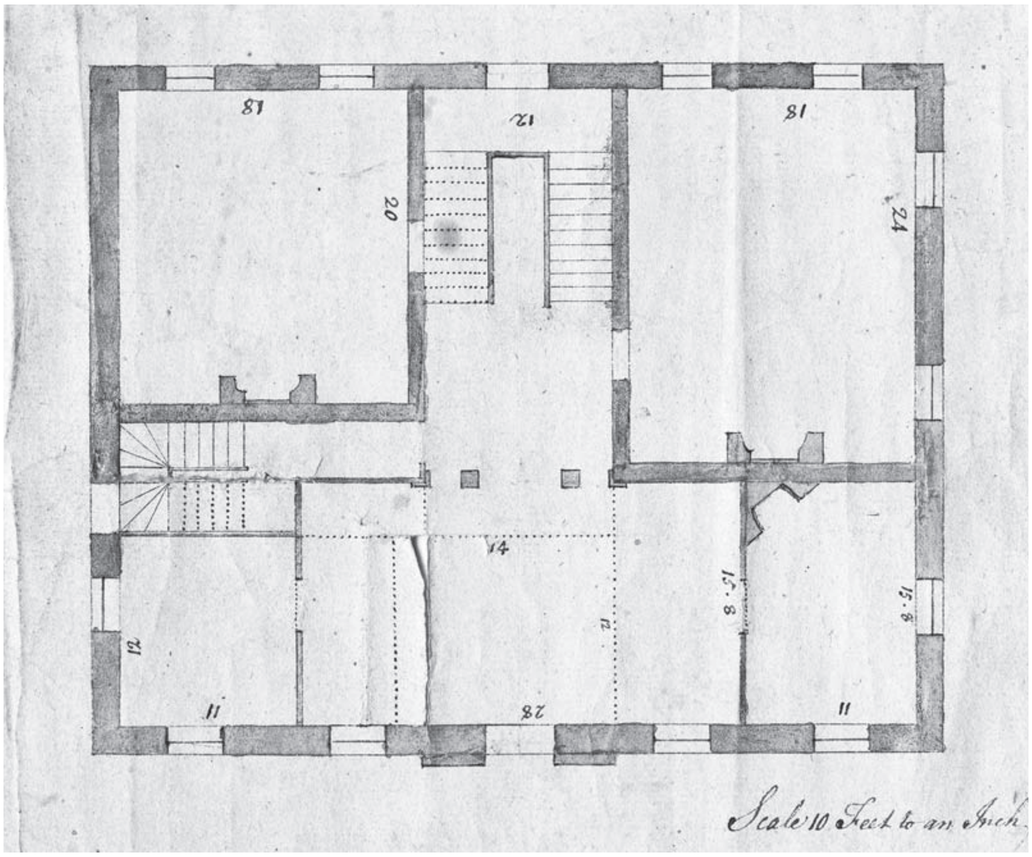


Cliveden, drawing 2, William Peters's first draft of the second-floor plan. CP

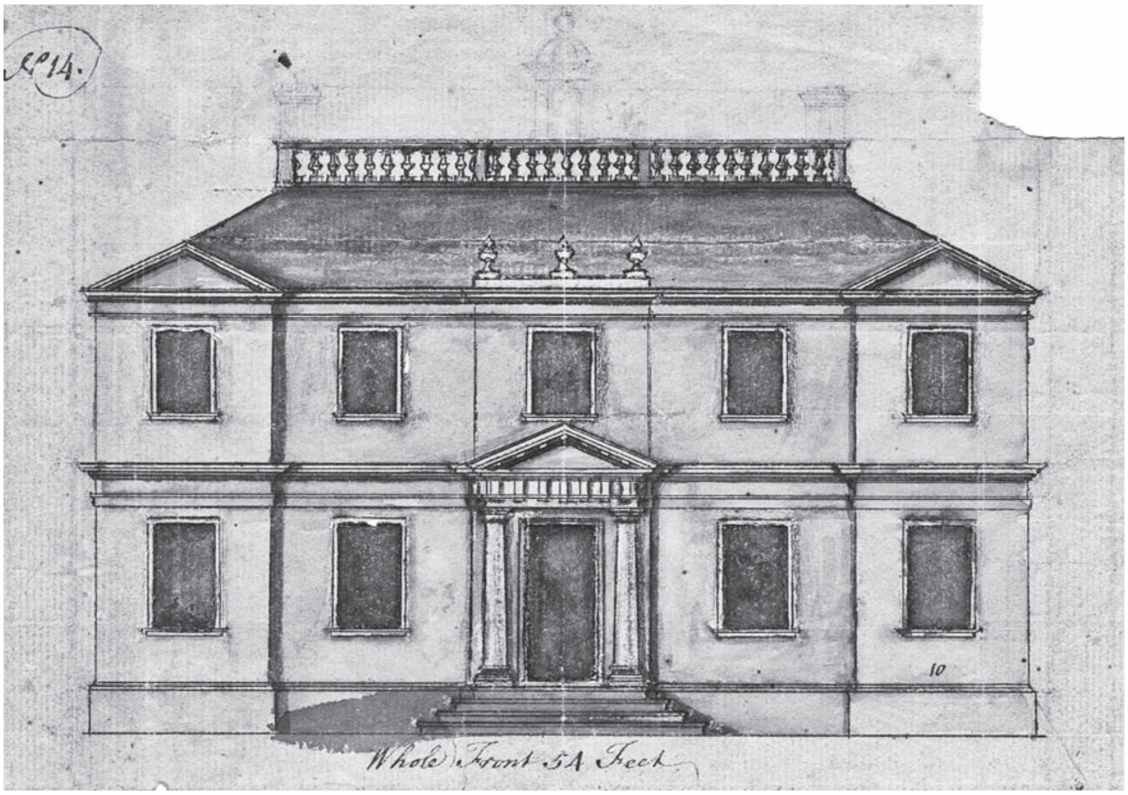
This is the earliest American architectural perspective,[31] constructed by transferring distances from the rough plan of the house by means of pencil lines that run to a vanishing point below the bottom of the house, the base line for the perspectival construction. Curiously, no horizontal vanishing lines are present. Two other drawings (8 and 9) depict sketch and hard-lined versions of an unusual design that probably appeared early (but not necessarily first) in the design process and was rejected. As a whole, the drawings evince a highly self-conscious process of design that belongs more to the modern age than to traditional construction.

Thomas Nevell (1721–1797) is an example of a master builder as designer of a Philadelphia country house, in this case Mount Pleasant, built for John Macpherson, a rare instance when this responsibility can be attributed with such clarity. Nevell belonged to the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia and was a master carpenter of major importance in eighteenth-century Philadelphia. Of his known projects, Mount Pleasant most fully showcases his method of working and his skill.

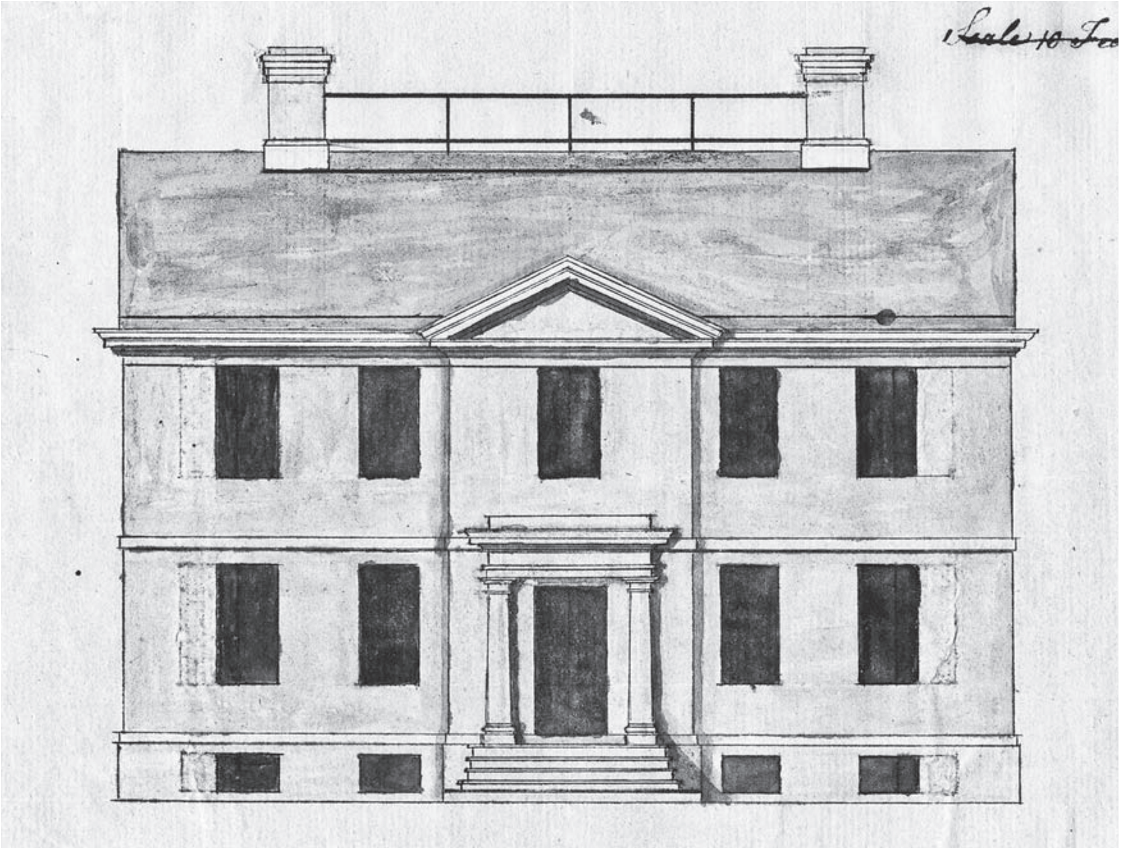
Nevell was the son of Thomas Nevell Sr., a small shopkeeper, and his wife, Mary, both of whom died when the child was very young, leaving him in the guardianship of the wealthy brewer Samuel Carpenter. By 1737 Carpenter had apprenticed him with Edmund Woolley, who with Ebenezer Tomlinson was then constructing the Pennsylvania State House. Not too many years later, Tomlinson worked with William Peters and James Hamilton on Belmont and Bush Hill, projects of which Nevell undoubtedly would have been aware. Nevell finished his apprenticeship and advertised to the general public in 1745.[32] He worked with Woolley again in 1750 on the tower of the State House, a project



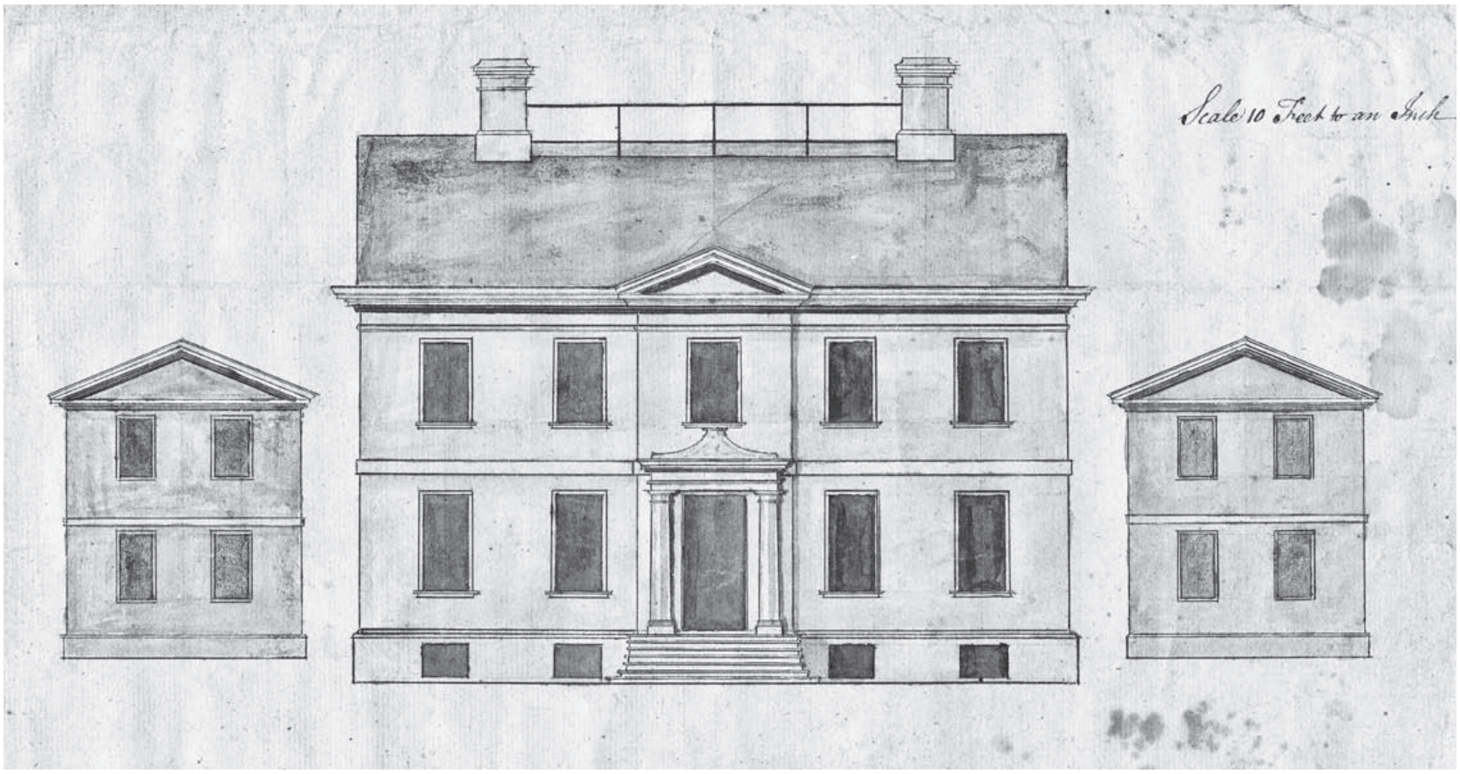
Cliveden, drawing 3, final first-floor plan, probably by Richard Tea. CP


No 14.
10
Whole Front 54 Feet

Cliveden, drawing 4, early variant for the facade, by William Peters and Richard Tea. CP



Cliveden, drawing 5, early variant for the facade, by William Peters and Richard Tea. CP



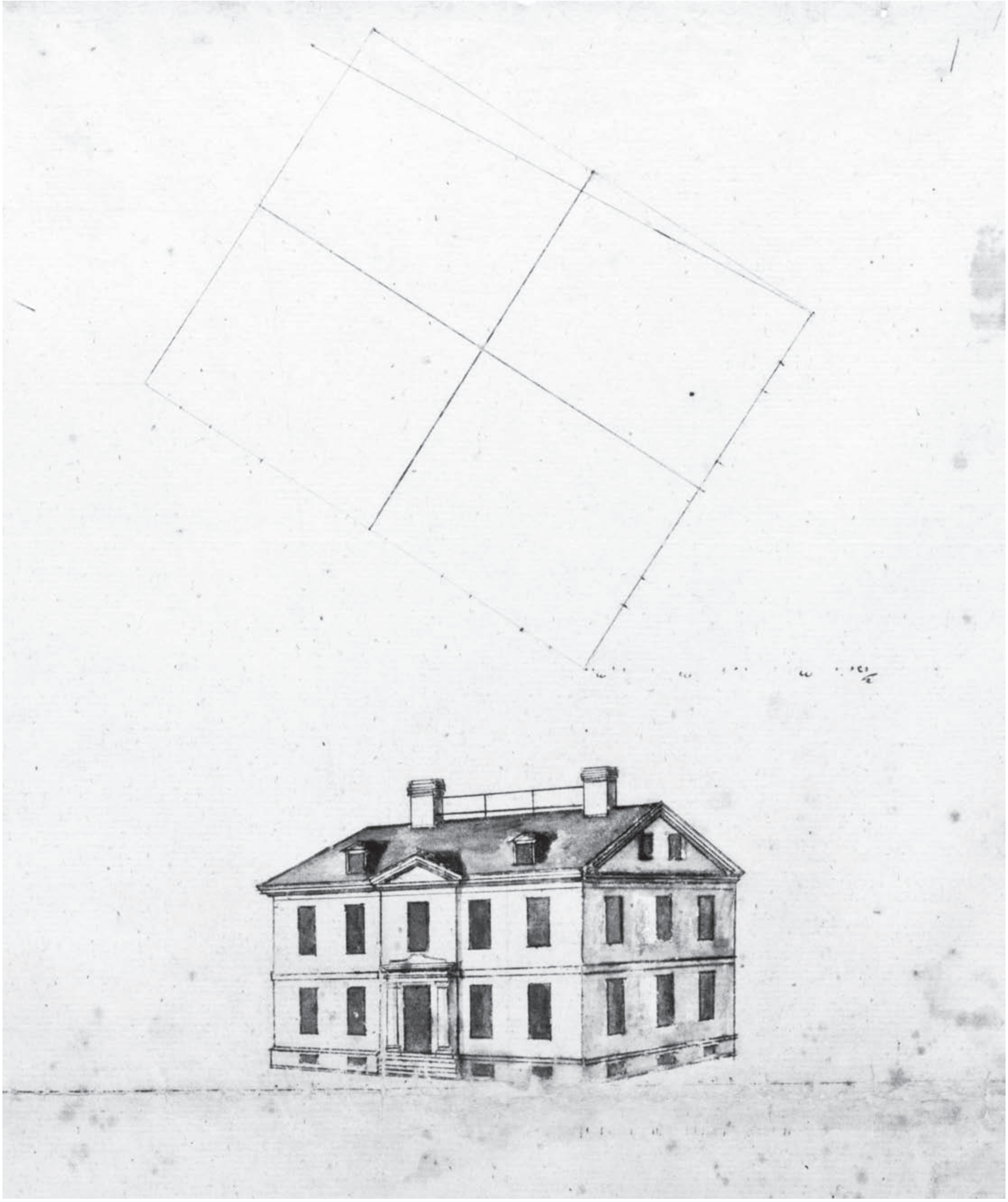
Cliveden, drawing 6, near-final scheme for the facade, by William Peters and Richard Tea. CP

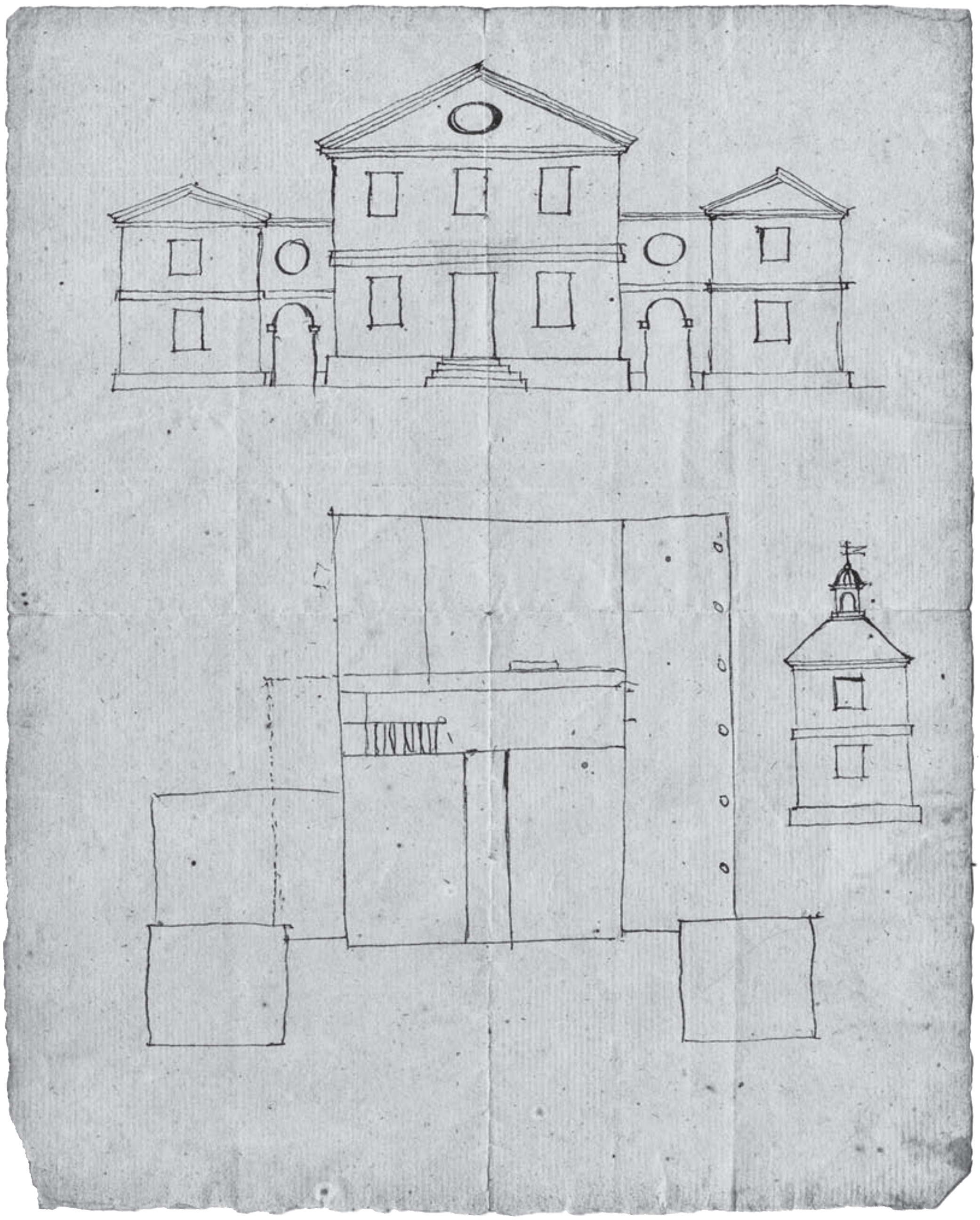
that included the earliest known Palladian window in the colony. Besides being a skilled carpenter, Woolley also drew proficiently, as he was paid for drawing floor plans and elevations of the State House.[33] Nevell became known early on as "an ingenious house carpenter." In 1771 he advertised to teach "the Art of Drawing" buildings, the first known classes in the subject offered in Pennsylvania. He also referred to this endeavor as "Lerning Architect" and "instruction in the Above Art," and he accepted his first pupil, David Williamson, in the same year.[34]

Other projects on which Nevell is known to have worked include the steeple of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia (1762–63), alterations to the major town house of John Cadwalader (1769), a city house for the cabinetmaker Benjamin Randolph (1770), and Carpenters' Hall (1770–73).[35] Late in life he removed the steeple from the State House and replaced it with a low hipped roof and weathervane (1781), and with the carpenter Gunning Bedford he built the Triumphal Arch spanning Market Street to mark the peace of 1783, which successfully ended the Revolution. Despite such noteworthy commissions, he ended his life penniless, and the Carpenters' Company had to pay his funeral expenses.[36]

(Opposite)
Cliveden, drawing 7, the earliest American architectural perspectival drawing, probably by Richard Tea. CP

Besides the "Jeneril plan for all the Buildings" at Mount Pleasant, Nevell also made for Macpherson "two difrant plans & Elivations for his Country Seat," at a cost of £6.[37] As these drawings, presumably made in 1762, were earlier than those for Cliveden, they are the first design alternatives known for a Philadelphia building, and they suggest again the self-consciousness about design, style, and plan that characterized the era. The elevation drawings, but not the plans, were influenced by and closely resemble plate 1 in volume 1 of Swan's *Collection of Designs in Architecture*. Macpherson purchased the book, for the relatively substantial sum of £4, at the beginning of the project, and when the construction

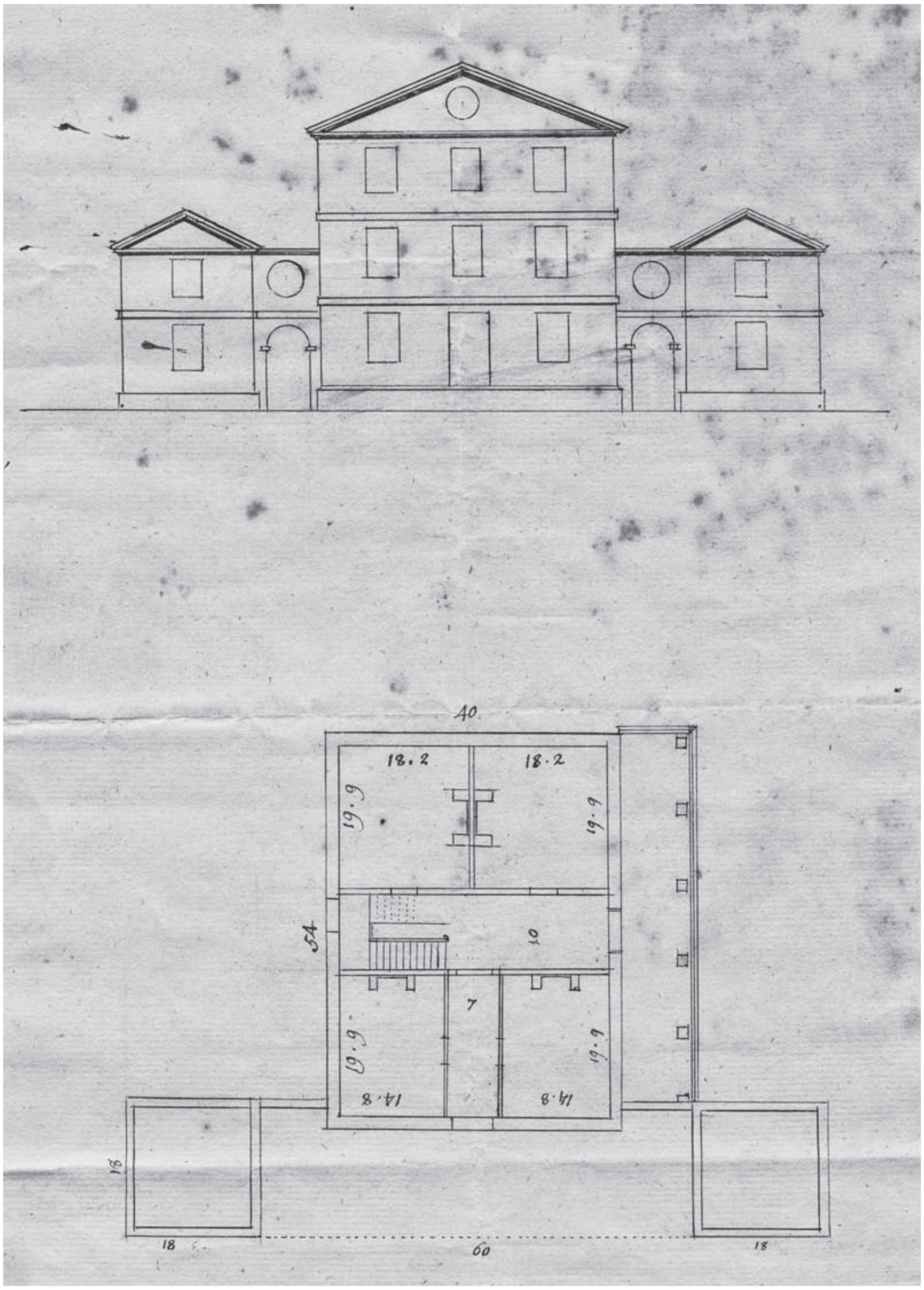




Cliveden, drawing 8, alternative design, sketch plan and elevation. CP

was completed, he gave it to Nevell in exchange for some of the carpenter's work.[38] Published in 1757 and thus quite literally the latest thing, the *Collection of Designs* constituted a virtual cornucopia for provincial builders. Swan stated in the preface that the book was addressed to "Gentlemen of moderate Fortunes," rather than the wealthiest, at whom most previous collections of designs had been aimed. Never before had the small detached house received so much attention in an architectural book.[39] The first twenty-three plates of Swan's book ring the changes on a small to moderately sized house, with virtually all of Mount Pleasant's features shown on one elevation or another.[40]

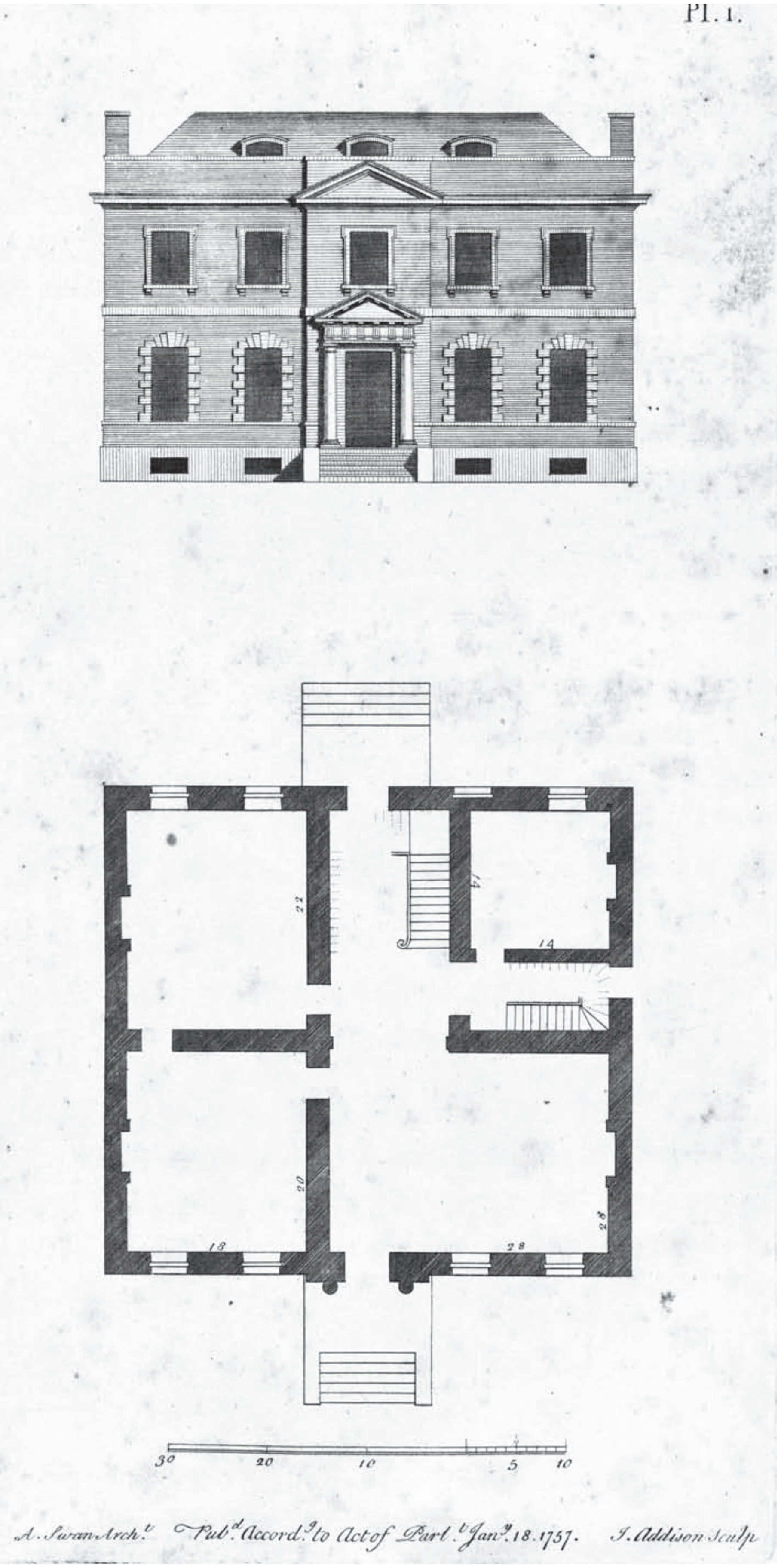
During the construction of Mount Pleasant, Nevell also worked on other projects for Macpherson, especially rental properties in the city. While the work performed is not es-



Cliveden, drawing 9, alternative design, hard-lined plan and elevation. CP

pecially notable, what is significant is the fact that Nevell assigned account numbers to projects, a seemingly modern convention. Mount Pleasant was number 68.[41] Nevell also drew for Macpherson a plan for a "House in Town," perhaps a lavish urban counterpart to Mount Pleasant, but there is no evidence that it was ever built.

Nevell's daybook offers a wide window into his practice. Besides the drawings for Mount Pleasant, he made what he called "Bills of Scantling Cathalogues for furniture etc.


Pl. 1.
22
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A. Swan Archt.
Pubd. Accordg. to Act of Parlt. Jany. 18.1757.
J. Addison Sculp

Thomas Nevell's inspiration for Mount Pleasant's elevation and William Peters's model for Cliveden, both in plan and elevation. From Abraham Swan, *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (1757), vol. 1, plate 1, LCP of ye Buildings."[42] "Scantling" refers to lumber; "furniture" probably indicates items such as doors, windows, and paneling. These bills suggest that much of the detail of Mount Pleasant was decided upon before construction began, a relatively modern approach to architectural practice and antithetical to the sometime portrayal of colonial construction as an informal give and take between builder and owner such as was apparent earlier at Pennsbury, Fairhill, and Stenton.

The Process of Building

Once a house was designed, construction could begin, usually by contracting with a master mason and/or master carpenter. The contract usually took the typical eighteenth-century form: it specified the work to be done at the outset, but final payment was based on a measurement of work, usually done by an outside party but in some cases seemingly arrived at by agreement between owner and builder. The owner and the builder shared many areas of agreement in the eighteenth century, and many things that would have to be specified now could be assumed then.[43] At Fairhill, Isaac Norris and his builder, a fellow Quaker, had a simple agreement and tried hard in the end to arrive "at Friendly," but outside measurers had to resolve the matter.[44]

At Cliveden, Chew contracted with John Hesser, a Germantown mason, to begin construction, giving Hesser an advance payment, presumably toward quarrying or buying stone. The first entry in Chew's account book on Cliveden reads: "I John Hesser having agreed with Benjamin Chew to build a house for him the ensuing summer at Germantown do hereby acknowledge to have this day rec'ed of the sd. B. Chew the sum of twenty five pounds by him advanced to me towards the sd. contract in part pay for the work I am to do about the sd house."[45] The advance for stone allowed Hesser to pay a quarryman. Although it does not survive, Chew must also have had a contract with the carpenter Jacob Knor, who received steady, large payments throughout the construction and in the end had his work measured. Chew paid some outside suppliers and subcontractors (to use a modern term) directly and others through Knor.

Construction activities began with the acquisition of materials and digging the cellar. Walls and chimneys required bricks and stone; lime was needed for mortar and plaster; and structural timber became the framing. Right from the establishment of the Pennsylvania colony these basic building materials might be either harvested on site or bought from a professional manufacturer. The owner or builder would generally begin to gather these materials in the fall of the year before construction commenced.

Brick was the most usual material for a country house's walls and one of the most expensive. Early on, some bricks were usually made on site, but also right from the beginning, builders could buy them from brickyards near Philadelphia, where there was good clay. For example, William Penn had some bricks made from Pennsbury clay, although he also talked about getting bricks from Burlington, New Jersey, and from John Redman in Philadelphia.[46] For Fairhill, Richard Redman contracted to make bricks out of clay dug from a woodlot on the Fairhill property, a spot conveniently near the house site. Norris's slaves William and Addoo worked with the brickmakers and later the bricklayers as well. In fact, Redman contracted with Norris for Addoo's services for a full year of construction.[47] Stenton's bricks came from a site later referred to as "ye Brick Kiln field" and called the "Maple Swamp," about two hundred yards west of the mansion.[48] The swamp likely resulted from the clay pits lowering the ground surface. Bricks made on site often had fatal flaws and had to be discarded.

The practice of making bricks at the site of a country house disappeared as the eighteenth century progressed, because of the difficulties associated with home production and the rapid growth and advance in Philadelphia brick manufacturing. References to making bricks on site disappear, indicating that bricks were predominantly bought ready-made. Philadelphia produced bricks known for their high quality. Specialty bricks, such as molded bricks for water tables and fireplace hearths, were available. Isaac Norris bought molded coping bricks, perhaps for the tops of Fairhill's front gables, from Thomas Coates, whose firm made specialty brick products in Philadelphia until the late eighteenth century. The firm made the hearth brick for Cliveden in the 1760s.[49]

Even if a house was brick, builders needed stone for foundations and other utilitarian purposes. Like brick, stone came from the site or from a commercial quarry. Stenton exemplifies the former, as Logan petitioned the Philadelphia County Court of Quarter Sessions to relocate the road from Philadelphia to Abington so as to open a new quarry "of fine stones" on his land.[50] Chew purchased Cliveden's stone, the local Wissahickon schist—the ubiquitous stone of Germantown—from a local quarry through his stonemasons. The masons at Cliveden also bought materials for their scaffolding.[51]

Philadelphia had local limestone, but the colonists did not discover this along the Schuylkill and elsewhere for about two decades, so that the earliest country houses (e.g., Pennsbury) used lime from oyster shells, which is not as strong as lime from limestone.[52] Lime kilns were built near the quarries, and the powdered lime was sold. A large house demanded several wagonloads of lime per week during the periods when masonry was being laid or plaster spread. To keep the lime dry, the carpenter erected a lime house, a simple wooden structure; the cost of Mount Pleasant's was only one and a half pounds.[53] The carpenter also made "a Screen for Screening Sand," "6 mortar boxes" for mixing mortar, and a windlass for hoisting heavy materials.[54]

The acquisition of lumber followed the pattern of brickmaking. Early in the colony's history sawyers cut framing timber on site with pit saws; later lumber came from a mill equipped with straight or sash saws after a detailed bill of scantling had been prepared by the master carpenter.[55] For example, at Fairhill Thomas Love received several large payments for sawing building lumber at the plantation; Norris stated in a letter that the joists were oak, the nearly ubiquitous framing timber of colonial Philadelphia.[56] Peter Kalm noted the abundance of oaks in Pennsylvania's woods and the colonists' awareness of the wood's durability.[57] James Logan possessed a pit saw at Stenton and even sold white oak lumber for other building projects.[58]

Later, after the Philadelphia lumber trade was fully established and the woods in the near vicinity had been much diminished, framing lumber was bought from dealers, after the carpenter had drawn up a careful bill of scantling that listed all of the plates, joists, girders, and rafters, that is, the larger framing timbers. Most other lumber, particularly finish boards and shingles, always came from dealers in Philadelphia. Carpenters purchased all timber well ahead of time, often before construction began, to give it time to dry and cure.

With these necessities in place, construction could begin, usually with the digging of the cellars and a well, as water was needed for mortar and plaster. Ideally, construction started in April, after any danger of frost, so that an entire season could be devoted to getting the shell of the house built and covered. For example, we know that the shell of Fairhill was completed and covered in the first building season, because by that time Norris had paid for forty thousand shingles, enough to cover the house and the dependencies.[59] At Cliveden, excavation of the cellar and foundations began in April and took the mason John Hesser and a crew of five or six about three weeks.[60]

Construction at Stenton began with digging the cellars, several years before the final plan of the house had been conceived.[61] Not until 1727, when many bricks were laid, did the building rise above grade. It was not unknown to build a cellar or basement without a clear notion of the superstructure. In 1722 the philosopher Bishop Berkeley wrote of William Conoly's mansion in Castletown, County Kildare, Ireland, that "the plan is chiefly of Mr. Conoly's invention. . . . You will be surprised to hear that the building is begun . . . before they have agreed on any plan for the elevation or facade."[62]

As the masonry walls rose, hardware and framing lumber had to be made and cut for installation at the proper locations. At Cliveden, Christopher Hargasheimer, a Germantown blacksmith, delivered the hardware that was to be laid up in the cellar walls: pintles, eyes and hasps for doors, and eyes for a kitchen fireplace crane. Later in the construction, Chew paid Hargasheimer for other rough hardware, and the progress can be seen through the accounts. As the house rose to the first-floor level, the carpenter laid in the first-floor framing timbers. As the masons John Hesser and John Keyser raised the exterior walls on Cliveden, the carpenter Jacob Knor and his men worked alongside them, placing wood lintels over the openings and installing the joists and girders of the floor frames. The exterior openings of the south front and the west basement have stone lintels on the outside. Other exterior openings used the plank frames of the windows and doors as their outside lintel, which indicates that the frames were set as the masonry walls rose. All the doors and windows in the house have wood lintels on the inside face of the wall.[63] In late August after the April commencement, Cliveden's owner recorded payment of expenses for the "house raising," the celebration upon the completion of the roof framing. A month later Chew paid Levi Budd, of Philadelphia, for wood roof shingles. By year's end the shingling and much of the exterior woodwork had been completed and paid for.[64] Even a large portion of the exterior painting had been done. Work on the exteriors of houses stopped when the weather made it necessary, usually in December.

Besides the framing, carpenters had specialty jobs associated with other crafts. At Mount Pleasant, Thomas Nevell charged for "Working out an Arch in wood as a pattern for John McCalle," perhaps the master mason, and for "Makeing 7 brick moulds for ye Rusticks etc." The "Rusticks" were quoins at the corners of the mansion and dependencies, which required specially made brick. Nevell also covered the molded-brick water table to prevent damage. A little later Nevell explicitly made and installed "2 Senters for front & back Doors," centers being the temporary formwork to support a masonry arch until all voussoirs were in place and the mortar was dry.[65] He also made a "bench for the Glaisher" late in the year, indicating that the window sashes had been made and glazing was about to go forward.[66]

Once the roof was on, finishing out the house began, mainly a matter of woodwork and plaster. It took a year and a half for Nevell and his carpenters to finish out Mount Pleasant. This included the exterior woodwork (windows and doorways) and a substantial amount of interior woodwork. On the outside, the windows included roughly a thousand sash lights, and the curving ones of the Palladian windows and over the doors were particularly difficult to cut and thus expensive.[67] Individual woodwork elements were assigned to specific journeymen, perhaps selected with certain skills in mind. Thus David Ainsworth produced "a Frontish Piece Door in the Back front of Captain McPherson House towards Schuylkill Valued by Robert Smith & John Thornhill at twenty five pounds," a very expensive piece of work. Nevell added a 40 percent surcharge to the cost of all such elements for his work on them. James Guy made the east frontispiece, which cost one pound more, presumably for its full Doric order, which included triglyphs and metopes.[68] Similarly, the journeyman carpenter James McMahon made the Doric back Palladian window and was paid £18 3s., while the journeyman John Little received only £17 1s. for its counterpart on the front—one would think that the Ionic capitals on the front would have cost extra. Nevell thus acted as a contractor, subcontracting particular pieces of work to independent carpenters, a thoroughly modern method of working.[69]

Interior work also proceeded apace. Individual journeymen carpenters produced the woodwork in specific rooms, which, when finished, were measured and billed to Macpherson. For example, Samuel McClure, a future member of the Carpenters' Company, fabricated the work in the "Dineing Room & hall," assisted by John King and James Brown. Robert Smith and John Thornhill valued this work at the princely sum of £140. Brown also made a pediment in the "Drawing Room."[70] Somewhat surprisingly, the woodcarving of Mount Pleasant and the wood turning necessary for the stair balusters and columns appear nowhere in Nevell's accounts; either their costs were buried in his work or the craftsmen billed the owner separately.

Plastering was an important part of finishing out and had to be done in warm weather so that it could fully cure before frost. The arrival of laths for plastering and deliveries of lime, hair, and plaster announced the beginning of this work. The usual procedure in the eighteenth century was for the carpenter to set the door and window casings, the chair rails, and the cornices before the plaster was installed.[71] At Cliveden the plasterers must have drunk heavily while working, for much rum was delivered to the site. Charges for rum show up in the accounts only for when the plasterers were on site. In contrast to the plasterers, who were English, the masons, who were German, drank beer. Brick tile hearths were put in about the same time as the plaster, and the interior painting was done then too. To judge by his payments, the painter Philip Warner, at Cliveden, began interior painting before the plastering, at least the initial priming and some of the first finish coat. Paint analysis shows that much of the primer layer is covered with construction dirt that could have come from the plastering.[72]

Certain manufactured items often came from abroad, especially early in the colonial period. The owner, who usually had a financial relationship with a factor in England, had to order these items, as the craftsmen might not have had access to such credit. For Fairhill, Norris ordered items from English relatives and business agents. From his uncle Peter Young, he ordered sashes (single- or double-hung) and glass for windows. Norris had to get the glass from abroad, as none was made in America; he ordered the "best clearest crown" glass. People in the early eighteenth century found such glass to be amazingly clear, indeed almost revelatory.[73] Norris ordered the sashes only because they might be made cheaper in England, particularly in Bristol. He noted that if they cost more than nine shillings per pair of twelve-over-twelve double-hung sashes, then it would be cheaper to have them made in Philadelphia. The window sashes arrived but were the wrong size, and much of their glass was broken, so Norris had to reorder the glass and have the sashes made in Philadelphia. Similarly, the pulleys for the windows did not work, and Norris had to improvise. Norris's many letters dealing with windows suggest the frustration of transatlantic shipping of custom-made building components in the early colonial era, and experiences like his must have given impetus to the local manufacture of as many building elements as possible.[74]

Norris also ordered a large quantity of hardware from England. This included such rough hardware as spikes, nails, and floor brads for one-inch flooring, although he also bought items in this line in Philadelphia. Norris ordered all the finish hardware from England, noting, "I would not have them chargeable by being fine but strong and good work."[75] He went on to list a stock lock for the front door, four rim locks for the major rooms, and several other locks for a pantry and closets. Norris wrote Sampson Lloyd directly for hinges for three pairs of folding, that is, double, doors. From Peter Young he ordered cross-garnet hinges for "middling doors," S-hinges for interior window shutters, six stock locks, one dozen strong padlocks for the cellar bulkhead and outbuildings, and pulleys and lead weights for the windows. One of Norris's last orders for his house was for marble hearths for the fireplaces in the three most important first-floor rooms. Because room area determined fireplace size, Norris gave these in his order. Norris had iron firebacks installed in each fireplace, as was typical during that period.[76]

James Logan ordered many of the same things for Stenton, although by the time of his order he could get the marble from local sources and windows were readily made in Philadelphia, a significant improvement in only a decade. Logan intended to get most of the nails and finish hardware for Stenton from England, specifically from his fellow merchant Nehemiah Champion, of Bristol. His letter accompanying the order is illuminating for the relative merit of English wares:

> Pray be careful that the nails be tough Small and well drawn, those from London generally are finer and less clumsy than yours, but those called clasp headed they say are alwayes of good Iron and well-made & accordingly bear a somewhat better price. I would have ye Locks of good workmanship and neat, but nothing more than common in such work. . . . Pray endeavor that ye Locks differ in their wards that one key may open no more than its own. . . . In ye Glass . . . I would have ye Strongest and Clearest that can be bought at about 5d or under 6d per foot . . . none ye Squares warping or bending. . . . In ye Size I say I would have ye utmost exactness because ye sashes will be mostly made before the Glass of 8 inches by 11 exactly, but I find ye Carpenter has somewhat exceeded.[77]

Other items included nails, brads, H- and HL-hinges in different sizes, locks for shutters, latches and spring bolts, spring pullies and sash cords, brass screws, sheet lead for a flat portion of the roof, and wire netting for the cellar openings.[78] These goods disappeared, along with Logan's £180, with the sinking of a ship belonging to one Cowman off Ireland. A second order produced some of the items, particularly glass, but it arrived wavy. Just as Isaac Norris settled for locally made windows, Logan had to get much of the hardware for Stenton in Philadelphia.[79] Logan again reordered the glass and insisted that it not be wavy, probably because it was for Stenton's cupola, which was to be used as an observatory.[80]

By the later colonial period, hardware and glass could be bought from local merchants who imported the latest wares from England, so that they, not the builders, ran the risk of shipping and poor quality. For example, Benjamin Chew bought most of the hardware for Cliveden from William Rush of Philadelphia.

Labor

Construction labor came from several sources in colonial Philadelphia. At the top of the labor hierarchy stood the master and journeymen craftsmen, who were free and often from the city. These men usually made a good living in the building trades and sometimes got rich. Penn had been fortunate in his recruitment of craftsmen to participate in his "holy experiment," and Philadelphia had many craftsmen in the various trades necessary for building, in contrast to the shortage of skilled craftsmen that plagued early Massachusetts and Virginia.[81] The carpenters were particularly well organized, reputedly founding the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia as early as 1720.

Below free artisans sat indentured servants, generally journeymen or apprentices, who were working off their passage to the New World. The indentured servants constituted an important labor source in all the colonies. Finally, slaves made up an important but unquantifiable portion of the work force. Documents from across the colonial period give the impression that slave labor decreased in importance in Philadelphia building.

Craftsmen from the city built most of the country houses chronicled in this book. They were a vital element of urban influence on bourgeois country houses and contributed significantly to the difference between bourgeois country houses and the houses of yeomen. The Philadelphia bricklayers John Redman and John Hart built Fairhill. Both men owned property in the city, and Redman, a Quaker, also appears in records as a petitioner to several courts.[82] The documentary records, along with the men's property and the fact that they were asked to measure other bricklayers' work, suggest that they were successful and respected artisans in early Philadelphia.[83]

City labor also built Stenton, as it did Bush Hill and Belmont, including Robert Smith at Bush Hill. Thomas Nevell, cited many times above as the builder of Mount Pleasant, also did the fancy improvements on Whitby Hall. Fancy work was probably one of the primary reasons that these urban gentlemen used city craftsmen: only in the city could one find craftsmen able to produce the most fashionable work. In some cases owners used the same craftsmen in the country that they had for their town houses, as Macpherson did Nevell.

There were exceptions, of course. Fountain Low, the country seat of Governor William Keith (early 1720s), sits so far away from Philadelphia that he was forced to use local labor. The mason may have been a local man, John Kirk, and the vernacular quality of many aspects of the original house is probably due to the work of such builders.[84] Cliveden was another exception. It was built in Germantown, which had its own stable of artisans adept at high-quality building, though Cliveden raised the bar considerably for the locale. The master mason was John Hesser, of Germantown, one of several highly skilled stonemasons who completed rubble and ashlar buildings in the community with the local Wissahickon schist. Casper Guyer (also Geier), a German craftsman who also provided trim stone for the Cadwalader and Powel town houses, provided cut stone. Indeed, many of the Philadelphia suppliers and artisans who provided materials and specialized skilled labor for Cliveden also worked for Cadwalader and Powel.[85] The master carpenter of Cliveden was Jacob Knor (c. 1730–1804), also of Germantown, a highly skilled carpenter at the top of his craft among local artisans. Knor completed many of the most important buildings of Germantown, including the Germantown Academy, the Concord School House, and the Mennonite Meeting House. Cliveden was his breakout piece. Its stylistic influence can be seen in Knor's John Johnson House (c. 1765), which included gentrified urban features and scale within an example predominantly in the Germantown vernacular.[86]

Although local artisans served as the master mason and the master carpenter at Cliveden, urban artisans from Philadelphia provided more specialized work. For example, Eden Haydock, a Philadelphia plumber, installed the roof drainage system, which included downspout heads marked with the initials of the owner, Benjamin Chew, initials and/or the date of construction. Doric columns for the frontispiece and hall were turned in the city. Common hardware came from the Germantown blacksmith Christopher Hargasheimer, but Chew bought most of the finished hardware from William Rush, of Philadelphia. The urban craftsman Philip Warner did the painting, and Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez, well-known Philadelphia carvers, did the fancy work in the parlor.

In a few cases a closer look at labor and the manner of working is possible. Documents related to Pennsbury give some indication of the status of Penn's workmen and of his relationship with them. Most were indentured servants, who worked for varying terms for their independence. Several mentioned in the letters worked for 150 days. Others had longer commitments but also more lucrative contracts:

> Know that I have sent a Gardiner by this ship or he soon follows, wth all requisits. a man of recommended great skill, lett him have wt help he can, not less than 2 or 3 at any time, he will cast things into a good posture. he has his passage paid, £30 at 3 years, end, 60 acres of land, & a month in a year to himselfe, not hindring my business; & he is to train up two, a man & boy in the Art. It were better they were blacks, for then a man has them while they live.[87]

The last comment indicates that Penn owned slaves, who played a significant role in Pennsbury's creation and maintenance. Documents specifically identify at least eight slaves at Pennsbury, and more were left unnamed. Some helped as laborers with building; Peter was trained as a gardener; most seem to have been mainly agricultural workers and household servants, including Parthenia, who did the laundry.[88] Even more of Penn's construction craftsmen were white indentured servants. These tended to be Quakers, and those whose age is known tended to be about twenty years old, just starting out in the world and not master craftsmen.[89] Penn realized that their work habits and skills varied, but he was willing to at least try to make use of all. Servants apparently ate in the big house at Pennsbury and slept in its outbuildings, although Penn sometimes assigned them to buildings on other properties, in which case other arrangements had to be made. For example, "the carpenter and wm smyth [a farm laborer] may diet at wm woods on Bror Lowthers land."[90]

Sometimes an owner and builder of a house had a personal relationship with a contractor or subcontractor, especially early on. For example, the joiner Aaron Goforth, who made window and door frames for Fairhill, was in the Philadelphia Quaker Meeting with Isaac Norris and was a freeman of the city of Philadelphia. Norris sold him property in the city about the time the Fairhill house was begun.[91]

At Mount Pleasant, Thomas Nevell routinely summarized chunks of work with items such as "Memorandum of Time taken About one of John Macpherson's barns," in which he listed the carpenters, the number of days worked, and their wages. His time as master carpenter was worth 7s. 6d. per day, and he listed himself as on the job every day. He also employed five journeymen carpenters—William Singleton, George Syng, John Dubree, Robert Scot, and John Adams—on the barn for various amounts of time at 6s. per day. Finally, two laborers, John Titus and John Siddon, were paid 4s. per day. On a normal day, the crew would have included himself, two journeymen, and two laborers. During the roughly two-month period of construction these men consumed twenty-five quarts of rum.[92] Nevell's accounts also include many items for the workmen's "diet," indicating that the workers lived far from home and had to be boarded and fed, as they could not return home for the night. They were city carpenters who would come out to the Northern Liberties for a week at a time for work. Where they slept is unclear; maybe in a barn erected on site, perhaps the reason this building was constructed so early. At least 144 man-weeks of diet for carpenters appear in the daybook, representing a substantial cost to Nevell and thus the owner, Macpherson.[93]

Less is known about the gardeners who laid out, planted, and tended the landscape of country houses. Pennsbury had a succession of gardeners, at least some of them indentured servants and slaves. One of them, Nicholas (last name unknown), was sent by Penn in March 1685. Penn said that he was "commended by the best about town that recommended him, good natur'd, apt to talk, but an artist."[94] Thomas Penn's gardener at Springettsbury, James Alexander, is one of the first professional gardeners in America about which much is known. Not only did he work at Springettsbury but he also ran a private seed and plants business. Probably Scottish, he had come to America by 1735, when he was married in the Presbyterian Church, and was employed by Penn at least by 1741. Indeed, Penn may have brought him over. He probably laid out—with Thomas Penn—and certainly executed the Springettsbury gardens. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1768 and a year later signed up for three committees: Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy; Natural History and Chemistry; and Husbandry and American Improvements, the three together encompassing the spectrum of science.[95] Alexander owned an orrery and a "solar microscope" that could magnify a tenth of an inch to four feet.[96]

Though his interests were broad and his intelligence clearly acute, Alexander's formal educational background was probably meager, as his spelling and handwriting are poor. The 1767 tax roll listed him as a gardener and a tenant with a house and lot on the Schuylkill near Springettsbury and in possession of a horse, two cows, and a slave, in other words, a small farm, which he used in his seed and plants business. At the same time, Springettsbury had a family of six slaves to help him with work there.[97] Alexander's seed business thrived, so much so that Penn accused him of neglecting Springettsbury for his own work.[98] William Allen proposed going into business with Alexander, whom he called "an honest Careful man," to provide pine bud tea—which supposedly had many health benefits—to the English market.[99] Alexander competed with John Bartram, who grumbled at the Scotsman's industry and quietly rejoiced at the inevitable reverses in Alexander's fortunes, such as when people complained about his plants. Peter Collinson assured Bartram that Alexander's boxwoods were considered inferior, declaring that they would only "do well enough for the Scots."[100]

Alexander had company in his profession, as quite a few other gardeners are recorded in the near environs of Philadelphia, presumably serving the many country seats around them. They did not appear farther out, where farmland predominated. Most were tenants and assessed at or near the lowest rate for taxes, as were Daniel Reed and John Hicks of the Northern Liberties. The slightly wealthier John Scott, of Moyamensing, owned two horses, three cows, and a slave, again suggesting that farming operations accompanied his gardening for others.[101] A few gardeners rose to the rank of landowner, notably William Adam and Edward Collins, who appear on the Scull and Heap map living side by side on the road that linked Fairhill with the Wissahickon Road, centrally located among many country seats. Adam (d. 1757) was listed on the 1734 tax roll as owning twenty-one acres.[102] Edward Collins owned fourteen acres with a "large frame house" and had wealth enough to own a horse purchased from the Baltimore breeder Francis Holland.[103]

* * *

The design and building of the Philadelphia country house and its landscape had distinctly premodern aspects, most notably the absence of professional architects, who would come to dominate the process in the first half of the nineteenth century. The owners played a much greater role in design and building than they would later on. But the process worked well: houses rose in a timely fashion—on average two years, though larger and especially fancy ones might take three seasons—and the quality of construction and craftsmanship was high. Moreover, the process grew smoother, and the quality improved, as the colonial period advanced. Merchants and craftsmen made available everything needed for building and planting—brick, timber, hardware, plants. Craftsmen in the various trades organized into companies to ensure that journeymen and masters possessed the necessary skills and could make an adequate living through their work. A true critical mass existed in the construction business, which made building more a pleasure than an ordeal. Although the style changed somewhat over the colonial period, forms and details of houses and gardens retained a uniformity that made high quality easier to achieve—craftsmen knew at what they aimed. We now turn to the forms and details that made up the parts of the houses and the landscape.

CHAPTER 6

Elements of Landscape and Architecture

The colonial house and landscape consisted of a set of parts that varied across time and from place to place but with a variation distinctly limited by contrast with later nineteenth- or twentieth-century architecture and landscaping. The Philadelphia bourgeois country house forms a subset of this larger whole, having much in common with English and other colonial subsets but also things unique. It shares much with closely related subsets, such as the Philadelphia town house or the country house of nearby colonies, such as New York, and somewhat less with socially comparable houses in the mother country or more distant colonies, such as the prodigy houses of Virginia.

Landscape

Siting was all-important for an eighteenth-century country house, not only for the views from and toward the house but particularly to demonstrate the owner's importance. Prospects and vistas were perennial desires for landscapes in the Delaware valley from the beginning of settlement. William Penn's prospect at Pennsbury was one of the earliest known in the colonies and united American and English gardens of the colonial period. Later, prospects and vistas became more common. Thomas Hancock mentioned his in Boston.[1] Plantations throughout the South, from the James River to Middleton Place, outside Charleston, emphasized vistas wherever possible. Creating a vista over a body of water required a placement high enough for a view, which came with a second benefit: a high spot could better catch the breeze. Later, Thomas Penn's creation of vistas at Springettsbury was very much in tune with contemporary English landscape theory. A vista was never meant to encompass the whole landscape, but to bring another view into focus.

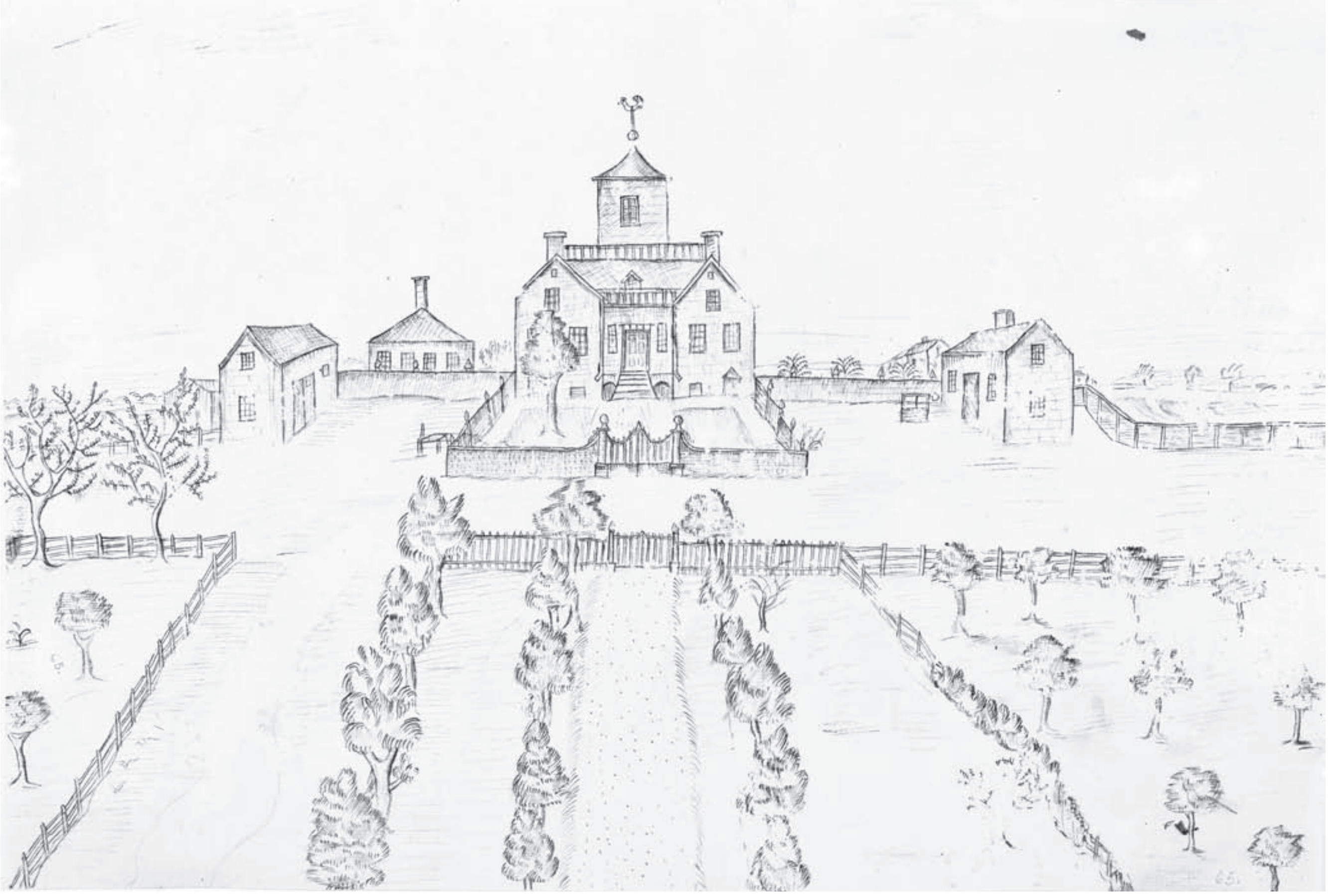
Creating vistas often involved paths, though these could appear anywhere in the garden. Philadelphia garden and landscape walks were mostly of grass or gravel in the colonial period, though walks near the house might be brick, as at Graeme Park. For the walks at Pennsbury, Penn specifically called for gravel found in Philadelphia "that is red and binds."[2] A properly laid gravel walk would drain well and be dry underfoot.

The ground in front of or around a house might be terraced, a traditional way of dealing with a sloping surface, such as led from the Pennsbury house to the river. The earliest terracing recorded for Philadelphia graced the landscape at John Smith's house at Point No Point. Upon purchasing his plantation in 1746 Smith "agreed with George Martin to level my terrace-walk, leaving it twenty feet wide; to make a fall thirty inches on a level; to level the next plot one hundred feet deep; to do the next fall, turf it and the sides, and plant the whole, etc. for twenty pounds."[3] "Falling gardens" were known in the Chesapeake at this time, and they appeared around Philadelphia, especially with houses along the Schuylkill River, such as Mount Pleasant.[4]

Fences and garden walls constituted other necessities for a country seat. An eighteenth-century drawing of Isaac Norris's Fairhill shows the hierarchy of fencing very well. A brick wall edges only the front of the simple courtyard, to be viewed from the Germantown Road entrance to the house as well as from its main rooms. The simple "transparent" gate recalls Roger Pratt's Ryston or the many country houses portrayed by John Drapentier in Sir Henry Chauncy's *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*. The sides of Fairhill's courtyard are framed by board fences—alternating vertical and horizontal boards topped with finials—that continue perpendicularly at the rear of the house to meet the stable and the brewhouse. A picket fence parallels the brick on the other side of the way; it is less formal than the courtyard fence but more decorative than the post-and-rail one, which edges the orchards in the foreground of the drawing. As in other colonial kitchen gardens, a tight board fence protected Norris's garden—at the far right of the drawing, beyond the brewhouse.[5] Possessing a simple formality, the tree-lined, raised gravel walk extended from Germantown Road through the handsome wooden gates to the front court and thence to the front door.[6] Parallel to it a carriage road led to the stable.

Garden courtyards were often enclosed by walls and fences, especially in the area around the house. Pennsbury had courts in front of the house, on both sides, and behind it. Such enclosed courts typified the grounds of English houses of the period. Pennsbury's courtyards were to be "paled" (i.e., fenced) and connected by "gates like Philadelphia," a characteristic feature in front of town houses and presumably not too elaborate. Penn wanted the courts carefully leveled, so that a step or two was sometimes needed from one to another. Other Philadelphia country houses that had courtyards adjacent to their entries included Fairhill and Graeme Park.

Gardens might contain various structures or objects, usually as points of view or centerpieces. Summerhouses formed the grandest class, such as a quite fashionable Chinese one at Belmont (see chapter 11). By the mid-eighteenth century, summer or garden houses had become a decorative and practical feature of gardens throughout the colonies. The ones that remain—Isaac Royall's, Abraham Redwood's, and one at Fort Hill in Fredericksburg—are all hexagonal and wood, with bellcast roofs. In days before air-conditioning or electric fans they provided a welcome respite from the "summer heats." Mayor Edward Shippen had a "famous and pleasant summer house erected in the middle of his extraordinary and pleasant



Fairhill, a very early representation of a Philadelphia country house and its landscape. Drawing by a member of the Norris family between 1764 and 1777, Winterthur Library

garden."[7] Belmont's landscape also contained an obelisk, common in England but very rare in America. A few gardens around Philadelphia contained statuary, with figures of the gods being especially popular (e.g., at Bush Hill and Belmont).

Finally, a garden needs plantings. Walks were bordered by trees, such as Pennsbury's poplars or Belmont's cherry trees. Pine trees bordered at least some of Springettsbury's avenues. Trees also formed wildernesses or labyrinths, present at Springettsbury, Belmont, and Cliveden, among others. Early wildernesses were wooded areas cut through with formal paths, often in the form of a maze. Later ones were more natural, with winding paths wandering through them.[8] Deborah Norris Logan described a "Labyrinth of Hornbeam" at Springettsbury.[9] Belmont's wilderness was made of hemlocks.

In his letters about Pennsbury, William Penn gave much instruction with regard to plantings. He wanted hedges planted to bound various areas; boundaries of the orchards were to be planted with "quick setts," defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "live slips or cuttings of plants, set in the ground to grow, esp. those of the whitethorn or other shrubs of which hedges are made." Whitethorn is the common English hawthorn (*Crateagus oxycantha*). Hedges could provide shady areas, which were essential in the Delaware valley's brutal summer heat. Colonists' attempts to replace fences with hedging almost never worked. Hawthorn tends to get fire blight, and no other hedging was dense enough to keep animals in or out.[10] Isaac Norris, of Fairhill, also spent much time on hedges: "[I] sett a privet quick hedge along ye front and young orchard next ye house," presumably the area behind the wall immediately to the right of the house.[11] This hedge was probably replaced by more permanent or stronger fencing. The early colonists repeatedly tried to grow "quickset" hedges, such as those in England, but they were usually unsuccessful. Norris kept working on his hedges and in 1734 had them plashed, that is, woven together, as in British hedgerows.[12]

Flowers graced garden beds, increasingly so as the colonial period advanced. Although Penn sent over from England most of the vegetable and crop plants and seeds to be planted, one of his few comments about flowers concerned having the gardener "save as many Roots of flowrs next spring by transplanting them out of the woods," an early instance of the use of native plants.[13] A generation later, Isaac Norris recorded growing poppies, double larkspur, wallflowers, Persian iris, daffodils, and pinks (color plate A).[14] The pinks were sown "three beds fro [garden] closet," and he later planted tulips in "four inner angle beds," which implied a formal arrangement of flower beds.[15] There is nothing unusual about Norris's choice of flowers in this period; indeed, his selection was rather old-fashioned. Although Norris lived well past the time of tulip mania, tulips were still a popular choice. At Point No Point, John Smith recorded planting "tulips, pinks, Sweet Williams, Filberts, hazelnuts, Rose and Gooseberrie bushes." At other times, he planted "Water Mellons," picked strawberries, and planted a row of English cherry trees and "privy hedges."[16]

At Springettsbury, Thomas Penn also had flowers. Those named in his correspondence include tulips, ranunculus, and "polianthos" (polyanthus),[17] all favorite flowers of the period. Penn got most of his plants from his friend—and the friend of gardeners and botanists over the known world—the London Quaker draper Peter Collinson.[18] Collinson's wife had known Thomas Penn since the latter was apprenticed to her father, Michael Russell, a prosperous miller.[19] The relationship between the families continued, with Collinson advising the Penns on their boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore.[20] Collinson, a self-taught botanist and member of the Royal Society, was well known in the world of natural history for encouraging Benjamin Franklin's experiments on electricity and Mark Catesby's writing of *Natural History of the Carolinas* and for his landscape advice to the Duke of Richmond.

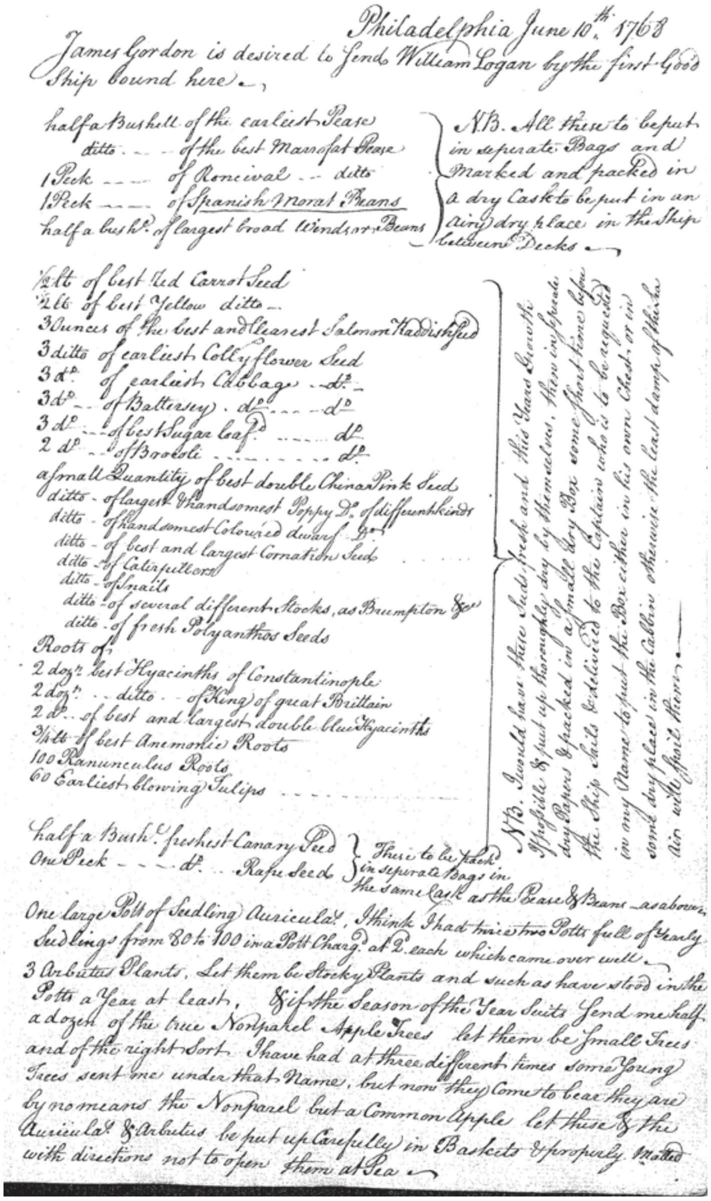
Collinson sent Thomas Penn horse chestnuts, "cornelian cherries" (*Cornus mas*), box trees, "syringos" (mock orange), pyracantha, "phyliereas" (*Phyllyrea*), and "long-blowing honeysuckel" (*Lonicera periclymenum*, or woodbine). Not all plants made the trip safely, as Penn often complained. At one time his "vine cuttings . . . either by the sea water coming on them or other water put in the tubs and they not having any holes at bottom almost all of them were so decayed that I believe not many more than one hundred are yet shot out." Most of Collinson's 1738 collection, including "Persian Jesamines" (*Jasminum officinale*) arrived dead.[21] Penn was most interested in evergreens and flowering shrubs, the latter spoken of frequently but never named. A number of the former—the jasmine, as well as "Lauristinus" (*Viburnum tinus*) and *Phyllera*—were too tender for Philadelphia winters.

Others shared the Penns' interest in plants, including William Logan, son of James and heir to Stenton. His orders included seed for pasture and vegetables, for Stenton continued as a farm, but his interests also ran to flowers and flowering shrubs. A 1768 order to London is fairly typical of what someone with reasonable room to garden would have been growing in the second half of the eighteenth century: fodder for horses and probably at least a cow, along with vegetables—and those mostly good keepers, such as cabbage (color plate A), and with a newly fashionable vegetable, such as broccoli, thrown in. Nonpareil apples would have been for cider. He also ordered flowers, mostly bulbs, such as tulips and hyacinths, as well as such old-fashioned flowers as carnations and pinks, and "the best of everything."[22]

William Logan, James's son, also had broader interests in gardening—an interest in the rare and unusual, the interest of a collector. Logan's orders included bulbs and seeds from several nurseries in England, seeds from South Carolina, and plants from a friend in Bucks County, and he traded seeds with an English botanist. His bulbs and corms include hyacinths with lively names such as King of Great Britain, aconites, and iris. His list of unusual shrubs is long: myrtle (five kinds), Portuguese laurel (*Prunus lusitanica*), Cape jasmine (*Gardenia jasminoides*), striped holly, and oleander. We know he had a greenhouse for tender plants. Deborah Norris Logan tells us that the lemons in his greenhouse later went to Robert Morris's greenhouse at The Hills.[23]

In nearby Germantown, John Wister's Grumblethorpe included a farm with a large orchard. His son Daniel had more fashionable horticultural interests than did his father. The late colonial garden there surpassed all others in its variety of flowers. It possessed many tulips, ranunculus, carnations, and hyacinths, all grown in separate beds—almost like Victorian "bedding out" rather than the mixing normally associated with colonial gardens. Daniel listed sixty-four varieties of hyacinths alone in his garden diary, including Apollo, Assemblage de Beautés, David's Harp, Gloria Mundi (color plate B), Queen of Flowers, and Solomon's Temple. Carnations, for some reason, tended to have more masculine names: Achilles, King of Prussia, Duke of Gloucester, and Bishop of St. Asaph. Wister gave no cultivar name for many of his carnations, which were obviously from friends.[24]

William Logan to James Gordon, order for plants, 10 June 1768. Logan Papers, HSP



Philadelphia June 10th. 1768

James Gordon is desired to ſend William Logan by the first Good Ship bound here.

half a Bushell of the earliest Pease
ditto - - - of the best Marrofat Pease
1 Peck - - - of Ronceival - - ditto
1 Peck - - - of Spanish Morat Beans
half a bushl. of largest broad Windsor Beans

N.B. All these to be put in seperate Bags and Marked and packed in a dry Cask to be put in an airy dry place in the Ship between Decks.

½ lb of best Red Carrot Seed
½ lb of best Yellow ditto
3 Ounces of the best and clearest Salmon Raddish Seed
3 ditto of earliest Colly flower Seed
3 do. of earliest Cabbage - do.
3 do. - of Battersey - do. - - - do.
3 do. - of best Sugar loaf do. - - - do.
2 do. - of Brocoli - - - do.
a ſmall Quantity of best double China Pink Seed
ditto - of largest & handsomest Poppy Do. of different kinds
ditto - of handsomest Coloured dwarf Do.
ditto - of best and largest Carnation Seed
ditto - of Caterpillars
ditto - of ſnails
ditto - of several different Stocks, as Brumpton &c.
ditto - of fresh Polyanthos Seeds
Roots of
2 dozn. best Hyacinths of Constantinople
2 dozn. - ditto - of King of great Brittain
2 do. - of best and largest double blue Hyacinths
¾ lb of best Anemonie Roots
100 Ranunculus Roots
60 Earliest blowing Tulips

N.B. I would have these Seeds fresh and this Years Growth if poſsible & put up thoroughly dry by themselves, then in seperate dry Papers & packed in a ſmall dry Box some short time before the Ship Sails & delivered to the Captain who is to be requested in my Name to put the Box either in his own Chest, or in some dry place in the Cabbin otherwise the least damp of this Air will ſpoil them.

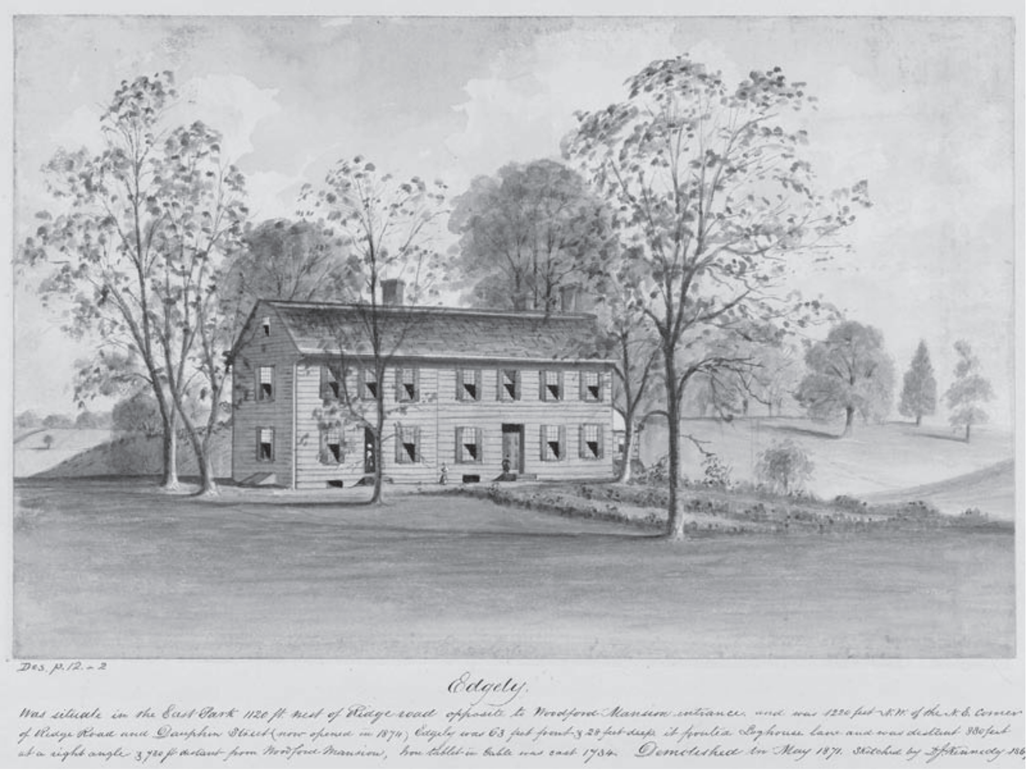
half a Bushl. freshest Canary Seed
One Peck - - - do. - Rape Seed

These to be pack in seperate Bags in the same Cask as the Pease & Beans as above.

One large Pott of Seedling Auriculas, I think I had twice two Potts full of Yearly Seedlings from 80 to 100 in a Pott Charg. at 2d. each which came over well.
3 Arbutus Plants, Let them be Stocky Plants and such as have stood in the Potts a Year at least, & if the Season of the Year Suits ſend me half a dozen of the true Nonpariel Apple Trees let them be ſmall Trees and of the right Sort I have had at three different times some Young Trees sent me under that Name, but now they Come to bear they are by no means the Nonparel but a Common Apple let these & the Auriculas & Arbutus be put up Carefully in Baskets & properly Matted with directions not to open them at Sea.

Architectural Exteriors

To begin discussion of the house with basic materials, it is more profound than one might realize to say that the bourgeois Philadelphia country house almost always had walls of masonry, preferably brick, but often stone. Every other colony possessed substantial gentry country houses built of wood. We say preferably brick not because of the total number of examples—which were equally divided between all brick, all stone, and mixed brick and stone—but because where brick and stone appear together, the brick forms the front or trim, that is, the best parts. There were wood-framed examples—though almost certainly none of log—but none have survived; the only one recorded was Edgely, along the Schuylkill.[25] Although masonry architecture was the norm for country houses in the mid-Atlantic region, that was not the case for rural houses in general. A glance at tax records for Philadelphia County as late as 1798 reveals that many houses



Edgely.

Was situate in the East Park 1120 ft. west of Ridge road opposite to Woodford Mansion entrance and was 1220 feet N.W. of the N.E. Corner of Ridge Road and Dauphin Street (now opened in 1874) Edgely was 63 feet front & 28 feet deep it fronted Loghouse lane and was distant 380 feet at a right angle 3780 ft distant from Woodford Mansion, the tablet in Gable was cast 1734. Demolished in May 1871. Sketched by D J Kennedy 186

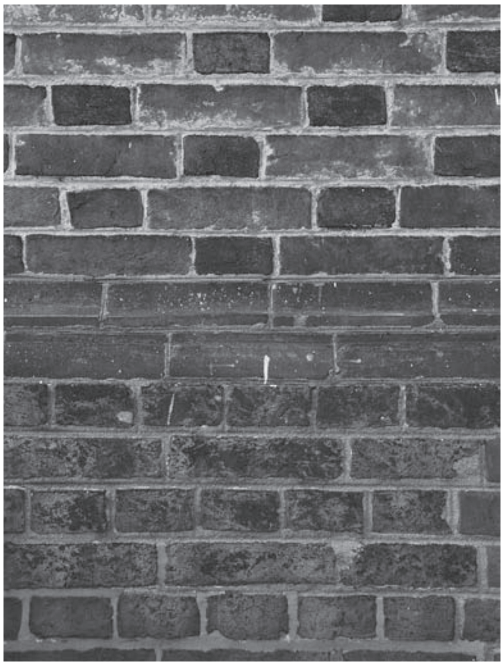
Edgely, 1869, the only recorded wood-framed Philadelphia country seat. Watercolor by David J. Kennedy, HSP

in the countryside were wood framed or log. In Blockley Township, for example, 25 percent of rural houses were log, 25 percent wood framed, and about 50 percent stone or brick, with stone predominating. In the colonial era, the numbers of wood-framed and log houses would have been even higher.[26]

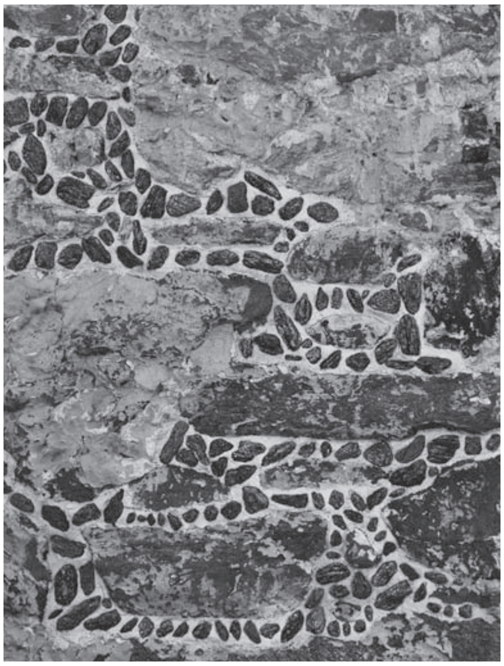
This preference for masonry among the Philadelphia gentry building in the country can perhaps too easily be explained by the pretension of class—a desire for their country houses to be readily distinguishable from those of common yeomen. It might well also indicate a desire for permanence, a recognized and rising goal in eighteenth-century architectural theory, most prominently in the late-eighteenth-century thought of Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand.[27] It probably also reflects the urban practice of building in brick, which was nearly ubiquitous in Philadelphia by the mid-eighteenth century. Urban precedent affected the construction of bourgeois country houses, as distinct from yeoman building.

Bricks were laid in a variety of bonding patterns. The finest work used Flemish bond, alternating stretchers (full bricks) and headers (half bricks) in each row; occasionally, as at Belair and Woodford, all four walls of a house were in this bond. Sometimes less fine work had three- or five-course common bond, in which rows of headers alternated with three or five courses of stretchers, though for the most part this bonding pattern was more common in the nineteenth century. The usual secondary bond was English—alternating rows of stretchers and headers—a very strong method of laying brick, commonly used for foundation walls just above grade and early on for whole walls. Brick rarely appears below grade; in most houses the top of the rubble foundation emerges for a little distance just above grade.

The mortar joints between bricks must be "pointed," or struck, to give a refined appearance and make the joint tight against water. Most buildings received repointings several



(Left)
Brick bonding patterns seen in Philadelphia country houses, here at Woodford: Flemish, *above*, and English, *below*, with a molded water table in between. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



(Right)
An unusual jointing technique, galleting, at Belmont (c. 1742). Photograph by Mark Reinberger

times in their lives, making it difficult to know what the original pointing looked like. Surviving original pointing may be seen at Hope Lodge, where the vertical joints were struck flush with the surface of the bricks and the horizontal ones scored or rodded about an eighth of an inch deep to deemphasize relatively wide joints resulting from nonuniform brick courses.[28] At Belmont the pointing of the brick had a ruled or inverted grapevine joint, a tiny concave line within the face of the mortar intended to make the joint seem thinner.[29]

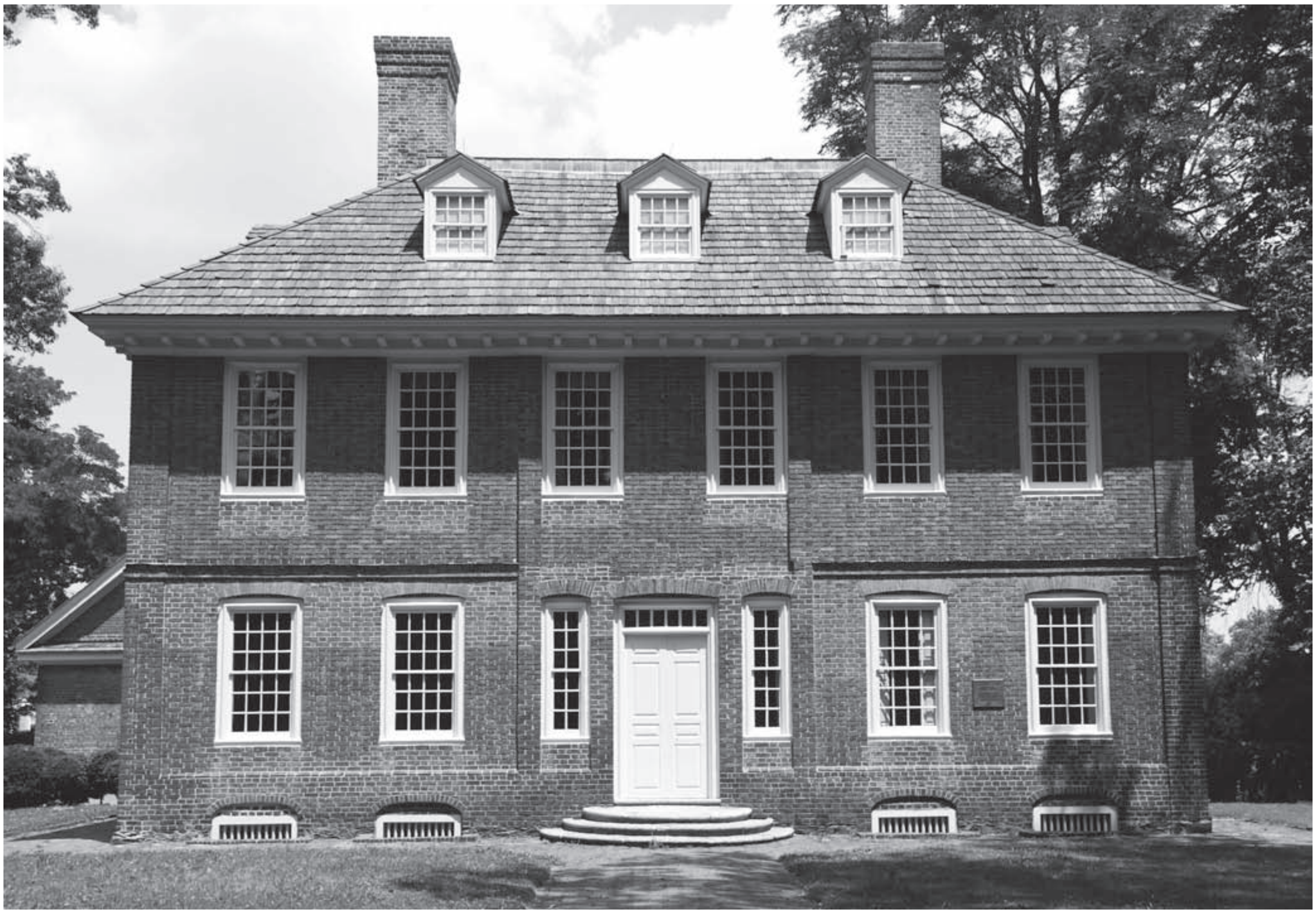
Stone was generally used in areas north and west of the city, where Wissahickon schist, limestone, or sandstone is readily available. Germantown builders in particular used Wissahickon schist—for which there were substantial quarries nearby—even for the country houses of newcomers from Philadelphia. (Only toward the end of the eighteenth century did the earliest brick building appear in Germantown—the Fromberger House, built as late as 1795.) Stone walls might be rubble (uncoursed and irregular in size) or ashlar (coursed and smoothed), the latter extremely rare because of the high cost and generally confined to the later colonial period, for example, on Cliveden's facade and Chalkley Hall. Shades in between also occur, such as, for example, on the north facade of the house at Fountain Low / Graeme Park (color plate A), where the stones are coursed but only roughly squared and finished. The relative lack of fine stonework was a major difference from English practice, where many country houses of the gentry were built of cut and smoothed stone.

Like brick walls, stone walls also need pointing. The most common joint seems to have been ribbon, about one inch wide, as at Cliveden. On a few houses with uncoursed and irregular stones, the joints received galleting; that is, the rather wide patches of mortar were set with very small pebbles, which made the whole seem smoother and more uniform.[30] An example is the rear wall of Belmont.

Rubble stone walls were sometimes left exposed, even on the facade, as at The Cliffs. However, to mitigate their humble appearance they were often disguised with stucco, a treatment that became common in the Federal period but appears on houses as early as the 1740s, such as at Hope Lodge (sides and rear and unscored), and later, as at Mount Pleasant (scored to imitate stonework). Stucco could be painted off-white, as at Mount Pleasant, or made integrally gray with the addition of cinders, as on Cliveden's north side and at Hope Lodge, both colors presumably imitating stone.[31]

Almost all bourgeois country houses had water tables and stringcourses marking the first- and second-floor levels. Neither was necessary from a structural or constructional point of view, though water tables mark a natural thinning of the wall from the foundation to the first story. Water tables appeared sometimes on the front only and sometimes all around and often included molded or gauged bricks, especially in fine brick houses. Sometimes too the bricks in these decorative embellishments were rubbed with an abrasive material to bring out an orange color that set them off from the normal bricks of the facade. Stenton has rubbed-brick details, though this treatment was less common in the mid-Atlantic than in places such as Virginia.[32] Stringcourses served no function but had the aesthetic purposes of establishing the horizontal and of marking floor lines. They were virtually ubiquitous on brick houses and nearly so on stone ones. Brick ones were usually molded, at least in part and at least on the front of the house.

Window openings also received special attention in most bourgeois country houses. A recent study has shown that window openings on Philadelphia-area house facades occupied 22–38 percent of the wall area, more than in any other colonial region and close to the English standard.[33] What topped windows shifted over time, as segmental or elliptical arches—at Fountain Low/Graeme Park or Stenton—gave way to flat heads. However, in



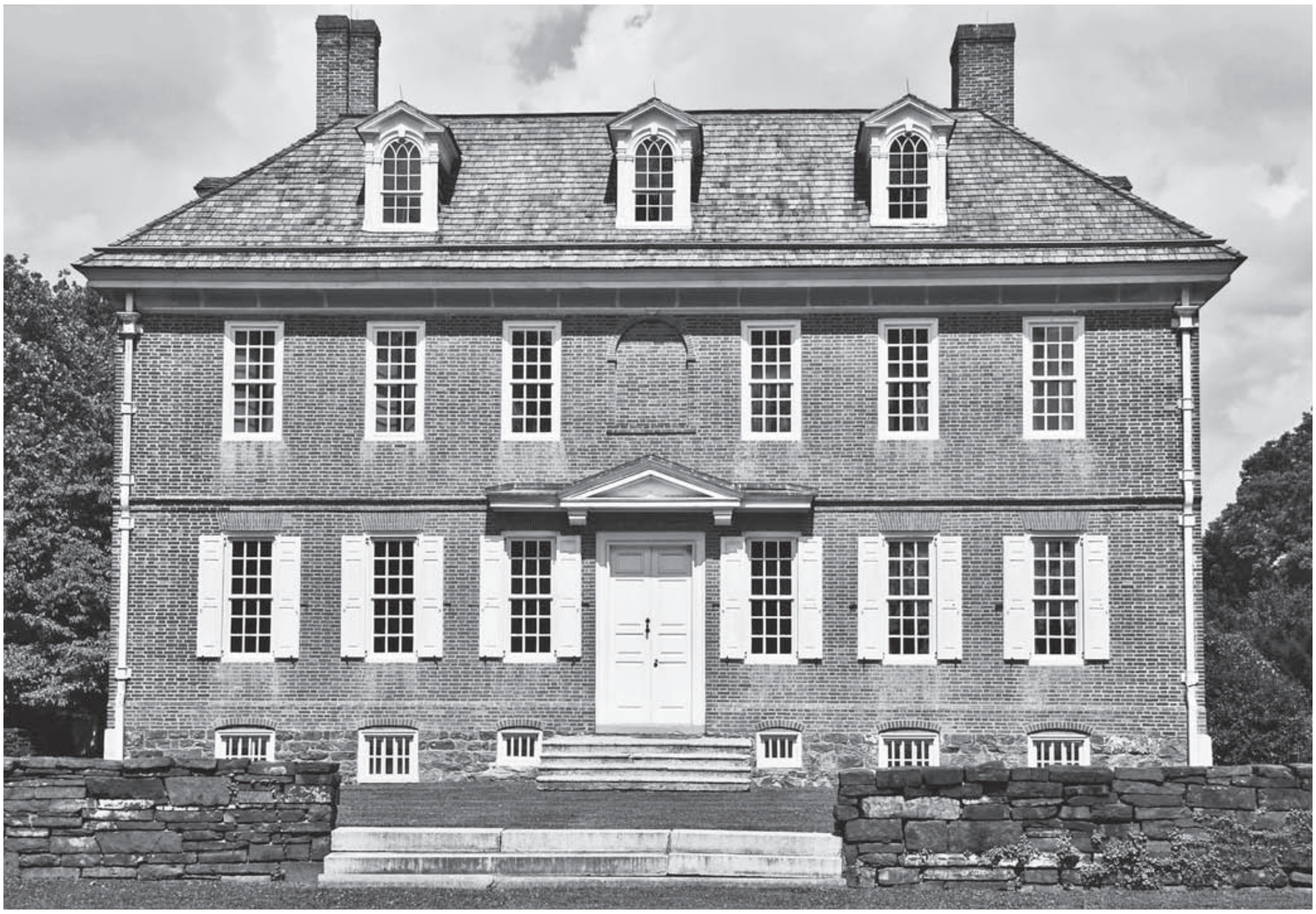
Stenton (1726). Photograph by Mark Reinberger some fine houses—Belair, for example—windows on the best elevations had flat or jack arches from the beginning of the colony. Other elevations might have arched windows, and segmental arches remained common for cellar windows until the 1760s. Cliveden and Mount Pleasant have only flat arches.

In the earliest period of colonization in Pennsylvania, windows of country houses were casement with leaded glass, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century norm. Pennsbury, for example, had such windows when first built. However, these rapidly disappeared; indeed, as early as 1686 Penn expressed the desire to replace some of Pennsbury's casement windows with the newer up-and-down sash, or double-hung, windows. This change in England and its colonies marks one of the biggest differences between their building practice and that of continental Europe, where casements never went out of fashion. Actually, many colonial sash windows that appear to be double-hung are in fact single-hung; that is, the top sash is fixed, saving carpentry and the cost of pulleys, cords, and weights, which had to be imported. Complex mixtures of the two are found in some country houses, for example, Hope Lodge.[34]

A few window details also deserve notice. Except in a few early houses, almost all double-hung windows in bourgeois country houses had twelve panes over twelve, a formula that began with Stenton (1726). Belair (1719) and Fountain Low / Graeme Park (1722) had a nine-over-nine pattern. The only later exception is Hope Lodge, which also has a nine-over-nine pattern, one of several things about that house that renders it somewhat vernacular. As was common throughout colonial America, the muntins are thick: 1¼″ to 1½″. A narrowing of muntins occurred in the Federal period, following the practice of Robert Adam in England, a major stylistic shift. Another common feature was shutters, which allowed light control and provided privacy and security. Louvered shutters were uncommon, not appearing before 1800 in America, as the woodworking technology had not advanced sufficiently to make them economical to manufacture. All true colonial shutters have solid panels. The ideal seems to have been interior shutters, but an equal number of houses have exterior shutters instead, at least on the first story. Security probably played a role here: country houses remained uninhabited for long stretches of the year, and though a caretaker might often live on the property, perhaps even in the house, it was necessary to secure the exterior from burglars and vandals. Stout, solid-paneled exterior shutters protecting the glass windows might have seemed a better defense than interior ones.

We think of colonial doors as having six panels, the "cross-and-bible" configuration, presumably so called to attribute to our ancestors a high degree of piety, and these are common. However, equally common were two-, four-, and eight-panel varieties, the last especially common on large entry doors. Perhaps the most common was a pair of doors, each with four panels. Side and rear exterior doors might have six, four, or even three panels. These doors on secondary elevations almost invariably had a simple surround, usually a single-faced architrave with backband that matched those around the windows. However, the doorway on the front received the most elaborate of the exterior woodwork. Early on, it might be a Queen Anne door hood, as at Belair. Later it was often a Palladian Doric frontispiece, as at Cliveden and Laurel Hill. There might even be a fanlight (Mount Pleasant) and/or rusticated masonry (Belmont). Transoms were common but by no means ubiquitous, and sidelights connected to the doorframe did not appear until the Federal period.

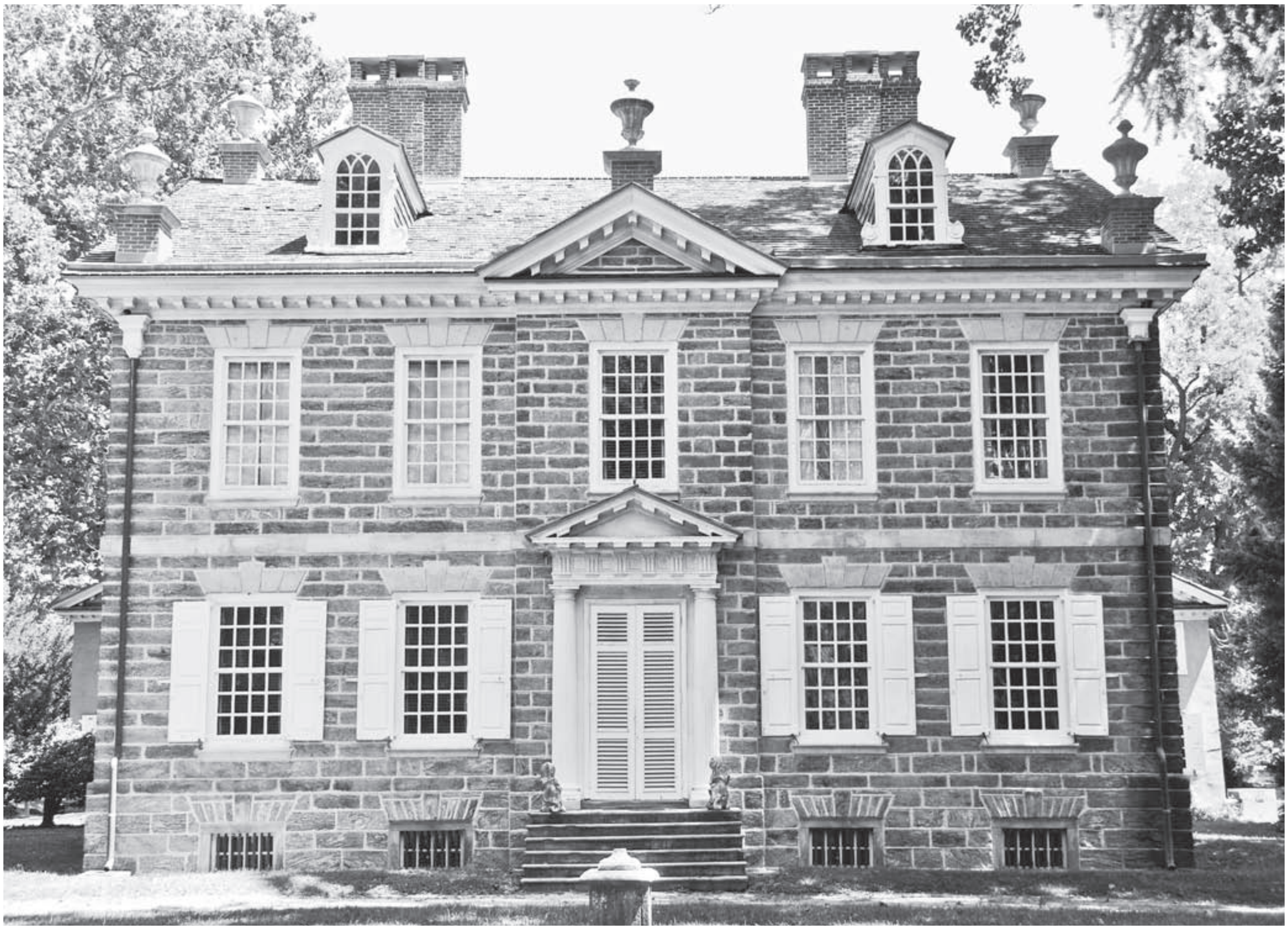
Steps and stoops, usually of soapstone but sometimes of limestone or schist, gave approach to the front doorway. Early on, houses were built low to the ground, so that only a few steps were required, these often in a pyramid or in concentric half circles. Later houses



Hope Lodge (1743), with its stuccoed cove cornice. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

stood higher, over nearly full basements, so that steps became grander. The pinnacle among Philadelphia country houses was Mount Pleasant, whose primary front porch has a high set of steps that flares toward the bottom and has an elaborate iron railing with spirals. Piazzas, that is, full-length covered porches, appeared early as utilitarian structures right on grade along the rear and about midcentury as polite spaces, elevated and for viewing and catching the air; these were also usually placed to the rear of a house, though some all-around piazzas were recorded in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.[35]

The usual cornice on a Philadelphia country house comprised what was called a "double cornice" in the eighteenth century, that is, a crown molding (generally a large and a smaller ogee, the combination of which was the "single cornice"), a fascia and soffit, and a bed molding masking the joint with the wall. Several early and midcentury houses—Belair, Hope Lodge, Whitby Hall—have plaster coves where the soffit should be. Especially fancy examples include modillions, the standard form late in the colonial period, at Stenton, Mount Pleasant, Cliveden, and Laurel Hill. Occasionally interesting features appear; for example, at Hope Lodge the bed molding is painted red to blend with the brick below. Almost always the entire cornice, like all the rest of the exterior woodwork, was painted white or off-white. However, exceptions occur: in early colonial times exterior trim might be painted iron-oxide red, called Spanish brown and later used exclusively as a primer; and Graeme Park around midcentury had blue exterior trim. Virtually all exterior millwork was painted in the eighteenth century, for aesthetic reasons and to preserve the wood.[36]



Cliveden (1763) had a pole gutter across the bottom edge of its wood-shingled roof. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

On top of the house sat the roof, a major stylistic feature of a country house and one for which urban row houses gave little guidance. Roofs were generally covered with wood shingles, cypress or cedar, probably from New Jersey. Pennsbury had imported tile early on, and the covering of the Slate Roof House in downtown Philadelphia was so unusual that it became eponymous, but all other roofs that we know of were wood. Shingles might be as short as eighteen inches, but some were up to three feet long, as at Fountain Low/Graeme Park. Sometimes the wood shingles were painted, as at Cliveden, where gray paint made them imitate slate.

Many eighteenth-century country houses had a symmetrical hipped roof, from Stenton in the 1720s, to Hope Lodge and Belmont in the 1740s, to Mount Pleasant and Laurel Hill in the late colonial era. Putting a large hipped roof over a double-pile house was a major framing problem of the colonial period, several different solutions to which were worked out in Philadelphia. Other roof forms also appeared with frequency, particularly the gable—Belair and Cliveden are an early and a late example—and at least one gambrel rose over Fountain Low/Graeme Park. The steepness of the roof varied over the colonial period, with early houses retaining a medieval steepness—Belair's roof pitch was 12 over 12—while later houses had much shallower roofs—Mount Pleasant's was 7 over 12.

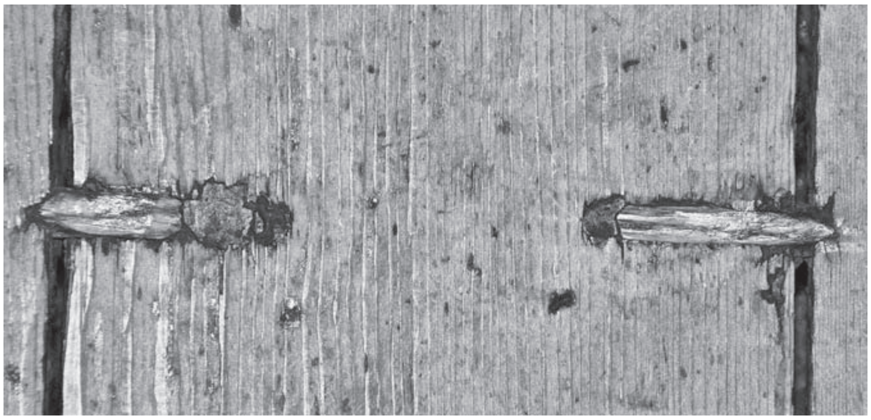
Dormers were a major colonial roof feature, but because they are vulnerable to weather, few survive from the colonial era. Almost all those extant are from the nineteenth century or a twentieth-century restoration. Originals survive only on Belair, Stenton, and Cliveden. Their windows are smaller than those in the main walls. They have gables toward the front with a crown molding on the rake and back of the cheeks, a finer treatment than that give to the more vernacular shed-roofed dormer. Only Cliveden's have the characteristic elaboration of arched window with interlacing muntins and flanking console brackets, creating a classical aedicule.[37]

The approximate date of a colonial house can be determined from the form of its chimneys because throughout the colonial period the chimney became progressively simpler. Chimneys were unclassical features for which Palladian and Roman architecture gave few models. In earlier times chimneys had been celebrated as something new, upscale, and susceptible of elaboration with vestiges of medieval verticality. Above all, they were articulated, with T and other shapes that showed the flue arrangement, and sometimes ornamented. A good Philadelphia example is Fountain Low/Graeme Park, where the chimneys have a T-plan along with arches and ornamental brickwork on the broad face. As the colonial era progressed, chimneys became simple rectangles, the flue configuration concealed. However, some of these chimneys may be replacements, as chimneys are notoriously subject to the ravages of weather and burning. Colonial-era graphics show that lightning rods on chimneys, developed and made famous by Benjamin Franklin, guarded some country houses, an example being Belmont.

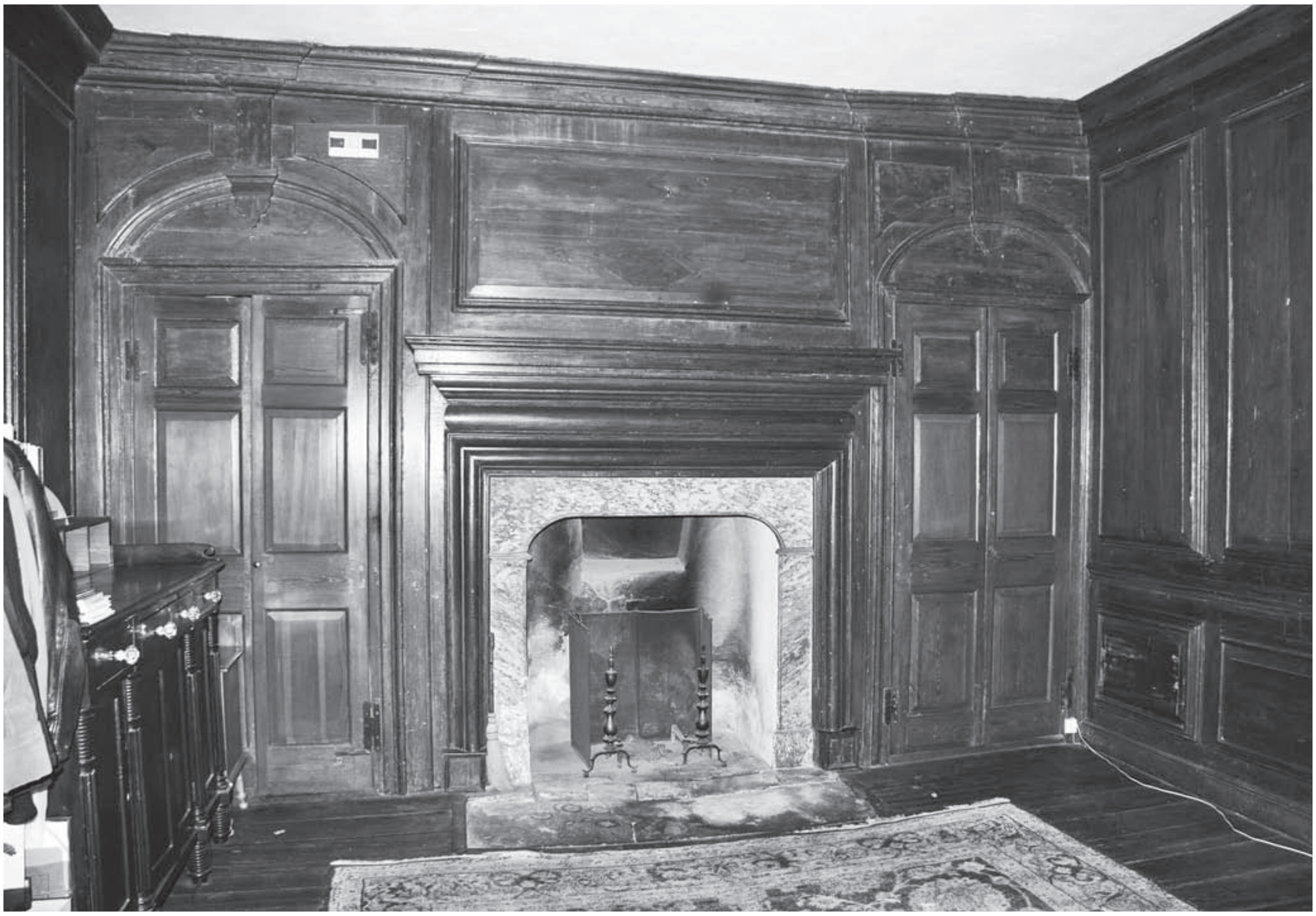
Finally, gutters and downspouts occasionally became decorative features, as at Cliveden. Here the roof probably had pole gutters, which it does now. The pole is a board set along the lower edge of the roof slope and flashed so as to form a trough in which water runs to the end, where a downspout empties it. Gutters and downspouts were traditionally made of lead in England, as at Pennsbury, where a plumber was sent from Philadelphia to repair the "leads," which probably refers to gutters and downspouts.[38]

Interiors

As with the exteriors, a more limited selection of materials was available for the interiors of houses in the eighteenth century than would be available in the next century. For example, floors of pine planks were ubiquitous, from five to fifteen inches in width, uniformly wide in the best work. Most had tongue-and-groove joints, but a few had butted boards, and in even fewer—Stenton and Woodford—the boards were joined by dowels, very fine work.[39] Walls, where not paneled, and ceilings were made of horsehair plaster, usually whitewashed; in the eighteenth century the woodwork received the color, except in rare cases where wallpaper covered the plaster. Sometimes, as at Cliveden, the plaster was not painted at all, though because it was composed of nearly pure lime, the fine finish coat was already white. Plaster was usually applied directly to the inside of the masonry walls, instead of having wood furring, a technique that sometimes limited the use of wallpaper because



Doweled floor at Woodford (1757). Photograph by Mark Reinberger



A fully paneled interior in the parlor at Belair (1715). Photograph by Mark Reinberger

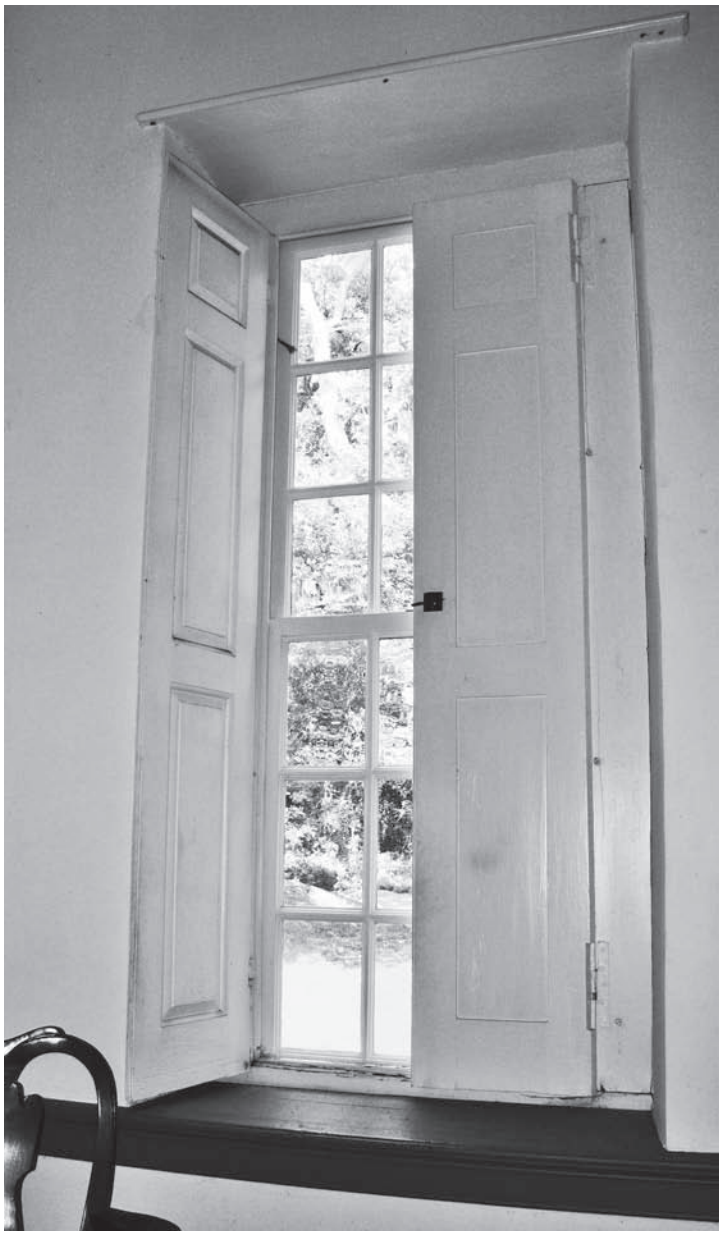
of moisture problems. Ceiling heights were remarkably uniform in the houses represented here: eleven feet was average; the highest were thirteen feet, at Cliveden, and unique for being this high; the lowest no less than nine and a half, at The Cliffs and also unique. The ceiling heights on the first and second stories rarely differed very much.

Variety in the interiors came from the woodwork: the extent of paneling, different moldings, enrichments, and paint color. In the case of paneling, there were three modes: full-wall, dado only, or none, the trend progressing in that order across the colonial period. Early houses, such as Belair, tended to have more full-wall paneling; by midcentury full-wall paneling was usually found only on fireplace walls, but paneled dados were common; late in the century even the dado disappeared in favor of a chair rail only, the standard treatment in the Federal period.

Between windows and doors, windows received less fine treatments, perhaps because one walked through a door and so engaged it intimately. In many houses, especially early ones, windows received a distinctly utilitarian treatment, sometimes plaster jambs and surrounds with no casing molding at all, as, for example, at Fountain Low/Graeme Park and Hope Lodge. From about midcentury on, windows received a casing molding, but they are almost always simpler than doors in the same rooms, usually single-faced with a backband, though rarely crossetted, even when doors in the same room have this treatment. Once this happened, window jambs sometimes became paneled as well. In no case did windows receive that highest of treatments, a pediment.

Window seats were common throughout the colonial period, especially in better rooms downstairs and up, though the absolutely finest interior spaces sometimes lacked them, perhaps because they were unclassical, interrupted the lines of the dado, and projected into the room. Examples of fine spaces that avoided window seats when they would otherwise have been expected include all the spaces at Mount Pleasant and Cliveden and the hall at Belmont. They disappeared in the Federal period. Window seats presumably served as spots with good light for reading, needlework, and other activities.

Interior shutters appeared even in the first generation of houses—Fountain Low/Graeme Park—and remained popular throughout the colonial period. They were sometimes preferred to exterior shutters, such as at Belair, Stenton, and Mount Pleasant, though sometimes both interior and exterior shutters appeared together, as at Cliveden. Interior shutters provided mainly light control and privacy, though the locks on Fountain Low's show that security was also important. Shutters were paneled or left as plain boards, depending on the fineness of the room.



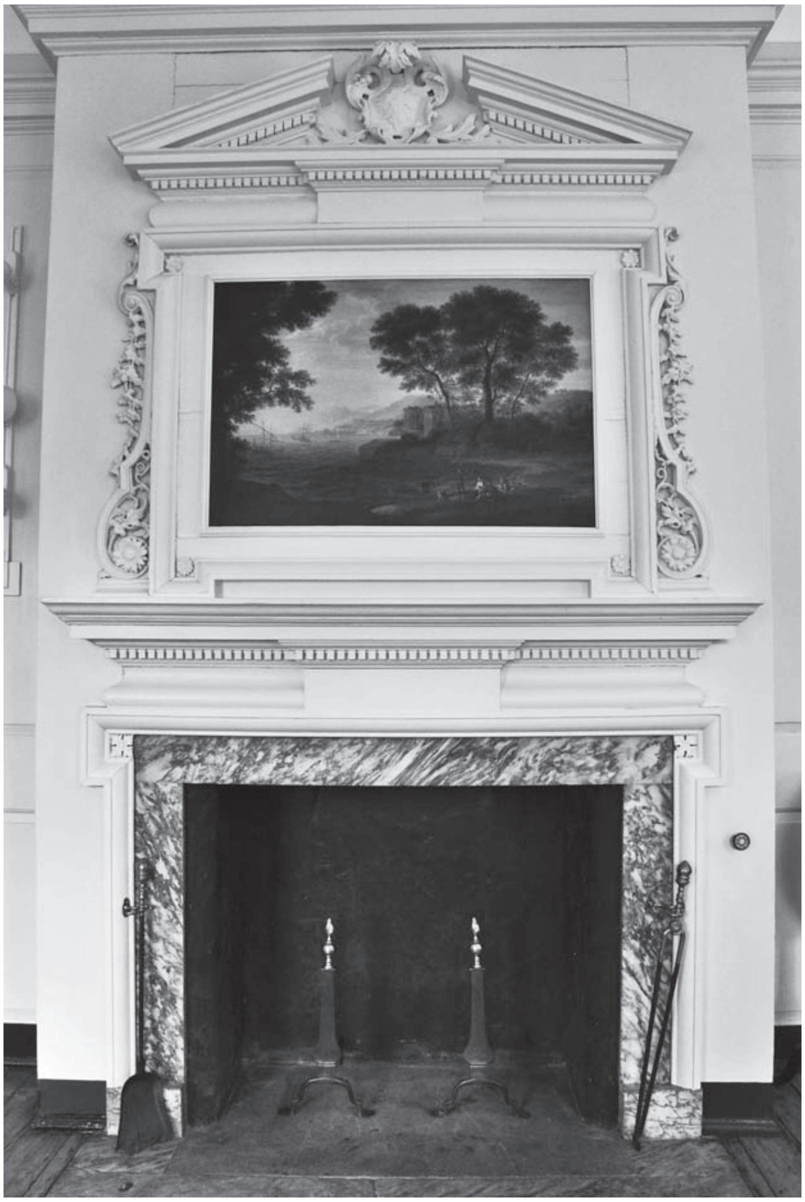
A simple early colonial window surround treatment at Fountain Low/Graeme Park. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Doorways received the second most honorific treatment inside the house, after fireplaces. In better rooms, doorway casing moldings were usually double-faced architraves with backbands employing the usual eighteenth-century repertoire of ogee and quarter-round moldings, single or combined, depending on how fancy the carpenter was told to make them. Single-ogee moldings were standard between faces. Even greater honor came from crossetting the frame, starting with elbows at the upper corners and possibly adding knees at the bottom. A very few of the best doors might receive a pediment, plain or enriched with carving. No country house had the fullest of treatments, the aedicule, with columns or pilasters flanking the doorway and a pediment above. In lesser spaces a single-faced architrave sufficed.

By midcentury, door panels on the first floor had six panels—the smallest at the upper corners, the largest in the center, and mid-sized at the bottom, below the lock rail. This arrangement worked well on doors approximately seven feet tall with a lock rail at a convenient height for a doorknob. Better rooms upstairs often had the same, but four-panel doors were also common there and on closets below, and even two-panel doors could be found in garrets. Early in the century, panel configurations were more fluid; Belair, for example, had two-panel doors in the best rooms. Doors generally hung on iron HL-hinges, usually painted in the same color as the door to minimize their presence. Smaller doors might have simpler H-hinges. In really fine work the strap of the hinge fastened to the frame was hidden behind the architrave. Most room doors had rim locks, usually iron but occasionally brass. Exterior doors usually had stout wooden stock locks.

In addition to the configuration of panels, panel moldings also distinguished doors as well as other paneled surfaces, such as dados, window jambs, and shutters. All panels in a room would have the same molding, and for the most part, all were hipped and raised. What varied was the molding profile, which ornamented the edge of the frame (stile and rail) and panel. In fine early houses the molding was often a bolection, a bulbous, often heavy curve that projected forward from the panel's face. These essentially baroque elements went out of fashion with the onset of Palladianism and were replaced by a classical repertoire of combinations of quarter-rounds and fillet, some of which had been used previously as well. Three or four of these combinations were available, although ogees appeared on some of the best work, as in Mount Pleasant's drawing room.

The other moldings in a room constituted an implicit classical order—base, chair rail, and cornice, the first two forming a pedestal and the last acting as the entablature. The heights of the moldings were generally proportioned to the overall height of the room, though as these varied little, a given set of moldings could apply to many situations. No Philadelphia country house had a full order all around a room as at Stratford Hall, Gunston Hall (both in Virginia), or Drayton Hall (South Carolina). Columns and pilasters were confined to doorways and hall screens, as, for example, at Stenton, Woodford, Mount Pleasant, and Cliveden.



A fine fireplace in the parlor at Woodford. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

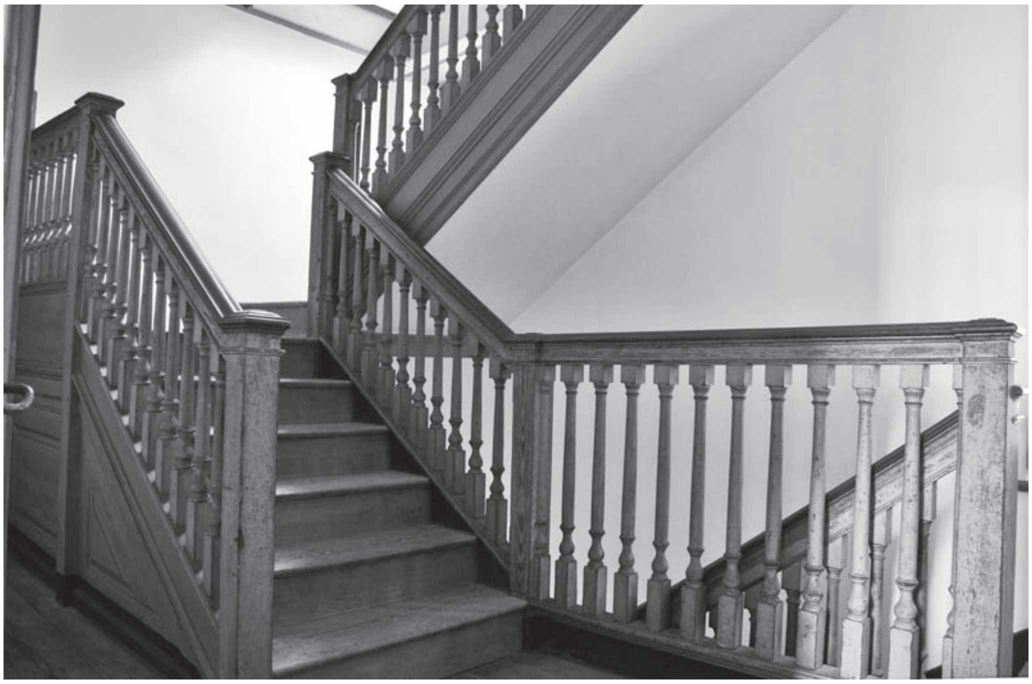
All three moldings appeared in a great variety of combinations within a single house, indicators of hierarchy in a room (see chapter 7). Bases and chair rails were often paired, as they formed a room's dado. At Cliveden there are no fewer than seven combinations of bases and chair rails. Bases were generally about five or six inches high (but could be as high as ten) and had a plain board, or fascia, at the bottom with a classical molding above combining cavetto, nosing, ogee, quarter-round or ovolo, or bead elements. Early chair rails tended to be dominated by bolections, but later they became like small classical cornices, with cavettos, ogees, beads, and nosings. Their caps were often of mahogany or painted dark brown to set them off from the rest of the woodwork, which was almost universally painted, especially after the earliest period in Pennsylvania, when paneling was sometimes left unpainted.

Cornices were usually double, with crown, fascia, soffit, and bed, though in middling rooms a crown sometimes sufficed, and many lesser rooms had none at all. Again, some houses, such as Cliveden, have great variety in their cornices, created by varying the size and relative position of cove, ogee, and quarter-round or ovolo moldings. The best rooms sometimes had a full entablature with frieze, often pulvinated, and architrave below the double cornice. The frieze and cornice could also receive enrichments, notably dentils, modillions, or Wall of Troy.

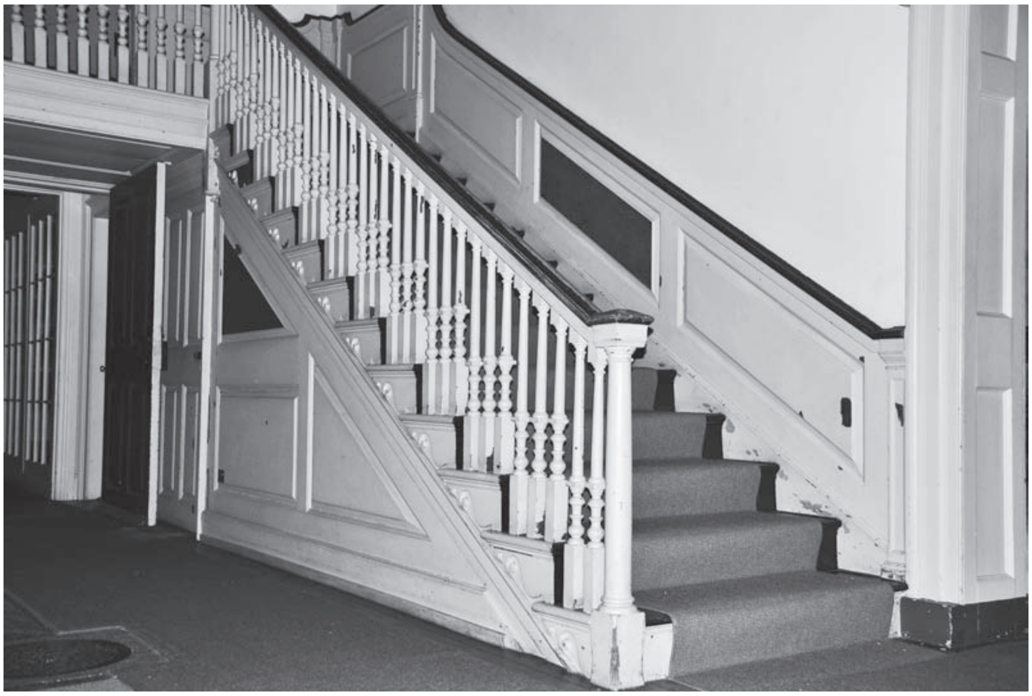
Virtually all habitable rooms had fireplaces, because even though the country house was used primarily in the summer, nights and mornings could be cool, and occasional use of the house in other seasons or even permanently was provided for. The simplest fireplaces were brick boxes with a plaster facing surrounding the opening and no enframing woodwork. In better rooms Delft tiles, blue or sepia toned, might surround the fireplace; and the best had marble surrounds, usually the gray-blue Philadelphia or King of Prussia marble, most often plain but sometimes molded and even carved. Middling rooms and better also had wood surrounds, generally single-faced architraves—but doubled in better, later houses—with bolections early and large quarter-rounds later, sometimes crossetted. Lesser and middling rooms often had paneling above the fireplace, tying into the paneling that generally covered the entire fireplace wall. Better rooms usually had a mantel shelf, created as a cornice and often resting on a frieze, and sometimes enriched consoles. The best had overmantels, usually with a crossetted panel, sometimes flanked with carved consoles, and sometimes with a pediment.

A final element of wood was the staircase, one of the most expensive items and an element that allowed a carpenter to show his skill. Early staircases had closed stringers, that is, a heavy molded board that ran up the rake on the side away from the wall and carried the balusters, so that the ends of the stairs could not be seen. The earliest open-stringer staircase—fancier, with more carpentry, and a bit trickier to build—was at Stenton (1726), and these became obligatory after midcentury. Open stringers demanded scroll ornaments at the stair ends, and these showed a variety of artifice. Usually they were flat, cut into scroll patterns with a saw, but occasionally, as at Belmont, they were hand carved, a major expense because of the repetition. The shape of the balusters also changed across the eighteenth century, from heavy and bulbous to ever more slender, a trait first identified by Penelope Batchelor in a c. 1990 study and so uniform in the Philadelphia area that it can be used as a dating tool. Newels too were heavy early in the century, becoming less so over time and often replaced by a spiral of balusters and a twist of railing at the bottom of the stair. A fine staircase had a paneled dado up the wall that followed the handrail, being ramped at the landings, which were marked by pilasters.

Today, when paint comes in every conceivable color, it is hard to imagine the limitations of the colonial palette. Yellow ochre, in all shades, was far and away the most popular color for interior woodwork in country houses. It was an original color in a majority of houses where original paint colors have been analyzed, being especially popular for halls and stairways. The second most popular was gray, especially in shades approaching blue.

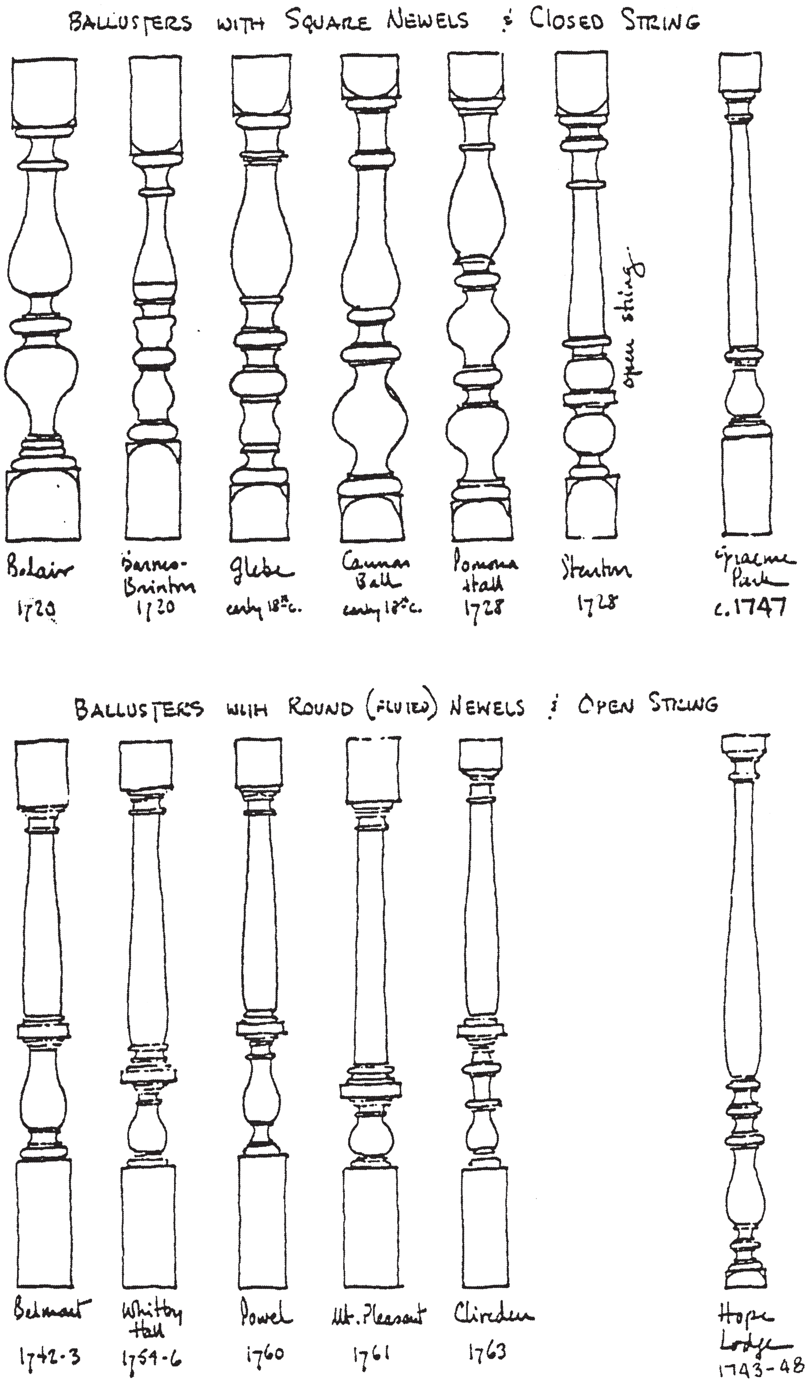


Closed-stringer stair, Graeme Park. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



Open-stringer stair, Cliveden. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Prussian blue, an expensive color, also appeared in many rooms, especially better chambers. Finally, green and white were only occasionally used, the former becoming popular for colonial dining rooms. Green stood high in the hierarchy of colors, to judge from London prices. In Randle Holme's *Academy of Armoury*, first published in 1688, which discussed color symbolism in this period, green represented Venus, felicity, and pleasure and so was suitable for bedrooms but also other rooms, including those for dining.[40] Prussian blue, available for house painting from the 1730s on, symbolized sincerity and piety; more im-


BALLUSTERS WITH SQUARE NEWELS & CLOSED STRING
Belair 1720
Barnes-Brinton 1720
Glebe early 18th c.
Cannon Ball early 18th c.
Pomona Hall 1728
Stenton 1728
open string
Graeme Park c.1747
BALLUSTER'S WITH ROUND (FLUTED) NEWELS & OPEN STRING
Belmont 1742-3
Whitby Hall 1754-6
Powel 1760
Mt. Pleasant 1761
Cliveden 1763
Hope Lodge 1743-48

Philadelphia-area stair balusters. By Penelope Hartshorne Batchelor

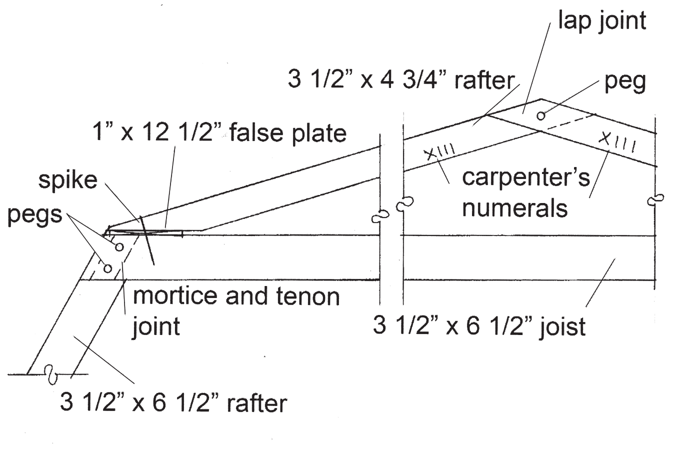
portantly, it was cheaper than green—though more expensive than white and yellow—and thus used often for paint, wallpaper, and upholstery.[41] Most houses had some variety in paint colors in the important first- and second-floor rooms, featuring at least two but rarely more than three colors. Cliveden was an exception, as all its woodwork was originally painted a light gray green. Colonial painting schemes universally included a black or dark brown on baseboards and continued across the bottoms of doors. Such a feature gave a firm ground line for the walls and made cleaning easier.

Framing

The walls of the bourgeois country house were almost always of masonry, but carpenters framed the floor and roof structures in structural timber, and these areas caused builders the greatest trouble, especially roofs. Carpenters' guilds, such as the Philadelphia Carpenters' Company, and books, such as Joseph Moxon's *Mechanic Exercises* (London, 1677), disseminated standard practices of framing, but standardization had not reached the level customary today. Nearly every country house has unique elements in its framing, suggesting that carpenters struggled to produce sound and efficient designs, using craft norms, personal experience, and creativity. On a large house the roof frame, in particular, called for genuine creativity on the part of the master carpenter.[42] The cutting of complex joints with mortise-and-tenon connections involved a high level of craftsmanship.

The Americanization of the English timber-braced frame appeared in Philadelphia in the guise of the Virginia house, one of the most characteristic features of which was the common-rafter roof (as opposed to the traditional principal-rafter roof).[43] In a principal-rafter roof a few heavy rafter frames carry purlins (perpendicular to the rafters), which in turn carry common rafters, which support the roof covering. In a common-rafter roof there are no heavy frames, simply repeated common rafters. William Penn specifically called for subsidiary houses at Pennsbury to be Virginia houses and suggested that his outbuildings be framed similarly. He wanted these to be timber-framed buildings covered with five-foot-long clapboards. This was not an arbitrary choice: it was the module for wood-framed buildings in seventeenth-century Virginia and Maryland, which had become a colonial standard. He described such houses as follows: "If a little cheap house be built for my son of Boards yt may serve for serv'ts of twenty by sixteen foot, & a leanto behind it ye whole length, no higher then my little house at Philadelphia, & an orchard paled in & planted, yt may be done cheaply. a virginia house of clapboard only, may do till we come. for houses may be built in a year but orchards not grown."[44]

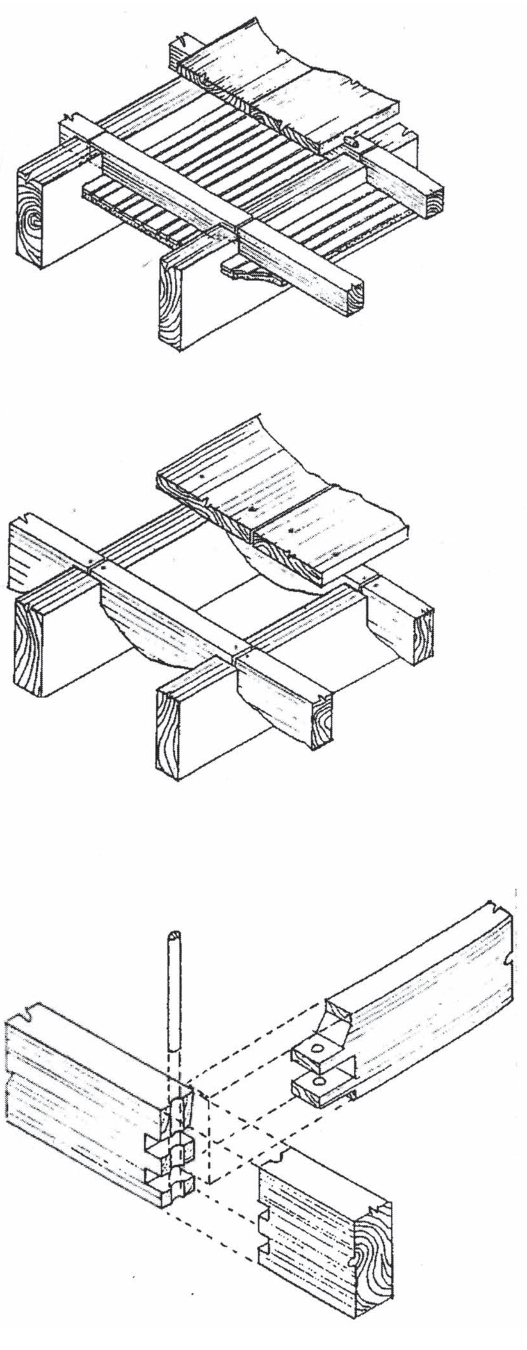
From the beginning of colonization in Pennsylvania, large country houses had both common-rafter and principal-rafter roofs. For example, Fairhill's cupola had a principal-rafter roof frame with king-post trusses, a common frame for large buildings.[45] The roof on the main block of the house may well have been a principal-rafter type but with some configuration other than king-post trusses, because the windows in the eighteenth-century view show the garret to be habitable, and king-post trusses, being in the center, made usage of the attic space difficult. On the other hand, Belair and Fountain Low/Graeme Park have only common-rafter roofs, perhaps because they are single-pile structures, eighteen to twenty feet deep. Belair's roof details are typical: rafters (from 3¼″ wide by 4¾″ deep at the floor, tapering to 3½″ at the ridge) rise from a false plate that sits on the garret floorboards, without a jointed tie to the floor joists. Collar beams connect to the rafters by birdsmouth joints, each with two wrought-iron spikes.



Rafter detail of the gambrel roof at Fountain Low/Graeme Park. Drawing by Mark Reinberger

The roof of Fountain Low/Graeme Park illustrates how a gambrel was constructed. Each of the rafter sets was constructed in two frames, with members marked by carpenter's numerals, used to key together members of a frame cut on the ground but only finally assembled on the roof. The lower frame was made up of the third-floor joists, the steeply sloping lower rafters, and the third-story ceiling joists, all joined and pegged together in a trapezoid. On top of this frame was constructed the upper slope of the roof, using two lighter rafters joined and pegged at the ridge but fastened through a false plate to the lower frame with wrought-iron spikes.

These two houses also illustrate an emerging difference in floor framing. Belair's floor frames have intermediate girders and small floor joists, an old-fashioned manner of building. Another sign of traditional care are the chamfers on the first-floor girders, which end with lamb's tongues even though they appear in the cellar, which has a dirt floor and was used only for storage. Fountain Low/Graeme Park has the equivalent of a common-rafter roof: continuous joists from the front to the back wall of the house, the greater span demanding larger joists. The joists in the different sections of the house vary in size (and effectiveness—some are quite bouncy), suggesting that the builder may have just been getting used to the system.

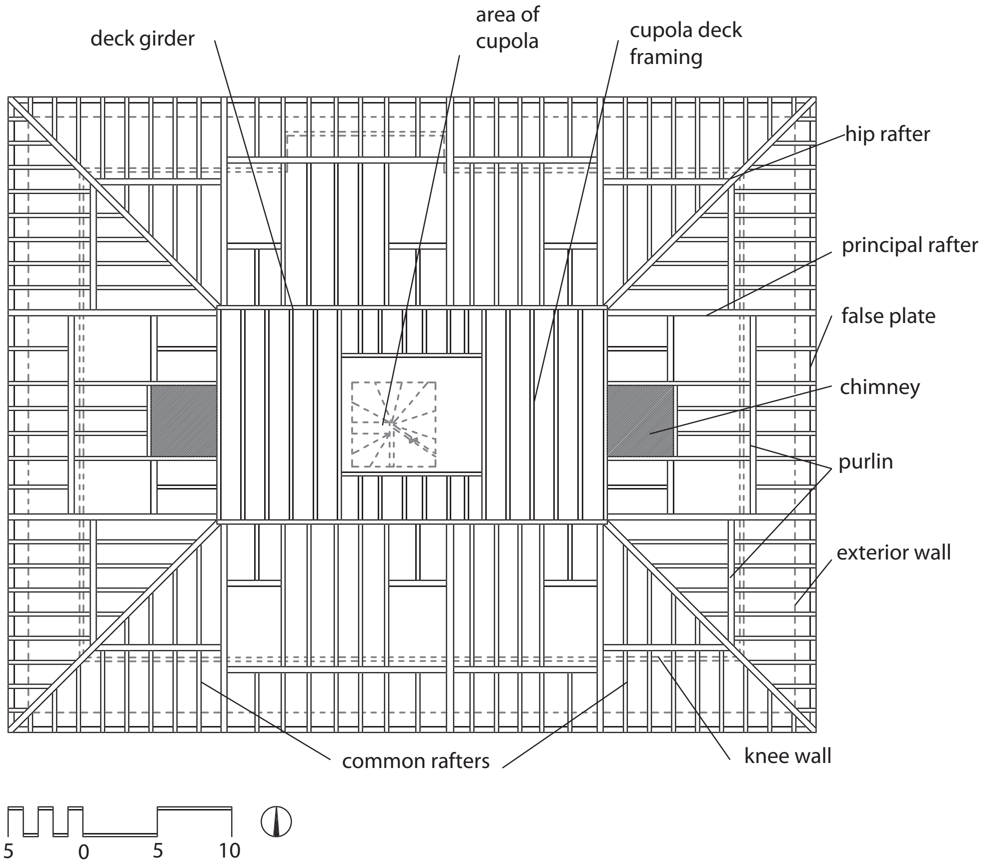


Floor-framing details, Stenton. The bottom drawing shows "tusk" tenons; the upper two drawings show an unusually fine floor-framing technique with sleepers for a quieter floor, the upper having insulation underneath. From *Stenton*

When houses became double-pile, the framing had to change, as illustrated at Stenton. First of all, the builder had more choices; for example, floor joists could run in either direction, and they could vary throughout the house, something seen at Stenton. The outer ends of joists are pocketed into the masonry walls; girders support the joists at other locations. Notable is the relatively uncommon joint between joists and girders: instead of the usual single tenon, the carpenters used a tusk tenon, a double mortise and tenon, the lower unrefined and the upper refined with a diminished haunch or beveled shoulder. This may be a signature of the Harrison family, because Joseph Harrison's sons worked on Independence Hall, where the same type of double mortise and tenon was used.[46]

Stenton's first-floor framing also incorporates a rarely seen system of thermal insulation. Under the parlor, the best room, sleepers lie atop and at right angles to the joists; the joists, which have lath and plaster applied to their lower surfaces, carry the floor. The sleepers made a more level, quieter floor and also created an air space above the lath and plaster. Somewhat lesser rooms have either sleepers or lath and plaster but not both. The room in the service quarter of the house has nothing, Logan evidently feeling that rooms on this side of the house needed no insulation. Varying types of insulation are known in English colonial work, especially lath and plaster applied directly to the bottom of floorboards, but more varied systems are found often in German work, including in Germantown, just up the hill from Stenton.[47]

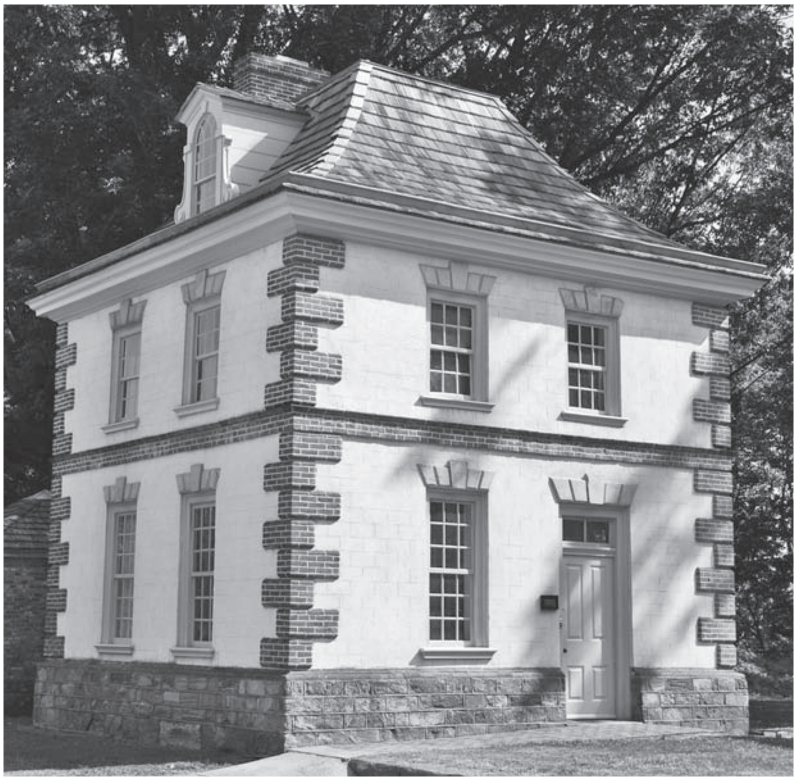
In Stenton's third-floor frame the outer ends of the joists cantilever beyond the wall plates to form outriggers for the cornice. Because Stenton's roof is hipped, outriggers cantilever at both sides to form the cornice. The corners are reinforced by diagonal dragon beams, a typical colonial construction technique. Because of the tendency for a roof to push outward, every third outrigger is dovetailed and pegged.



Framing for a hipped roof, Stenton. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Stenton*

In the roof, three principal rafters on the long sides and two on the shorter ends, along with four hip rafters, support purlins that in turn carry common rafters. The purlins connect to the principal rafters with single-bevel shoulder tenon joints. Both principal and common rafters stand on a false plate that lies at the outer edge of the garret-floor joists and outriggers. At the top of the frame the principal rafters are tied with inverted birdsmouth tenon joints to deck joists. Just below the deck are collar beams, which also act as ceiling joists for the garret, tied to the principal rafters with beveled-notch lap joints, nailed. The joinery is especially complex at the corners of the deck frame, where two principal rafters meet a hip rafter and girders on two sides of the deck. The frame is further stiffened by knee walls, the studs of which correspond to the different rafter types, larger ones for the principal rafters. All studs are let in, or tenoned, to the rafters. All in all, the roof frame represents a complex and magnificent example of carpenters' artistry.

The roof at Mount Pleasant is a similar masterpiece, having presented Thomas Nevell with challenges that he brilliantly overcame, with a little help from pattern books.[48] The main house has a double-hipped roof (hip on hip), with the top hip carrying a flat deck surrounded outside by the rooftop balustrade. The frame is much more complex than that of any Philadelphia house before it, a complexity apparently intended to solve the problem of outward thrust on the sides, which are not tied across the roof by the third-floor joists. Mount Pleasant's third floor and rafter frame comprises four sets of tie beams running front to back and paired with doubled principal rafters. The lower rafter member is tenoned into a plate on top of the stone wall; the upper runs out beyond the wall and is connected to the tie-beam with an iron stirrup. A similar arrangement is illustrated in Swan's



An unusual bellcast roof on a dependency at Mount Pleasant (1761). Photograph by Mark Reinberger

British Architect.[49] The tops of the lower rafter members end at and help to carry collar ties that form the third-floor ceiling. The upper rafter pieces end at the top of the lower roof and are joined by a ring of upper plates that carry the upper hipped roof, which is framed entirely with common rafters. At the end bays, diagonal beams in tension running to the corners are once again paired with and mortised into diagonal hipped rafters, both carrying joists and common rafters running in both directions.

The distinctive bellcast roofs of the dependencies also called for fine craftsmanship. Nevell took their framing from Batty Langley's *Builder's Complete Assistant*. The curving framing members of these roofs were called *compass rafters*.[50] Nevell clearly saw these roofs as a major achievement and a major difficulty. He carefully itemized the work, perhaps because they were expensive for their size and he wanted to be able to justify the cost to Macpherson.[51] Nevell also billed for "jointing and plaining 15,400 shingles for ye Pavilions," an unusual item because shingles were commonly bought ready-made from a shingle maker.[52] Perhaps they needed to be specially sized and cut to fit the curves of the roof.

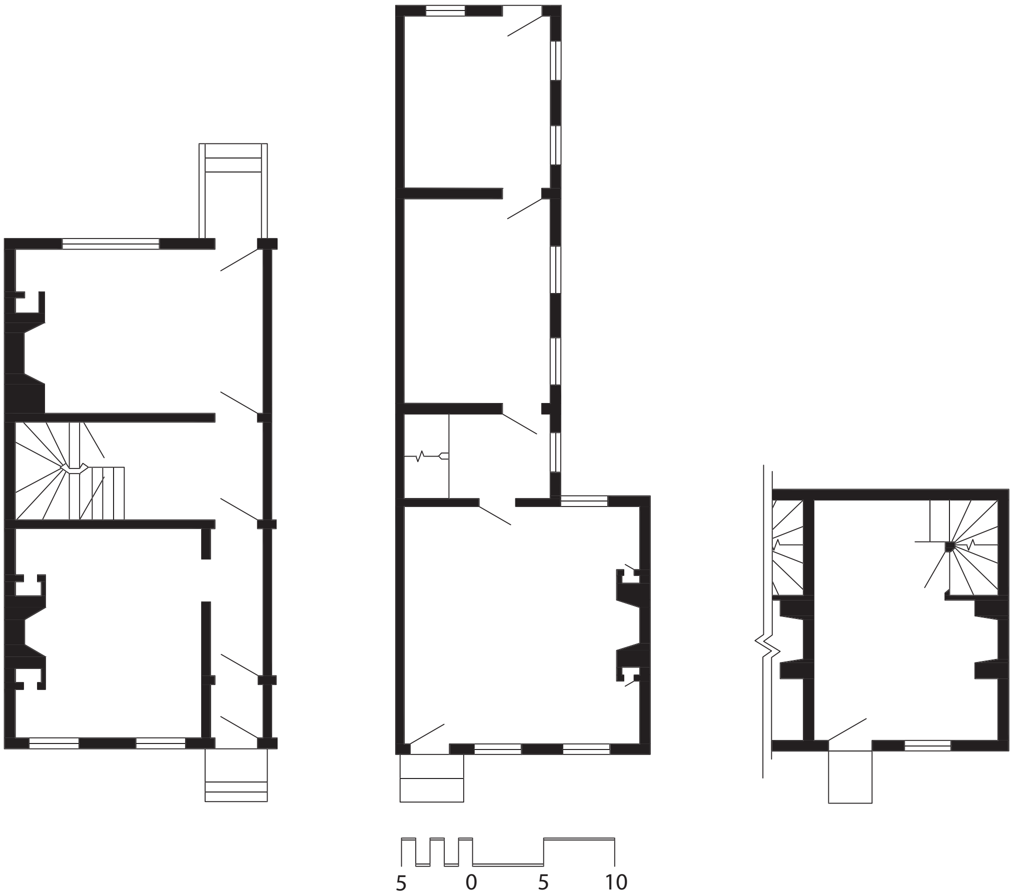
Cliveden represents the common-rafter roof come to the double-pile country house. In the garret floor the joists run north and south in order to tie together the roof rafters,[53] which rise on the floor frame. The joist overhangs support false plates (called "raised pcs." in the bill of scantling) to which the rafters are spiked, the usual method of framing roofs in smaller buildings in the Philadelphia area. The twenty-six sets of rafters are spaced very nearly two feet on center. They taper to narrower at the top, again a common eighteenth-century practice and one specified in the bill of scantling. They are joined at the garret ceiling by collar beams with dovetailed half-lap joints anchored by two wrought-iron spikes.[54] At the ridge the rafters are joined with an open mortise-and-tenon joint by means of a single peg. The rafter sets are marked with Roman numerals.[55]

That Mount Pleasant sported a new variation of the principal-rafter roof, while its contemporary Cliveden used an untraditional common-rafter roof, shows the flux in carpentry during the eighteenth century, a flux that would eventually result in the standard balloon frame in the nineteenth. The keys to the latter were readily available, uniformly dimensioned lumber and nails, both available to Philadelphia builders and at least wealthy owners by the mid-eighteenth century, if not in the hinterlands. Cliveden's bill of scantling corresponds nearly perfectly with the structural timber in the house. The actual dimensions of joists are usually about one-quarter to one-half inch less than called for in the bill, probably because the timbers were cut to the required dimensions and shrank as the wood dried. This reduction in size is still true for modern lumber, referred to as nominal versus actual measurement, and suggests that a similar system may have been evolving in commercial lumber establishments in the eighteenth century.

The switch from principal to common rafters might also mark a diminution in traditional skill and sophistication. The Germantown carpenter Jacob Knor may not have been up to building a roof as sophisticated as that on Nevell's Mount Pleasant structure, with its complex joinery and up-to-date iron strapping. Perhaps, too, Cliveden's was more economical, involving less skilled labor, if more lumber. All of these factors would drive American carpentry from this time forward.

Urban and Rural: Similarities and Differences

Since the same people paid for and built Philadelphia bourgeois country houses and town houses, both classes of buildings should be more similar than different.[56] By and large the above analysis also applies to colonial town homes, except that the freestanding country house involved aspects of construction that the rigid format of the typical Philadelphia row house did not allow. For example, the framing of a large hipped roof was rare on a city house. The majority of city dwellers in the colonial period, even wealthy ones, lived in row houses, following English precedent. Even very expensive town dwellings mostly followed a standard row-house pattern, one borrowed from post–Great Fire London and other English towns.[57]



Typical Philadelphia row-house plans. Drawing by Thomas Peters after William Murtagh, "The Philadelphia Row House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (December 1957): 8

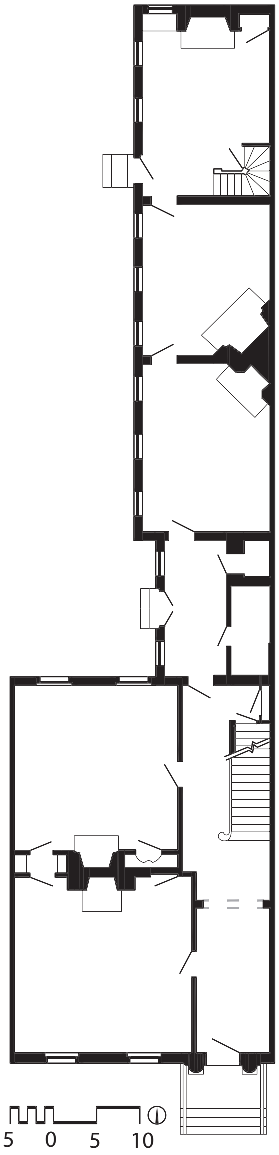
Philadelphia row houses from 1700 on fell into a few types.[58] The smallest had one room on each floor, were generally two or three stories tall, and most often were built on courts and secondary streets behind the main thoroughfares. Owners could expand this type to the rear with a piazza for the stairs and service rooms in an ell, but it was still only one room, usually not more than sixteen feet wide at the front. Another model followed the London standard, being one room and a side passage wide and two rooms deep, with the stair either in the rear of the passage or between the two rooms. Often, this type too stretched toward the rear with a piazza and an ell. These houses were two, three, or even four stories tall and perforce wider; large houses of this type were generally about thirty feet wide. The well-known Samuel Powel House exemplified this format.[59] This arrangement could be extended to a full double house, equaling in scale a typical country house, or to an intermediate size, with a smaller room flanking the passage opposite the main file of parlors, as in the John Cadwalader House.[60]

That there was some room for variation and improvement on this basic arrangement is suggested by Richard Hockley's comment that the town house designed for him by William Peters was "the best I think by far in this place and most convenient and commodious." However, the features that made it so convenient and commodious are now lost. For their country houses, the gentry had many more models from which to choose, and they were freer to experiment with plan and exterior. Stone, for example, was almost unknown in the city but fairly common in the country. But in brickwork, fenestration, and other exterior trim, as well as interior stylistic elements, town houses and country houses shared a common vocabulary.

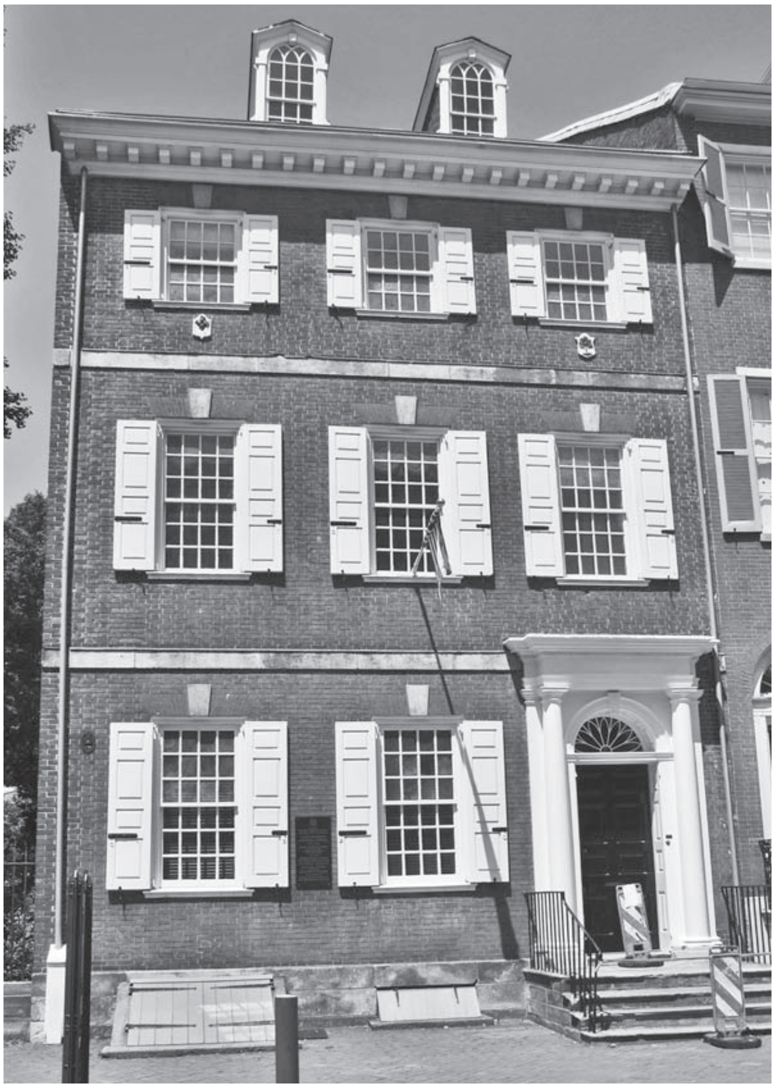
In the town houses of the merchant and shopkeeper classes, two general arrangements presented themselves: the best rooms on the first or ground floor, with chambers above; or work, shop, or otherwise secondary spaces below and the best living and entertainment rooms above. This debate played itself out in all colonial cities and in England and occasionally took place in the realm of the Philadelphia country house. The first arrangement occurred more often in colonial Philadelphia—in the Cadwalader House, for example—though the Powel House was a notable exception. If raised, the best room could run the full width of the house and so have three or four windows. Whether on the first or the second floor, the best room was located at the front, which offered views of the street instead of a rear yard and contained more windows.[61] Also, regardless of which floor contained the best rooms, the passage was appropriately grand, since residents and visitors traveled through it. It contained two features seen commonly in country houses: a Doric screen, sometimes an arch, dividing it into front and back; and a grand stair, unless this was pushed into the piazza to the rear.

Even if treated finely, the relatively narrow passage of the town house, lit only by a transom from the front door and perhaps a window on the stair, would have suffered by comparison with the large open hall possessed by many, though not all, Philadelphia country houses. Large country halls would have seemed delightful, especially in warm weather. Other rooms would have been comparable in scale and appointments to those in the city, although generally a degree simpler in the country. The variation in plan available in the country house, as opposed to the standardization of the Philadelphia town house, would also have added delight to the rural experience.

The town-house builder had to decide where to locate the kitchen and other service rooms, likewise an issue in country-house design. Only the wealthy had rooms devoted



Samuel Powel House (1765), plan of the first floor. Drawn by Thomas Peters after George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 56



Samuel Powel House, front. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

solely to cooking in colonial times. Kitchens might occupy space in the cellar—always a feature in Philadelphia town houses, where it was used for storage—and were conveniently located near the main or a service stair, leading to rooms for dining. However, Philadelphia town houses lacked the areaways and high basements of English townhouses, so cellar kitchens were noisome. Kitchens could also be detached, as was that of the Slate Roof House, which connected with a washhouse in the back yard. Most larger town houses, such as the Powel and Cadwalader houses, had their kitchen in a rear wing. The Cadwalader House had two kitchens in the rear ell and used the spaces over the ell for servants' and slaves' lodging. Multiple kitchens were not uncommon for grand houses in either city or country.[62]

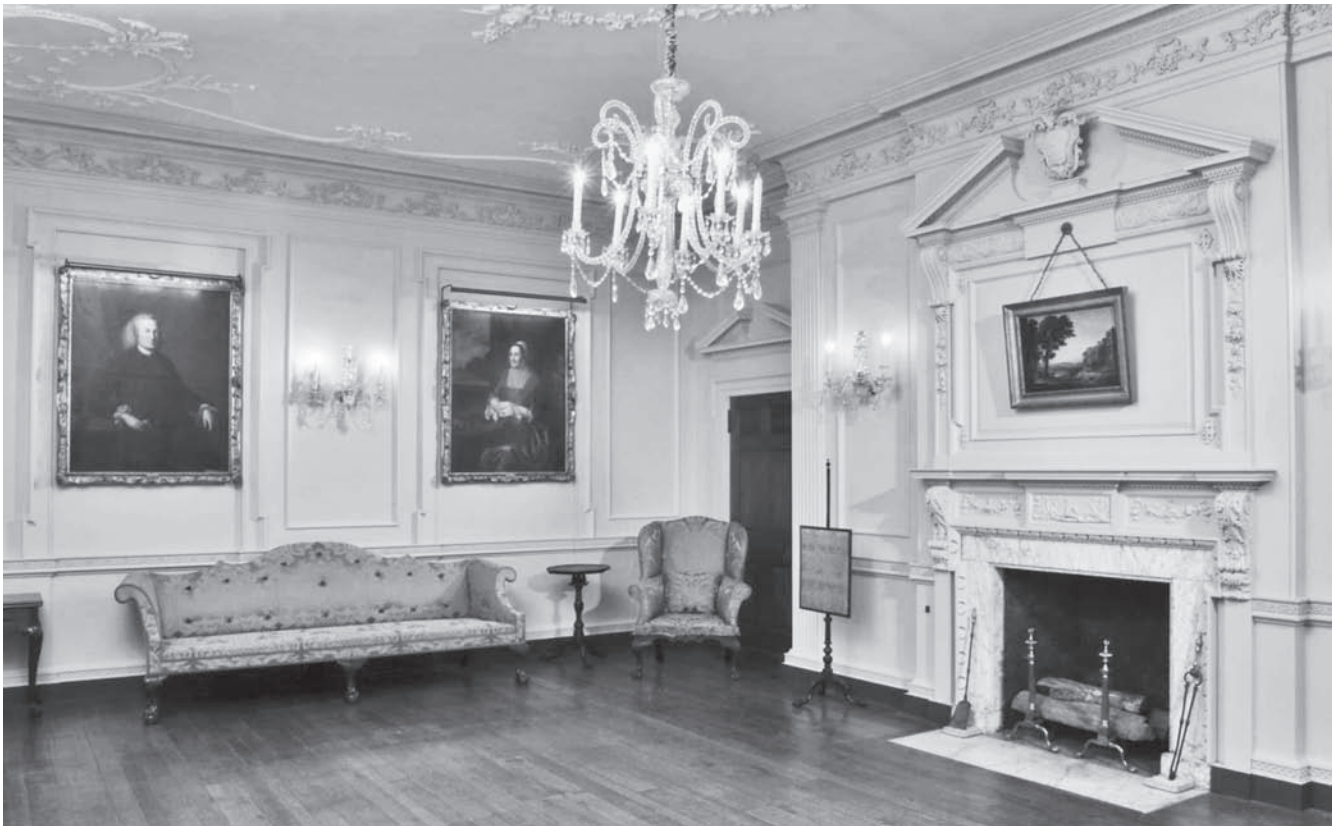
Given their plans and the general restraint of eighteenth-century English architecture, perhaps inevitably uniformity and simplicity characterized the facades of Philadelphia town houses. Facades, of two to five bays but generally two or three, were almost invariably of brick with wood windows and trim. Better houses might have brick and stone trimmings for lintels, keystones, and jack arches. The first floor generally was located a few steps above grade to allow for some windows and a bulkhead into the cellar, as well as the necessary steps and stoop of brick or stone. Solid shutters provided protection for the first-floor windows at night and when the owners were away. Dormers often lit the garret, which was covered by a gabled roof sloping front to back. The general simplicity of Philadelphia town houses may owe something to the city's Quaker heritage, but it followed English precedent as well.[63] Late in the colonial period, a few freestanding town houses broke with these general strictures.

If the plans of town houses were fairly standard and their exteriors repetitious and rather plain, their interiors held displays of art and craftsmanship that could distinguish a house and owner. Inside, town houses were grander and more finely finished than country houses, and we know that they held the family's best furniture, at least in the late colonial period.[64] Even the finest Philadelphia country seats do not measure up to comparable examples in Virginia or South Carolina. In those colonies, the plantation homes constituted the primary seats of their owners, the environment in which they passed virtually all their time and with which they would be socially identified.

Samuel Powel's Philadelphia town house contained architectural woodwork and carving unrivaled anywhere in the colonies. For example, it had an open-stringer, mahogany stair with fluted newels and a twist, something not found in any Philadelphia country house. Four rooms had carved work, while no more than one or two rooms in any country house had such finery. The Powel House's famous modeled plaster ceiling could be matched in only two known country houses, one of which was Bush Hill, an exception that proves the rule, because it was the primary seat of James Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania. If anything, Cadwalader's house was even finer, for it had carving by Hercules Courtenay and by Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez in no fewer than six rooms on the first and second floors, as well as a modeled plaster ceiling. Cadwalader spent £1,000 on three parlors alone, including £357 to Nevell to panel them and another £353 for the carvers. By comparison, Mount Pleasant's entire carpentry bill was £2,200.[65] Construction standards also were higher in town. For example, the best town houses had doweled floors and mahogany doors, the latter not observed in even the finest Philadelphia country houses.[66]

Benjamin Chew's city house, on South Third Street, was better appointed than his country house, Cliveden. He bought it from Governor Penn, and descriptions suggest that in architectural elaboration it surpassed all other Philadelphia residences, whether in town or in the country.[67] Gunning Bedford's description of Chew's city house for the Philadelphia Contributionship includes finery such as cornices with frets and cornices with dentils and modillions; thirteen pediments; fluted pilasters and a Doric entablature; three tabernacle mantelpieces with fluted pilasters; and "2 Storys of open Newel Stairs, Ramp[ed] Bracketed, & wainscuted." In 1864, years after the house had been torn down, Joshua Francis Fisher recalled that on the first floor, "the entrance hall and parlors [were] paneled with the most elaborate sculptures in wood, and the panels, I recollect, [were] filled with very black pictures, whether imported or native I never heard. The hall and parlors were

Samuel Powel House, drawing room (upstairs front room). Philadelphia Museum of Art



wainscoted & paneled with figures in heavy carving, & the panels were filled with pictures."[68] Judging by these descriptions, the decoration in these rooms must have been unrivaled in Philadelphia, because the combination of decorative painted paneling and carved figural ornament has no known parallels in Pennsylvania colonial architecture.

These large town houses usually were the most important residences owned by wealthy Philadelphians, even if they also possessed a country house, a villa, or a "country seat." In England, *seat* usually meant a country establishment,[69] but John Adams used it to refer to the magnificent town houses of John Cadwalader and Samuel Powel: "We visited a Mr. Cadwalader a Gentleman of large fortune, a grand and elegant House and Furniture. We then visited Mr. Powel, another splendid Seat."[70] By it, he meant their capital house or mansion, that is, the house in which their treasure lay and the place principally identified with them. Economics chiefly lay behind this identification: a man's town house served as, or at least was near to, his place of work, the source of the income that allowed the house to be built. Even the best streets in Philadelphia held businesses as well as residences.[71] Often the town houses of merchants, professional men, and wealthy artisans held offices and shops where business was transacted or a trade pursued.[72]

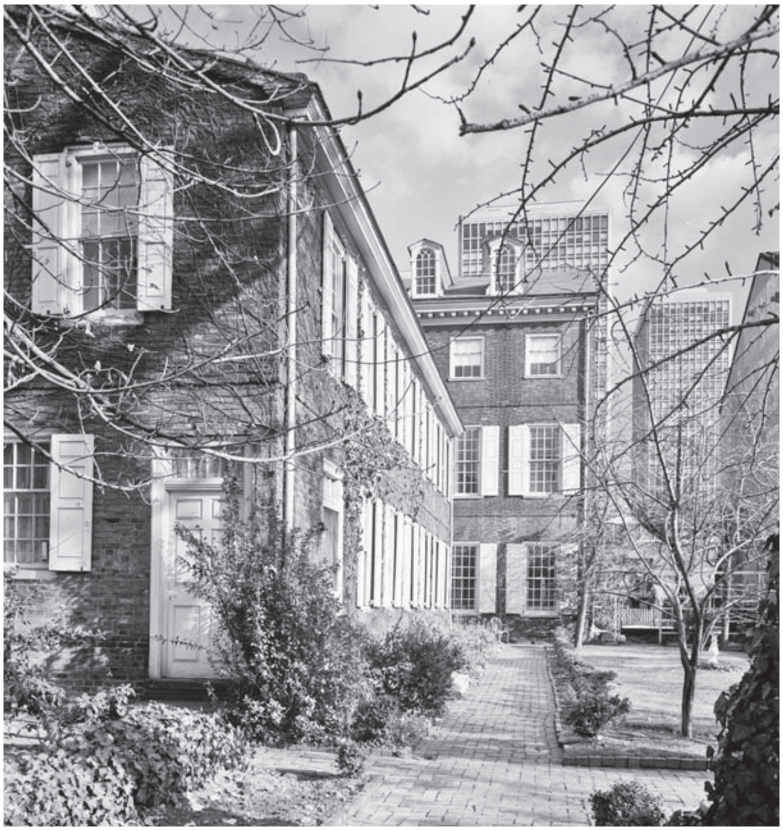
As Adams's comment suggests, town houses contained furniture as sumptuous as the architecture, and inventories suggest that living conditions in town were far better than in the country. The accounts of the furniture of John Cadwalader's house seem truly stupendous; it is notable that all of it was bought, and most of it made, in Philadelphia. Cadwalader spent an astonishing £1,500 on just the furnishings of his town house. Examples of pieces finer than any encountered in inventories of country houses include andirons with Corinthian columns (valued at £25); a billiard table ("mahogany Missippy table") with ivory balls; Cadwalader's great bed, with yards of dyed cloth, tassels, and a carved wooden cornice with plumes; five large mirrors (valued at £173); and Wilton carpet for three rooms. Carpets, bed hangings, curtains, and other upholstery were put in storage in the spring, because they were not wanted or were unnecessary in warm weather; thus, country houses naturally would not contain such displays of the carpet maker's or the upholsterer's art. Some pieces of furniture were moved back and forth to a country house seasonally, especially smaller and portable pieces, but much would have stayed in the city.[73]

The contrast between city and country furnishings is evident in the simultaneous inventories of the city house of William Logan (son of James) and Stenton in December 1776.[74] It must be said that when the inventories were taken, Logan was clearly in residence in the city, because all four of his coaches were there. The inventories make clear that both houses held a full set of furnishings for a certain number of rooms, two parlors, four chambers, and a kitchen. The overall value of the furnishings for the city household (£493) was nearly three times the value of the furnishings at Stenton to (£172). The value of furnishings in the room in the country house labeled "best parlor" (£58) was more than twice that of the same room in the town house (£26). Not only did the Philadelphia house contain more furnishings but they were more valuable. For example, most of the chairs in town were walnut, while those at Stenton were maple, a less costly wood, used in the town house only in a lesser bedroom on the third floor. The town house held much furniture of mahogany, the best wood, but only a very little at Stenton. Carpets covered the floors in most of the town-house rooms but were conspicuously absent from Stenton, probably because of their seasonal use. Similarly, Stenton contained no upholstered chairs. The difference in value between the best chambers in the two dwellings was even larger: £71 at the townhouse, the highest value for any room in either house, and £24 at Stenton. Both houses had a number of valuable beds and accouterments (£12 or more), but the town house had three of these, Stenton only two. Beds were large and cumbersome, not moved if at all possible, and their presence in both houses shows that the Logans did not move them. While both houses had many looking glasses, those in town were generally more valuable: those at Stenton were valued at £2 or less, while the better ones in town were valued at £7 and £8. Again, since Stenton had its own, these were evidently not moved back and forth between the houses, which would have been undesirable because of the risk of breakage.[75] The best pictures remained in the city, with lesser ones hanging in the country.[76] Inventories such as these suggest that country houses should not be overdecorated when they become house museums.

Obviously, gardens could be grander in the country. William Penn had wanted green space around his city houses, but the typical English row houses that were built in Philadelphia prevented the extensive gardens he had in mind. However, in Philadelphia some lots remained large and were planted. The earliest description of a Philadelphia garden is by Gabriel Thomas (1698), who noted that Mayor Edward Shippen "has an Orchard and Gardens adjoining to his Great House that equalizes (if not exceeds) any I have ever seen, having a very famous and pleasant Summer-House erected in the middle of his extraordinary fine and large Garden abounding with Tulips, Pinks, Carnations, Roses (of several sorts) Lilies, not to mention those that grow wild in the Field."[77] The reference to garden flowers is rare for Pennsylvania at this early date.

The few contemporary descriptions of eighteenth-century Philadelphia city gardens suggest conservative design. Israel Pemberton Jr.'s city garden was described at midcentury as "laid out in the old-fashioned style of uniformity, with walks and allies nodding to their brother, and decorated with a number of evergreens carefully clipped into pyramidal and conical forms,"[78] a reference to Alexander Pope's "Epistle to Burlington" (1731), one of the earliest ripostes against formal gardens.

Samuel Powel House, rear wing with service facilities and adjacent garden. HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 25, Library of Congress



At the Powel House a triple-wide lot—ninety feet—stretched from Third to Fourth Street. The house occupied the front half. The rear contained a service yard with a carriage house, a stable, a washhouse, necessaries, and possibly other buildings, but there was room for at least a kitchen garden, where, among other vegetables, cabbage and asparagus grew. Apparently, a wood fence surrounded the garden. Out front a brick wall and gate gave the house privacy and security. The front yard had two trees, possibly the buttonwoods that Powel bought from Jacob Walter, which, along with several trees in back, made the house uninsurable in the eyes of the Philadelphia Contributionship. John Cadwalader's house also had a front yard paved with bricks and guarded by a wall topped with iron spikes. In his rear yard Cadwalader also had a "stable and coach houses" with its own paved court, a "house for milk & cheese," enough of a garden that he paid two gardeners, John Hays and John Lawrence, and enough of a lawn to require a roller.[79]

Charles Norris probably had the most extensive and most varied Philadelphia city garden where the Second Bank of the United States now stands, in the shadow of the State House (Independence Hall) at the western edge of the city. The garden was created by Charles's sister, "Aunt Debby." Her niece, Deborah Norris Logan, described it as follows:

> The garden was laid out in the old taste, in square parterres and beds, regularly intersected by graveled and grass walks and alleys, yet some of the latter were so completely hid by the trees by which they were bordered, as to be secluded and rural, a green bank with flights of stone steps led the way into the garden, and profusion of beautiful flowers and shrubs first met the eye. The western part was more irregular and contained on an high, dry spot, facing the south and defended from the north by a board fence of considerable height, the hot beds and seed house, and led to a very shaded walk reaching to the extremity of the grounds, with vines covering the fence, of the finer sorts of grapes, and hid on the other side from the rest of the Garden by a continuation of espalier.[80]

A cottage where a retired retainer lived "was a sweet little retirement, and so secluded and quiet that it might have been thought to belong to a remote village, although the fence of its enclosure fronted on 5th St."[81] A small pavement ran around the cottage, for the convenience of its inhabitants, with a grass plot and trees in front, and roses intermixed with shrubs and currant bushes round its borders, all backed by wilderness that communicated with the garden and rendered it completely a *rus in urbe*.

* * *

The formula for the Philadelphia town house possessed enough independent variables to allow for some variety, taste, and self-expression, particularly in the best rooms. This was much more so for the country house, whose kit of parts included significantly more elements than the kit for the city house, for example, stone in addition to brick or hipped in addition to gabled roofs. However, freedom in the country house was expressed most strongly in two aspects: the landscape, obviously quite limited in the city, and the house plan. The plan of a freestanding house could take virtually any form and any size, though the period's designers limited themselves to some extent by custom and the demands of classical symmetry. We now turn to the principles of organizing the plan in the country house.

CHAPTER 7

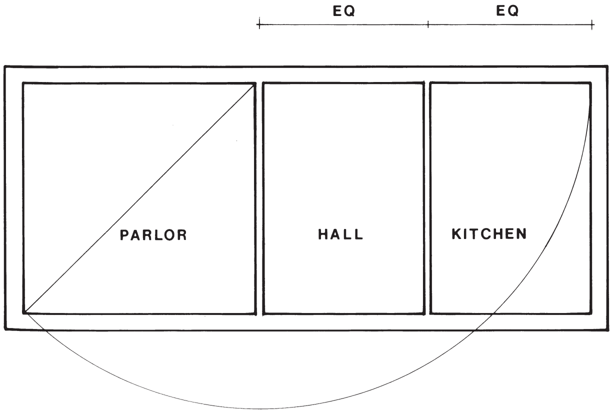
Organizing the Fabric

Several sets of "rules" governed colonial-era buildings, which is not surprising given that it was a period when rules regulated much of social life and the arts in general. Compared with people of the twentieth century, denizens of the eighteenth century, in order to adhere to social norms, allowed themselves relatively little room for personal style or personal comfort. However, as the century progressed, there was a relaxation in terms of both style and comfort to which the evolution of the country house itself contributed. In the arts, the eighteenth century inherited the rules promulgated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the principles of classicism, whether in music, painting, or architecture. The eighteenth century questioned these rules and in some cases relaxed them but to a large extent followed at least their general outline.[1]

Proportion

Inspired by Rudolf Wittkower's discussion of proportion in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*,[2] many scholars have discussed the proportional arrangements that seem inherent in colonial buildings and their English counterparts. Marcus Whiffen, in *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg*, presented perhaps the most well developed proportional analyses of colonial buildings, at least in terms of their elevation.[3] These books have mostly gone out of fashion in American architectural history in recent decades but perhaps deserve a new examination. Philadelphia country houses are no less amenable to such diagramming and seem to evince a deliberate consideration of proportions, with several different systems present.

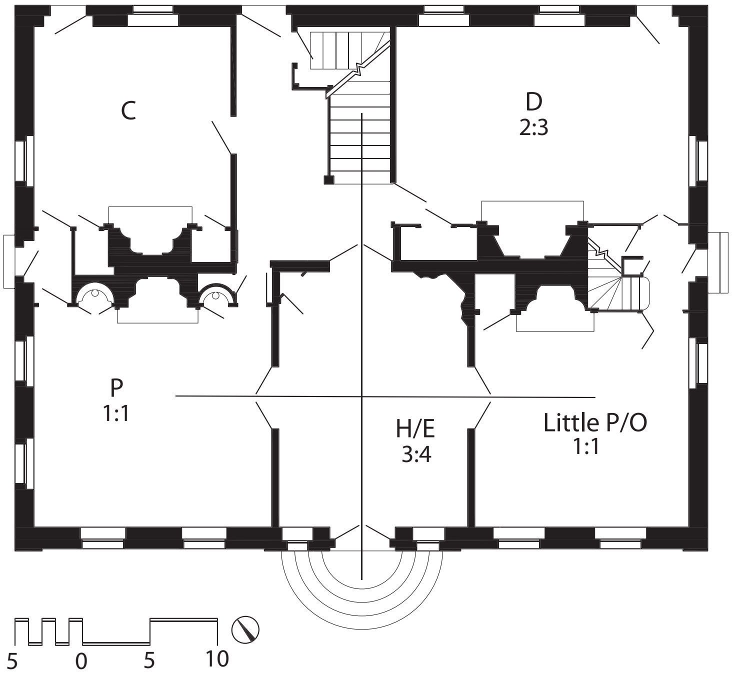
The most common proportional system apparent in Philadelphia country houses, especially in plan, relied on the use of simple whole-number ratios, 1:2, 2:3, or 3:4. These



Fountain Low/Graeme Park, proportional diagram of the plan. Drawing by Mark Reinberger

proportions formed part of the Palladian canon and appeared explicitly in English Palladian design. Robert Morris, one of the chiefly Palladian theorists, stated: "Beauty, in all Objects, springs from the same unerring Law in Nature, which, in Architecture, I would call Proportion."[4] However, a very old, more traditional system of geometric layout appears in Fountain Low/Graeme Park, one of the earliest extant houses (1722).[5] Internally it measures 53 feet in length by 22 feet in depth. Geometrically the plan resolves into a square parlor with a diagonal equal to the length of the rest of the house, which was then subdivided into two equal parts to form the hall and the kitchen. Presumably the builder swung the diagonal by a string or chain to mark the rest of the house.

Whole-number ratios inhere in the plans of most other houses, manifesting themselves sometimes in the overall dimensions of the plan and sometimes in the dimensions of specific rooms. An example of the first is the early Belair, whose plan has the general proportion of 2:1, length to depth. In Belair's case, the proportion is repeated in the overall facade, which is exactly twice as long as it is deep, yielding squares for the end elevations. The plan of Stenton shows whole-number proportions in the dimensions of all of the major rooms in the house: the best parlor,[6] the first-floor chamber, and the common parlor are square; the rear hall, the dining room, the parlor chamber, and the library have plan proportions of 2:3; and the entry hall has a proportion of 3:4. Authors such as Richard Neve, whose book Stenton's owner possessed, commonly recommended all of these numerical ratios.[7] Philadelphia town houses also show proportional relationships in their room sizes. In the Powel House, for example, the main rooms are nearly perfect squares, although with a little more fudging than needs be done in country houses. Freestanding

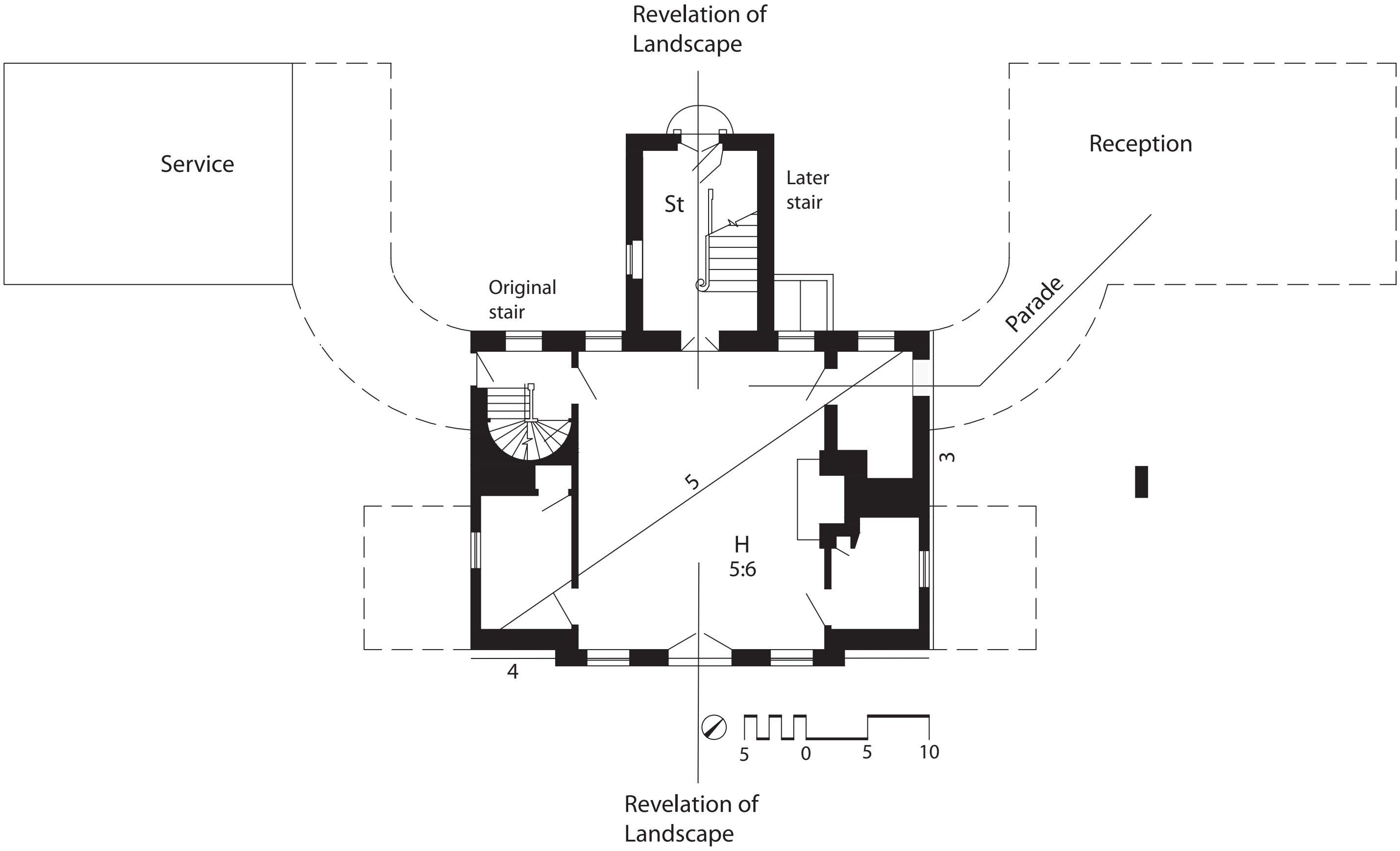


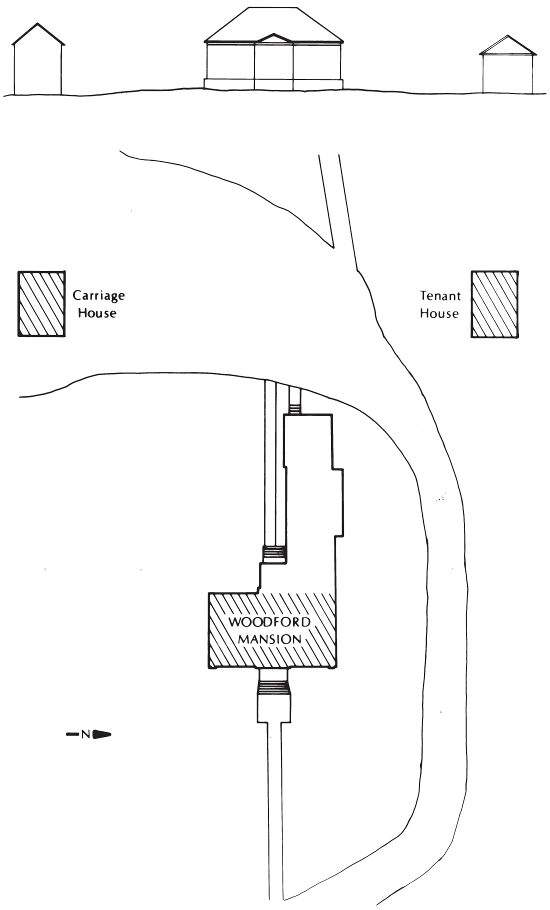
Stenton, first-floor plan with room proportions. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Stenton* country houses gave more scope for planning with proportions in mind, not being restricted by lot size.

A later, very sophisticated villa, Belmont (c. 1745), postdates the Palladian revolution in English architecture and has a somewhat more complex proportional system. The width-to-depth ratio of its plan, if the depth is measured to the front of the central pavilion, is very close to 4:3, one of the harmonic proportions recommended by Palladio, being the mathematical expression of a musical fourth interval.[8] A 4:3 proportion gives a diagonal of 5, and a 3:4:5 triangle was a commonly used surveying tool in the eighteenth century because it formed the simplest triangle having whole numbers for the lengths of all sides. Builders still use this tool to strike a right angle. Several mid-eighteenth-century houses elsewhere in the colonies have been found to employ a right triangle with the proportions 3:4:5 for the layout of the house and even the entire landscape.[9] Belmont's hall, the dominant room, forms a rectangle that is nearly square, 20 feet wide by 24 feet deep, a 5:6 proportional ratio also seen in the Palladian canon of harmonic proportions. Belmont's facade also resolves to whole numbers, specifically a square (1:1). A reconstruction of the original facade shows that the whole composition, from the first-floor level to the top of the balustrade, fit within a square, a typical form in classical proportional theory and among English Palladian villas.

Another example of geometric alignment appears at Woodford, where the relationship between the main house and the outbuildings implies a formal, sophisticated planning process. The front (east) walls of the two outbuildings align, being equidistant from the main house—48 feet to each side, roughly the length of the house, and 92 feet behind the

Belmont, first-floor plan with proportions. Plan by Thomas Peters and Fanglan Chen after *Belmont*





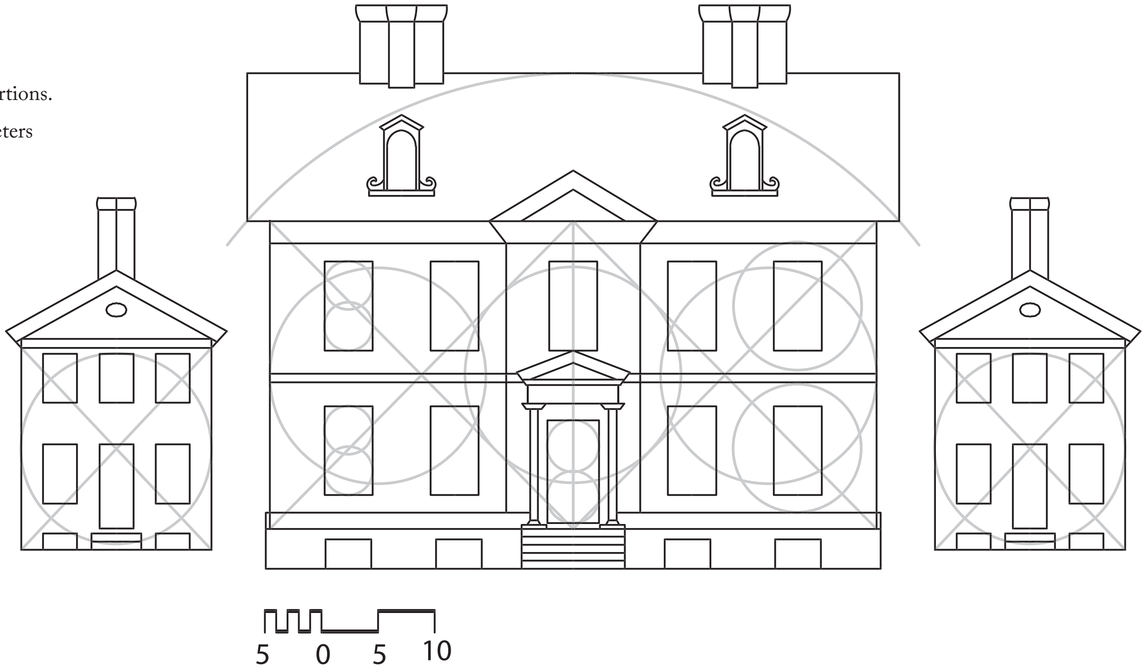
Woodford, alignments in plan and elevation. Drawing by Mark Reinberger

rear wall, roughly two times the length of the house. Furthermore, even though they serve very different functions, the two outbuildings are the same size, implying that formal considerations rather than function determined their size. Even more striking, the outbuildings' symmetry extends to the vertical dimension. Although the carriage house is taller from the ground to the eaves than the outbuilding to the north, they rise to the same point in relationship to a horizontal datum, that is, the first floor of the main house. The ground slopes down to the south, so that the grade at the south dependency is about three feet lower than at the north building, the difference in their heights.[10] Thus the eave and roof lines of the two buildings align with the main house when seen from the front of the whole complex.

The facades of other houses can be diagrammed to show more complex geometric programs that depend on whole-number ratios and subdivisions thereof. The caveat must be stated, however, that much depends on exactly where one draws the lines. On a facade, for example, is the bottom the ground or the water table? Is the top the bottom, the middle, or the upper edge of the cornice or perhaps the peak of the roof? However, this sort of analysis is not a purely fanciful modern application; English architectural writers applied such analysis to building facades, as on the title page of Robert Morris's *Rural Architecture*.[11]

Cliveden presents a typical case, where the distance from the top of the water table to the bottom of the cornice is equal to half

Cliveden, facade proportions. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Cliveden*



the width of the facade, so that the masonry wall forms a double square. The stringcourse at the second-floor line bisects the facade vertically. An arc swung from the center of the entrance at the water table intersects the edges of the roof at the top of the cornice and the ridge. The door and window openings are roughly two squares high, a proportion recommended by Palladio.[12] The facades of the dependencies are perfect squares to the horizontal cornices, and the width of the dependencies is one-third that of the mansion. Finally, the lines of the dependencies' roofs continue upward to intersect the ridge of the main roof at its center.[13]

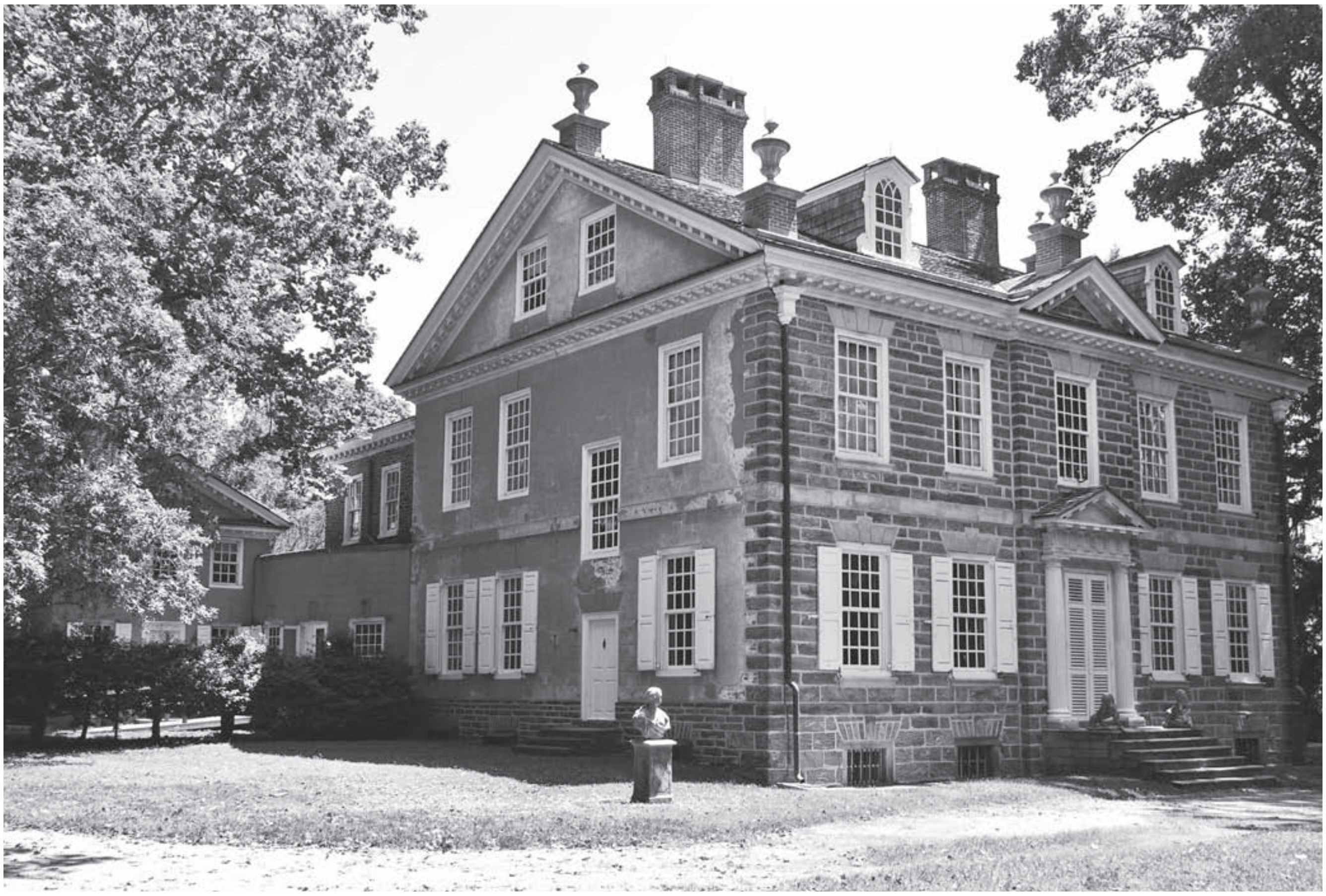
While clearly present and a definite consideration, proportion was not religiously adhered to; other artistic goals were considered more important. Numeric proportions were a part of the canon of taste as it had come down from the Renaissance, and the eighteenth-century Palladians, in particular, considered them important because of Palladio's use of them. But at the same time, as the eighteenth century advanced, considerations of taste not amenable to rules appeared increasingly important, as emotion, association, and perception took precedence. Older rules collided with new ideas, such as William Hogarth's adoption of the French rococo rule of taste, *je ne sais quoi*, as in his "line of beauty," whose curve can never be precisely defined. This collision contributed to the tension that made the eighteenth century such a fertile period for design.[14]

Hierarchy

Colonial design also displayed another organizational strategy, hierarchy. The hierarchy of finish, indeed of basic building materials, is a much discussed characteristic of colonial architecture and one with an extraordinarily nuanced range of expression.[15] It generally followed social status, giving polite aspects or spaces of a house a finer level of treatment, a reflection of social decorum and a hierarchical society. In Philadelphia houses, whether in the city or the country, sometimes the facades were so different and finer than the sides or back that observers invoked the term *facade architecture*. Inside, eighteenth-century spaces might simply fall in a range of best versus lesser, but often a much more subtle hierarchy exists. Isaac Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* speaks of rooms of "dignity," "neatness," and "shew," saying, for example, "Of the three kinds of [wall coverings], the grandest is that in stucco; the neatest that in wainscot, and the most gaudy that in hangings."[16] Sometimes builders also aimed to capture the qualities of masculine and feminine.[17]

In virtually all Philadelphia-area country houses a strict hierarchy graded the elevations. Belmont furnishes a typical example. The east, or Schuylkill River, facade clearly stands superior; the others respond to the hierarchy in different and subtle ways. The front has Flemish-bond brickwork above a molded-brick water table and a five-course stringcourse with the top and bottom courses of molded brick. The sides have English-bond walls, a less expensive and therefore less fine pattern. The rear consists of rubble stone. The windows and door on the east facade have stone jack arches and keystones, while the window openings on the rear and side elevations have brick segmental arches, by this date an old-fashioned form in Philadelphia. This last feature points out a rule of hierarchy: a feature's hierarchical status drops as it goes out of fashion.

Cliveden's exterior exhibits a tripartite hierarchy in its level of finish, a hierarchy more emphatically distinguished than in any other house in the region. Its south facade clearly



Cliveden from the southwest. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

reads as the finest, the "best face" seen by the public. The west side represents an intermediate level, beneath the front but still seen by visitors coming up the drive. The rear and east side form the bottom of the hierarchy, unseen by the public or polite occupants of the house. Details of both masonry and millwork announce the hierarchy. The south front, with its coursed ashlar and cut stone trim, has quite fine detailing. Although ashlar often appeared on Germantown facades, at Cliveden it rose to a new level of elegance. Cliveden's facade has larger stone blocks laid in a more regular pattern, with less randomness. The south front also has cut-stone details.

Around to the west, ashlar still forms the wall below the water table, but above rise stuccoed rubble, the stucco scored to imitate ashlar, with the coursing carried around from the front. The masonry on the east and north (rear) elevations received less care than on the driveway side: exposed rubble forms the walls both above and below the water table; the cellar window heads have no jack arches; and no stringcourse divides the stories.[18]

The exterior woodwork reinforces the hierarchy established by the contrasting masonry in ways that range from obvious to extremely subtle. For example, the south facade's frontispiece clearly proclaims itself at the top of the exterior hierarchy. A little less obviously, the cornice changes from one having modillions and a double fascia on the front and west side to one without modillions and with only a single fascia on the east side and rear. The window shutters employ a subtlety almost unnoticeable in the slight variations in their molding profiles, with those on the south front the best, those on the west front somewhat less fine, and those on the east and rear elevations distinctly inferior.

What explains this finely nuanced hierarchy? Cost was certainly a factor, perhaps an outgrowth of what some saw as miserliness in Cliveden's owner, Benjamin Chew. William Peters once remarked to Thomas Penn that Chew was "very greedy of money & interest is the God he worships."[19] Late-eighteenth-century architectural theory disliked differentiating elevations, preferring consistency in treatment. The late-eighteenth-century Anglo-American architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe called such front-back differentiation "ostentatious poverty."[20] However, cost does not explain everything; lesser quality did not always translate into savings. For example, among the shutters at Cliveden, those on the front were more expensive, but there was no difference in cost between the other two categories of shutters (those on the west and those on the rear and east).

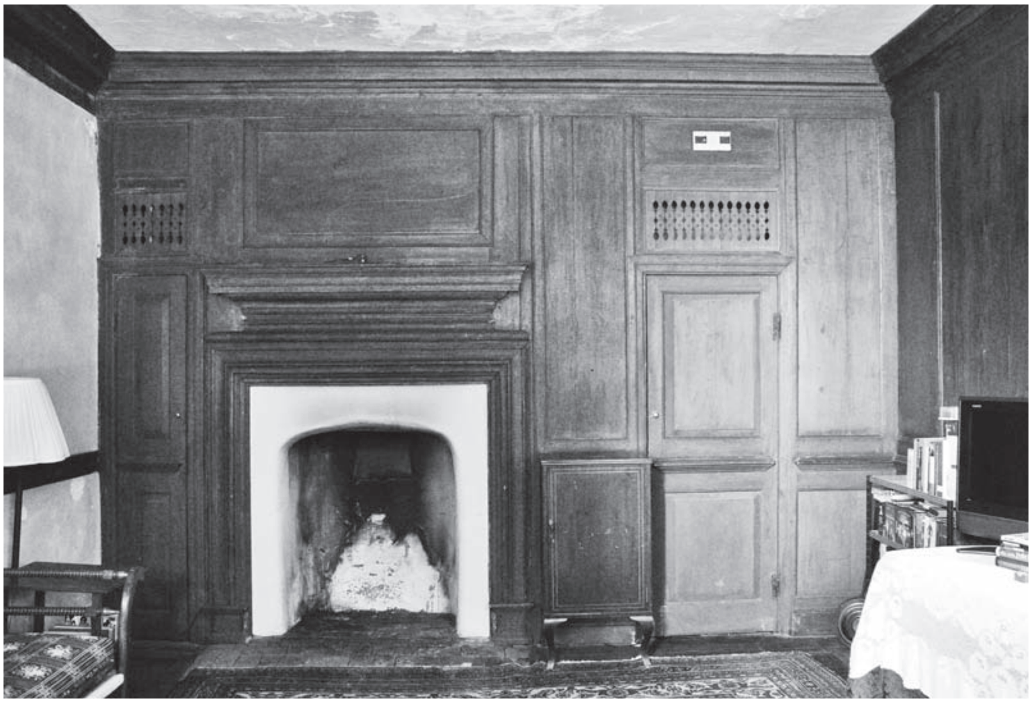
Perhaps decorum best explains hierarchy. His friends considered Chew unostentatious and unassuming, but he believed in the necessity of order maintained by class and office and thus the value of pomp and circumstance. Before traveling to the hinterlands of Pennsylvania for judicial duties, he wrote:

> I set my face westward tomorrow, and unless water from heaven interposes, shall be poisoned with the dust of honor, raised by sheriffs and attendants, which I assure you I would dispense with, with all my soul, if I was not convinced that in point of policy, parade is necessary and has its good effects on the *profanum vulgus*, who, in all countries, are more struck by external appearances than things really substantial.[21]

A position of public responsibility demanded the trappings of respect. Hierarchy paralleled the display of position, similar to dressing up for polite company, but it also embraced the pleasure of dressing down for more informal time spent with family and servants. Not to dress up for formal or polite occasions would have seemed rude and insulting; not to decorate one's parlor as well as one was able might equally have seemed an affront to one's social equals and betters. It was decent, orderly, and even respectful to present a well-finished, not to say lavish, front to the public. It would have been accounted extravagant to spend as much on areas of the house that only family and servants would see.

The hierarchy of interiors enjoyed a much wider and finer range, with its extensive kit of parts, particularly moldings, door and window treatments, and varied floor and wall coverings. The best parlor invariably was the finest room in the house, with the entrance hall a close second. The differentiation between front and rear halls, as at Fairhill, where the front hall was emphasized by paving it with black and white marble slabs, inaugurated an important tradition in Delaware valley country houses.[22] Almost all large houses in the region that were built in the first half of the eighteenth century have such a division, with the front hall treated distinctly better in the hierarchy of moldings and finish.

On the interior of Belair the room hierarchy arises quite clearly from the relative treatment of the walls. In this early period, full-height paneling was considered the most fashionable, lesser treatments being a paneled dado with plaster above, a mere chair rail, and, lowliest of all, no wall treatment beyond whitewashed plaster. Only the first-floor parlor at Belair has full-wall paneling on all of its walls. The first-floor entry and stair passage has full paneling on its long side walls and rear but only a dado at the front. The dining room, probably originally referred to as the hall, has full paneling on the passage and fireplace wall, a dado only on the front wall, and only a chair rail on the side wall toward the kitchen and slave quarters. On the second floor the hierarchy drops a notch, but the relative positions remain the same. The parlor chamber has full-wall paneling on the fireplace and



Belair, dining room or hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

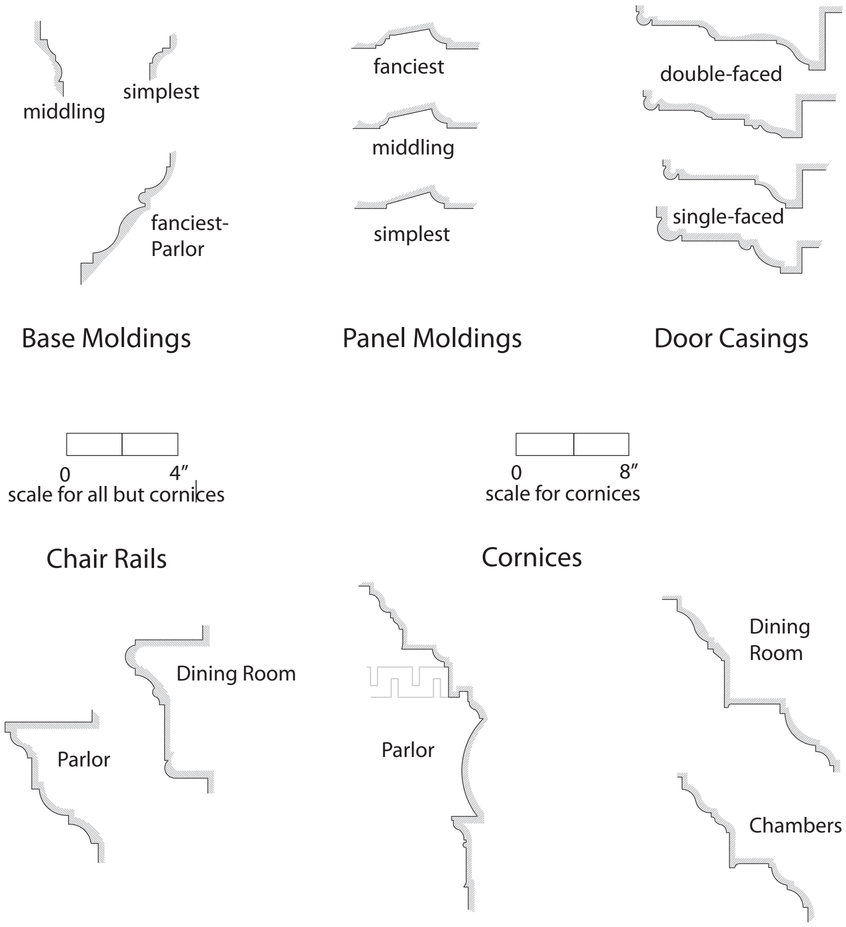
passage wall—comparable to the dining room downstairs—with dado only on the front and exterior sides. The passage has full paneling on its long walls but dado only on both front and back. The hall, or dining room, chamber has full-wall paneling on the fireplace and passage walls but only a chair rail on the other two walls. In the garret the walls have no woodwork at all, merely plaster. All spaces on all three floors have plaster ceilings. Familiar principles guided Belair's interior hierarchy. For one thing, the higher the story, the lower the status. Second, on all floors the best rooms were on the east side, revealing the principle of "stacking," according to which the best rooms on each floor were stacked one above the other.[23]

Though seemingly a minor feature, moldings were of major importance to colonial builders, an early illustration of the aphorism "God is in the details." Graeme Park exhibits a very complete hierarchy of moldings of all types, a standard vocabulary derived from classical architecture à la Palladio beginning about 1700, that replaced an older vocabulary of moldings based on the bolection.[24] Graeme Park's moldings deserve particular attention because the house survives in such pristine condition and the moldings exhibit such traditional characteristics. In large part, the vocabulary of moldings, hand-planed on site in that period, produced a subtlety, richness, and variety of design that was largely lost in the aftermath of mass-produced moldings in the nineteenth century and their virtual elimination in the twentieth.

Graeme Park exhibits three varieties of baseboards,[25] the simplest a plain board having a filleted quarter-round profile at the top, a very common type for less important colonial rooms. This type occurs in most of the third-floor spaces and in other less important rooms, the first-floor dining room (originally the kitchen) and two less important chambers on the second floor. The base used in the entry and the parlor chamber has a profile consisting of a torus topped by a cavetto, also a common colonial base. The most elaborate base occurs only in the parlor and consists of an ogee topped with an astragal and a cavetto, in other words, the next most elaborate base set on an ogee. This base projects three inches, which is quite far in comparison with most bases; it is appropriate visually as it forms the foundation for the powerful dado and thus the entire "order" of the room. This form of base, or a similar variation, appears often in fine colonial rooms of the 1750s and 1760s.

For the most part, the panel moldings at Graeme Park follow the bases, with three types in the same spaces. All panels have the hipped raised form, with the stiles and rails dadoed and given a quarter-round molding. The simplest type has no molding at all, merely a rise. The intermediate form has a quarter-round on the panel. The most elaborate—once again occurring only in the parlor—has a quarter-round with an extra fillet, resulting in a double-step profile.

Doors and door casings, more properly called architraves, provide some of the clearest demonstrations of hierarchy. With only a few exceptions that reflect nineteenth-century changes, the doors on the first floor have six panels, those on the second have four, and those on the third have two. As expected, the moldings on the door panels match those of the paneling in the rooms; in rooms with no paneling the simplest panel molding appears. There are two general kinds of door casings: double-faced with ogees both on the backband and between the two architraves, occurring in the major public spaces (entry, parlor, dining room, upstairs hall); and single-faced with an ogee backband, occurring in all the other rooms.


middling
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Parlor
fanciest
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double-faced
single-faced
Base Moldings
Panel Moldings
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0
4″
scale for all but cornices
0
8″
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Parlor
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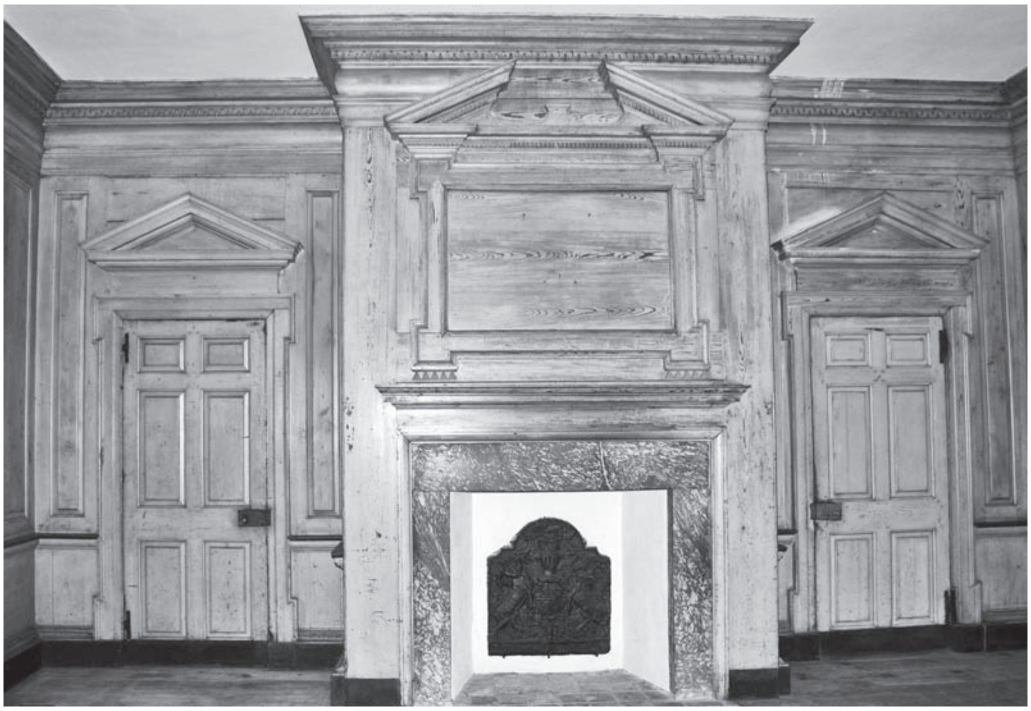
Dining
Room
Chambers

Graeme Park, molding profiles showing hierarchy. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Graeme Park*



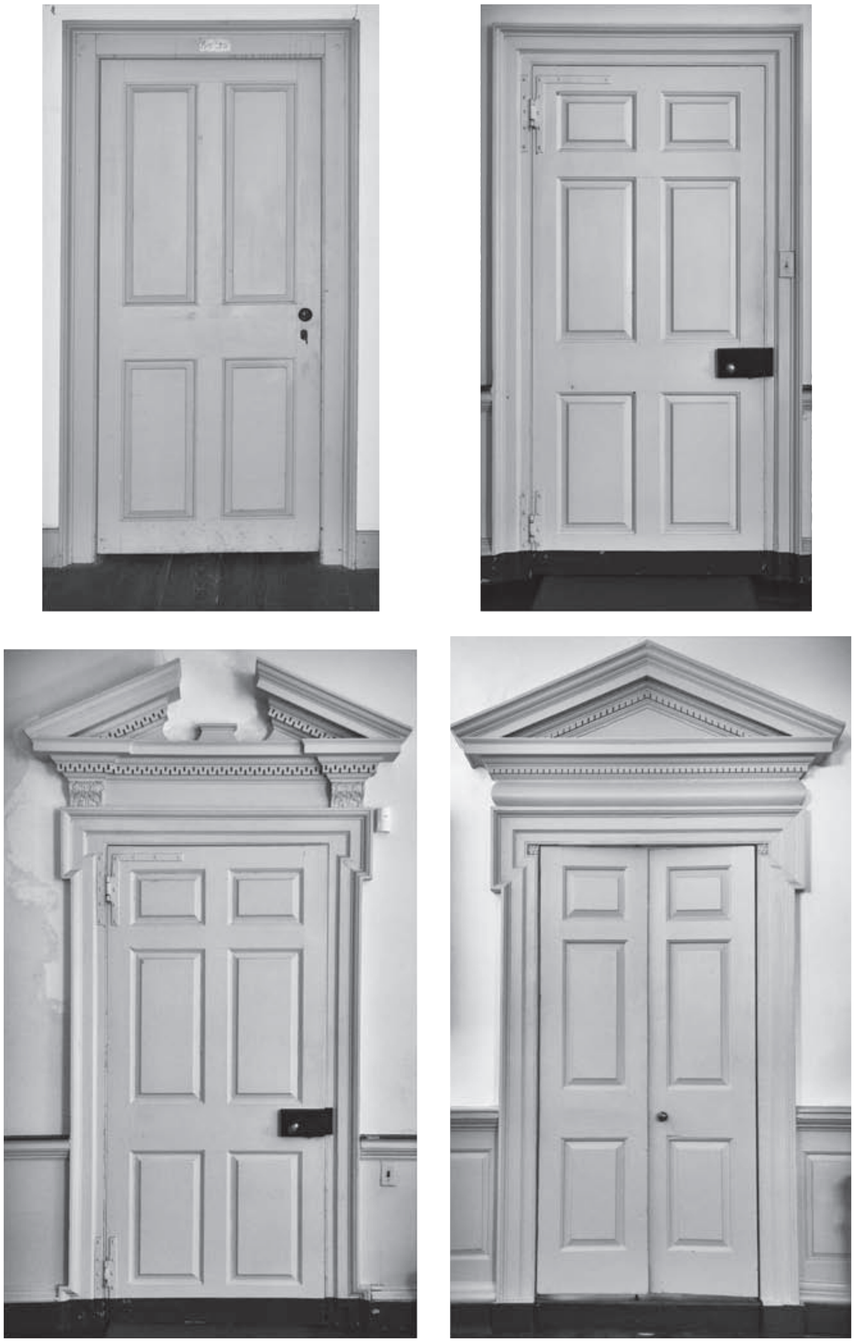
Graeme Park, parlor, the fanciest room in the house. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Chair rails occur in only two rooms at Graeme Park, the parlor and the dining room. In the parlor the chair rail forms part of the paneling. In both rooms the top of the chair rail aligns with the window sill, creating a continuous line around the room. The difference in the two chair rails reflects their different functions in the wall elevation. The parlor's represents the later, more classical treatment; here the chair rail emphasizes the dado's role as a classical pedestal, essentially the cornice of the pedestal, appropriate for a room with a full order. In the dining room, the molding does not serve such an explicit function but merely demarcates the wall.

Four rooms at Graeme Park have full cornices atop their paneled walls; two others have partial ones. Of the first group, the parlor is special, as its cornice belongs to the full entablature encircling the room, modeled closely on Palladio's Ionic order. The other three full cornices ring the dining room, the parlor chamber, and the office chamber. All have a similar configuration: crown, fascia, soffit, and bed molding. Although this cornice invokes no specific order, Palladio's Roman Doric comes closest, an appropriate drop in hierarchy from the parlor's Ionic. The height and projection of these cornices—approximately ten inches—are proportioned to the overall ceiling height, so they follow the classical rules: the height of the cornice is approximately three-fortieths of the total height of the order—the ceiling height is 12 feet—and the cornice height roughly equals the projection, so that the rake is 45 degrees. In the dining-room chamber and the garret room over the parlor chamber the cornice consists of only a crown molding, a common colonial abbreviation.

As on the exterior, internally Cliveden presents a subtle hierarchy, established by millwork. Door and window architraves provide the most dramatic illustration, though base and chair-rail moldings also contribute, and panel moldings provide one of the clearest statements of a room's rank. Cliveden also possesses four different types of interior cornices. The variety of moldings and their combinations in Cliveden is somewhat astonishing, undoubtedly significant for the analysis of the house even though the meaning of such variety is not always clear. Its general significance can be seen by comparing it with that of the nearby Johnson House (1765), built by Cliveden's master builder and clearly influenced by Cliveden. In the Johnson House almost no variation in molding profile distinguishes one room from another or establishes hierarchy; the mere presence or absence of a particular millwork element (such as the presence of a chair rail in the best rooms) determines a very limited hierarchy.[26]

The hierarchy of finish presents itself in the architecture of all the colonies, though its manifestations seem more exaggerated in Pennsylvania. Virginia and South Carolina plantation houses, for example, show considerably more uniformity around the exterior than



Cliveden, hierarchy of door types: from the lowest to the highest, clockwise from upper left. Photographs by Mark Reinberger do Philadelphia examples such as Cliveden. Mount Airy, in Virginia, presents fine ashlar masonry on all its elevations. Blandfield, also in Virginia, has pediments on front and back. Drayton Hall, in South Carolina, has finely, if differently, treated facades on front and rear, so much so that it is difficult to tell which is superior; and the sides, facing toward dependencies, differ and are lower in hierarchy.

Philadelphia's exaggerated hierarchy may once again demonstrate the influence of urban architecture on rural. In a row house it made no sense to treat front and rear the same (there are no sides). The back building acted as a dependency, and the rear yard was used for service. The resultant "facade architecture" carried over into the country house. Interior hierarchy was as pronounced in Philadelphia town houses as in country seats, perhaps more so. Room use and location front to back and bottom to top determined a space's position in the hierarchy, potentially a highly nuanced matrix in a four-story house with front and back buildings.

Room Use and Parade

Benjamin Chew's evocation of the value of parade in the maintenance of social order (quoted in the previous section) relates the concept to social hierarchy. As discussed in chapter 1, the notion of parade also related to architectural hierarchy and room use within a house, a sequence of spaces designed to allow a pleasurable and impressive movement of people through a house during the activities of daily life. Key features establishing parade included the scale and decor of various rooms but also room use, which became more complex and fixed as the eighteenth century progressed. The urban houses of Philadelphia gentry exhibited parade, perhaps more so than their country houses. The city was the locale for the socially most important entertainment, with peers and business associates often visiting. By contrast, the country house served mostly family and close friends, and manners were dressed down. Some Philadelphia country seats had fairly complex routes of parade—Stenton and Cliveden, for example—but many smaller houses had only a few rooms and could not have had a highly developed parade.

In the early eighteenth century, parade in a country seat actually began outside the house, in the landscape, as a sequence of spaces along an axis, through one or more courtyards and gates and so to the house, which acted as a backdrop and goal. Behind or beside the house, set-piece gardens provided opportunities for walking. Pennsbury and Fairhill exhibited this sort of landscape parade. As the eighteenth century advanced, changing attitudes toward landscape design resulted in more complex exterior parades and a more subtle relationship between house and landscape. The approach to the house often became more indirect, and the house became a mediator or object within the landscape—indeed one of several—and sometimes a point from which the landscape was exhibited. In essence, the landscape rose in overall importance, and the house, while still the most important single element, became one of several incidents within a more comprehensive landscape scheme.

Room use as it occurred in England was discussed in chapter 1. A similar vocabulary appeared in Philadelphia, indicating acceptance of all but the most aristocratic room names, such as *saloon*. Inventories and other documents dealing with Pennsbury, the earliest country house in Philadelphia, give names expected for the period. Documents consistently refer to upstairs rooms as *chambers*, sometimes identified by the room below, for example, *parlor chamber*. Downstairs rooms fell into three categories: *halls*, great or little, the latter also referred to as *passages*; *parlors*, distinguished in one way or another; and *closets*, apparently used mostly for storage but very possibly also for retirement, study, and prayer. Penn engaged daily in these activities, and the more up-to-date term *study* or *library* does not appear in the Pennsbury documents. According to the 1687 inventory, books resided in the "Governor's Closet." One of Penn's letters refers to "a kind of dark closet" between two rooms resulting from wainscoting a chimney. This language clearly suggests a closet in the modern sense, that is, for storage, a meaning then only emerging, as revealed by Penn's hesitance about what to call the space. Penn clearly was indicating small storage spaces when he later referred to "closetts by the chimneys" in giving directions for building the house of a friend.[27] Significantly, Penn did not name the spaces in that house; he referred to them only as "rooms." Not until spaces were furnished and inhabited did they receive labels.

The fashionable English terms *dining room* and *dining parlor* do not appear in the Pennsbury documents, again suggesting that Penn did not know or did not care to embrace the most current ideas of house design. Penn once referred to "the great room the servants used to eat in," probably referring to the hall.[28] By this time the family would probably have eaten in one of the parlors. That the practice of the servants eating in one of the principal rooms at Pennsbury was noted in the past tense suggests that it was a temporary expedient during the period of construction. People of the period sometimes used the term *servants' hall*—Thomas Penn later had one of these in his Philadelphia house—but usually such rooms occupied a basement or outbuilding.[29] William Penn also talked of a withdrawing room, which at this early date might have been a fairly small space.

There may well have been a route of parade in Pennsbury, but it cannot now be reconstructed. However, another early house, Stenton, shows it clearly.[30] The stylistic attributes of Stenton's parade are dealt with in chapter 10, but the room names as they appear in inventories both break new ground and establish norms. On the first floor, "hall and entry" refers to both the room of entry and a connected space that housed the stair (color plate A). James Logan's inventory, taken in August 1752, suggests that the space served not only for entry but also for informal dining: it contained three tables, including a tea table, and eight chairs.[31] This inventory marks the first mention of tea drinking in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, a subject that has received ample, well-deserved attention.[32] Tea drinking was an established social ritual, as well, no doubt, as a pleasurable source of physical and social stimulation. Kalm noted its ubiquity in the colony, among all classes and even among the Native Americans.[33]

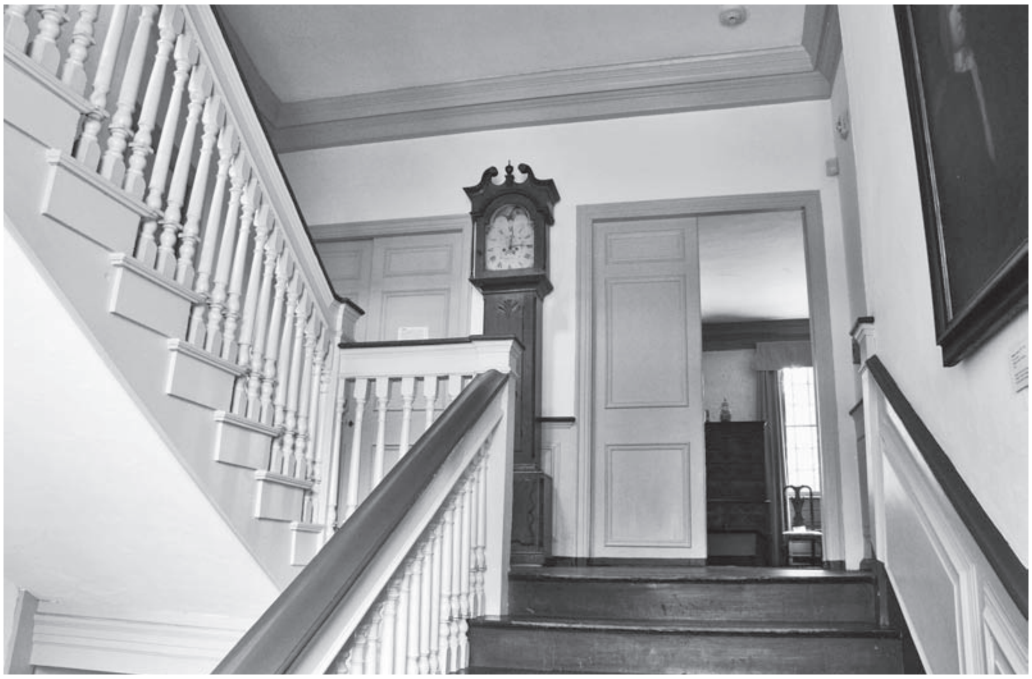
Stenton's hall brings up the distinction useful in the study of vernacular architecture between "open" and "closed" plans. In the former the visitor entered directly into a heated room and thus the life of the family; in the latter, the visitor entered an unheated waiting room screened off from the life of the house. By and large, upper-class houses had closed plans, while middle- and lower-class dwellings remained open longer, although eventually many of them too succumbed to the desire for separation and privacy.[34] Belonging mostly to the wealthy, country houses generally had closed plans, although some exceptions did occur: The Cliffs, Cedar Grove, and Fountain Low, the first two modest in size and the last very early. Stenton mixes the types: its hall obviously acted as a reception and buffer space but had a fireplace, probably a vestige of an earlier fashion.

From the hall Stenton's parade could go one of two ways: to the left into the parlor or best parlor; or up the stair. On the first route, the best parlor was the finest room in the house and served primarily for formal entertainment, although James Logan was known to write letters there.[35] Logan's inventory reveals that he kept the most valuable furniture and household goods in the best parlor (color plate A), for example, the most expensive mirror and chair in the house. Additionally, much of the china and all of the 329 ounces of silver plate in the house, with a value of £148, were kept there, displayed in the fireplace cupboard.[36]

Continuing on the first floor, behind the parlor but not part of the route of parade was the lodging room, used by James Logan because lameness made climbing stairs difficult for him.[37] The room to the right of the hall remains unnamed in inventories, but Deborah Norris Logan referred to it as the "little parlour," wherein James and Sarah spent much of their time and in which Logan died. Another possible name was *common parlor*,[38] which seems to have reflected its use as a general family living space. It had access to the hall and to the back and outside through a rear door. "Neat and pleasant" adequately describes it. Curiously, this room does not appear in James Logan's inventory, possibly because it contained possessions inventoried separately—for example, the effects of his business (thus its sometimes being named the *office*) or the personal possessions of Sarah Logan—and thus was outside the scope of Logan's household account.[39] Behind it in plan lay the "back dining room," so named perhaps because the common parlor was also used for family dining or because the best parlor, used for formal dining, lay in the front pile of the house. This constitutes the first specific use of *dining room* in reference to a Philadelphia country house. The room contained two walnut tables and eleven chairs, one a cushioned arm chair that stood near the fireplace. It also held a desk and a couch that could serve as a daybed, both perhaps used for informal meals.[40] Dining furniture was most commonly made of walnut wood until about midcentury, when mahogany started to replace it.[41] This room also housed the everyday pewter and china. This room and the little parlor were probably the most used on a day-to-day basis. The passage between them had a door to the garden and contained the service stair, which ran from cellar to garret.

The alternative route of parade from Stenton's hall lay up the fine stairway to the suite comprising the master chamber and Logan's library.[42] The inventories listed the spaces as "yellow lodging room" and "blew lodging room," old-fashioned terms derived from furnishings rather than use, which would have been mixed in any case. Other family documents call the blue room the "library," another first for a Philadelphia country house. Logan had one of the most extensive libraries in the colonies, and in general the eighteenth-century bourgeois gentry placed increasing importance on their libraries, one of the tools that allowed them to create their own private life.[43] The bed in the master chamber was by far the most valuable in the house (valued at £30), and indeed the total value of furniture in the room (£66) was higher than in any other room in the house, including the parlor if plate and china are not counted. An analysis of textile use in Philadelphia houses concluded that the high value of chamber furnishings, especially beds and curtains, indicates that the best chamber was an important locus of entertaining.[44] This suite of rooms ended the route of parade (color plate B).

Of the rear rooms upstairs, Logan's inventory called the left rear "ye White Lodging Room," another example of nomenclature based on color, which probably served as a guest bedroom. It contained the furnishings for a chamber—bed, dressing table, mirror, chest of drawers—but also ten "old cane chairs" and miscellaneous napkins and other fabrics stored

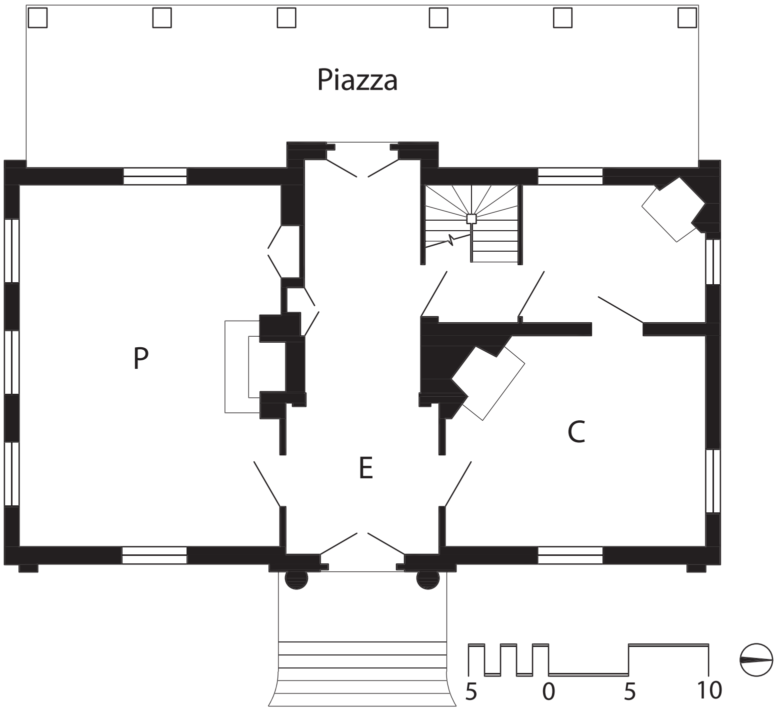


Stenton, looking upstairs. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

in a walnut chest. It originally had white woodwork—the color of everyday rooms—along with white bed upholstery.[45] The right rear rooms, called "ye Nursery & Small adjoining Room" on the 1752 inventory, also served as bedchambers and had the simplest treatment of the rooms on the first two floors. They lie over the plainest room below, making this the lowliest quadrant of the house, perhaps because the kitchen was located outside immediately behind it.

Woodford, from midcentury, introduced another term, *passage*, which the *Builder's Dictionary* of 1734 defined as "an Entry or Narrow Room, serving only for a thoroughfare or Entrance into other rooms."[46] However, Woodford's passage (color plate B)—as well as others in Philadelphia—was more than a means for simply getting from one place to another. Its furnishings suggest use especially in hot weather, when it would have been the coolest room in the house. It contained a couch, a table, several rush-seated chairs, and eight Windsor chairs, the standard seating type for hall, porch, and lawn in the eighteenth century, which were moved in and out as needed. Woodford's "parlor" served for both living and dining, as it held four tables for dining, serving, and playing cards. It also contained nine "leather bottom" chairs. Its walls held several prints and two gilt sconces. Prints were fairly common in country houses, maps being especially popular; indeed, maps were advertised as "not only Useful, but Ornamental, for Gentlemens Halls, Parlours, or Stair-cases."[47]

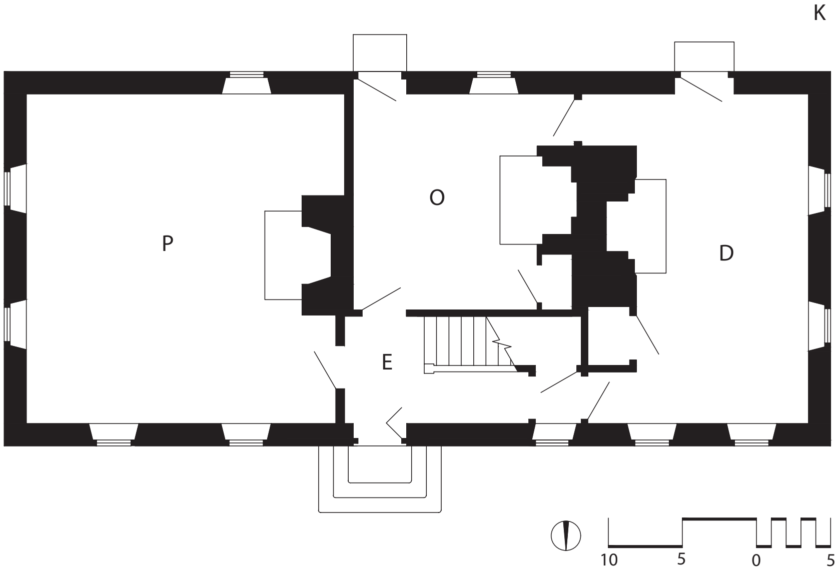
Later houses introduced several new labels. *Entry* and *office*, along with *dining room*, appear in a letter of 1764 about Graeme Park: "When you receive this, think of me in the dining room writing; Anna sitting by me at her work, desiring me to give her duty; John driving a little cart through the entry, enjoying himself with high glee, and no anxiety for the future; your Papa reading the newspaper in the office."[48] The dining room, which had been converted from an interior kitchen and was readily accessible from the new outside kitchen, was fairly simply treated, as befitted a room for family day use. The "entry" served as a passage into which the front door opened and contained the staircase as well. The "office" was the middle room on the first floor, accessible to the rear yard of the house. The



Woodford, original plan of the first floor. Drawing by Thomas Peters after Mark Reinberger

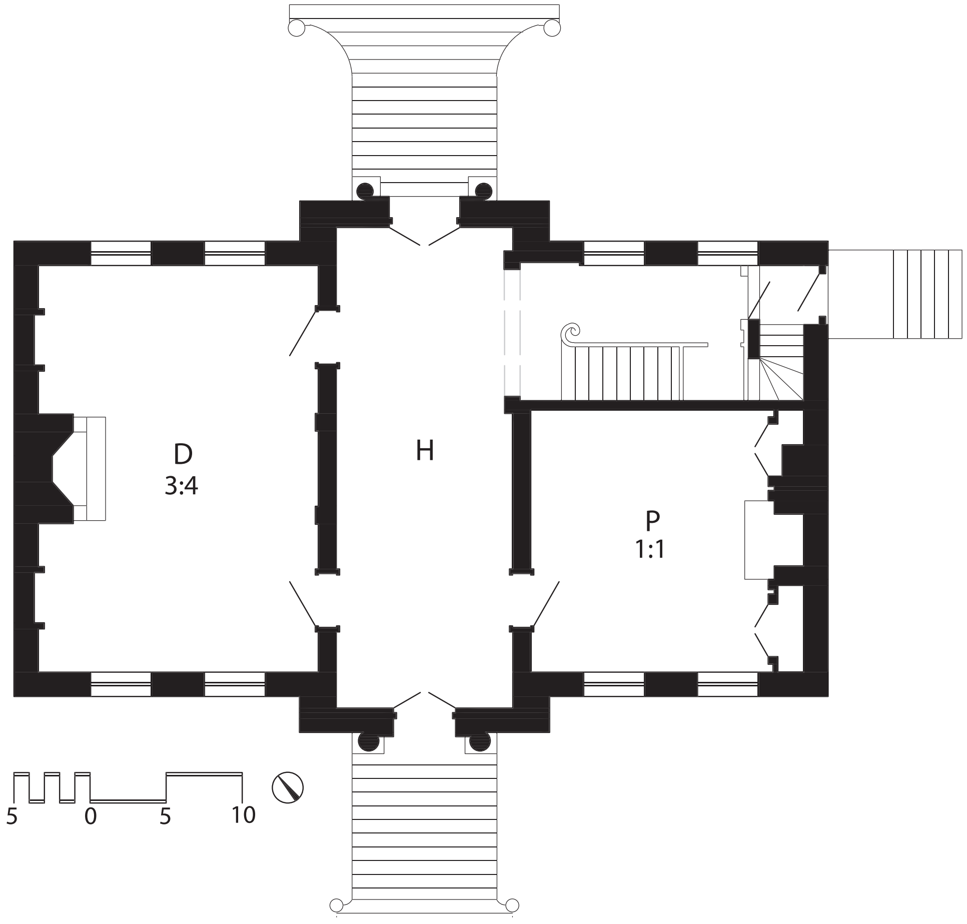
route of parade at Graeme Park began in the entry, moved to the parlor on the first floor, and then perhaps ascended to the parlor chamber, which is unusually large and treated with uncommon splendor for a chamber. As at Stenton, the dining room probably did not form part of the parade at Graeme Park, because only a narrow and low passage under the stair connected it with the entry. The dining rooms at Graeme Park, Hope Lodge, Stenton, and Cliveden were treated more simply than their parlors or halls. Dining rooms increased in status as the century wore on, which is perhaps why Cliveden's was improved in the Federal period by the addition of a dado around the room and a shelf to the mantelpiece.

In contrast, at Mount Pleasant the first-floor "Dineing Room"—a name appearing in documents of the 1760s—did form part of the parade. Mount Pleasant possessed the most

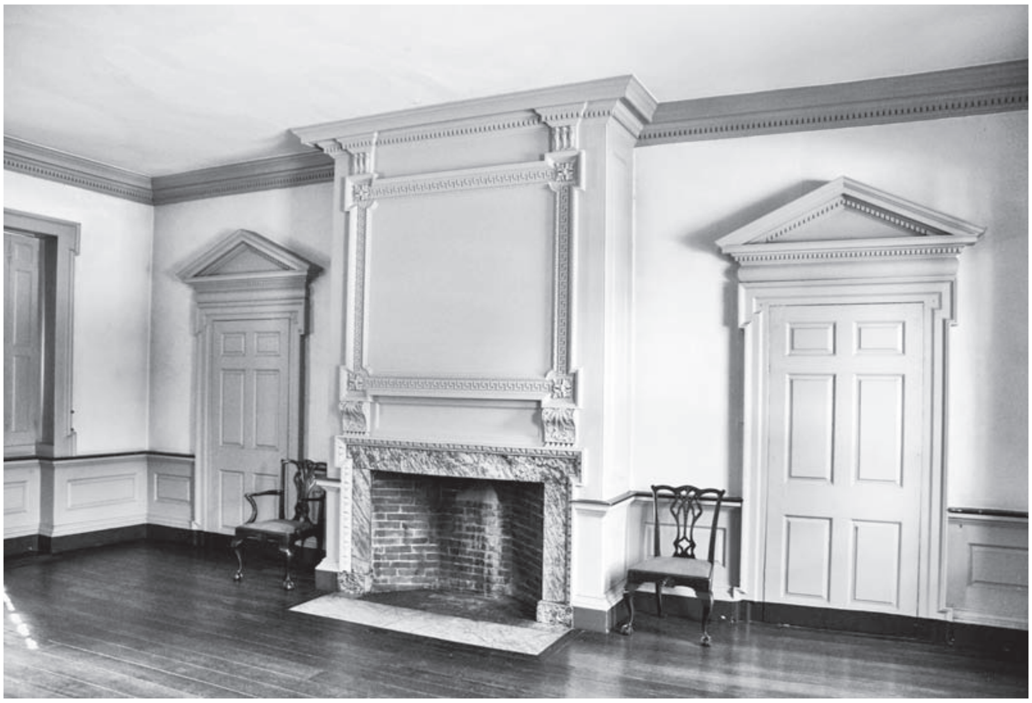


Graeme Park, revised plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters and Fanglan Chen after *Graeme Park* sophisticated route of parade of any Philadelphia country house. The "Dineing Room" is the larger room on the north end downstairs and is the only first-floor space besides the hall that has woodwork worthy of special notice. Similarly, upstairs the only room worthy of being singled out in the accounts was the "Drawing Room," the fanciest room in the house. We find the room name increasingly as the eighteenth century progressed, often referring to the most finely treated space in the house. These spaces formed the route of parade in the house: a large room for entertaining downstairs and a smaller one for more intimate gatherings upstairs, with a magnificent hall and stair connecting them. Mount Pleasant is unique among Philadelphia country houses in having the most finely treated room upstairs, although this was the case in some of the better Philadelphia town houses. As early as the late seventeenth century, writers such as Roger North complained about parades that necessitated mounting stairs, and as the eighteenth century advanced the best rooms were increasingly confined to the first floor.[49] Mount Pleasant also departs from usual Philadelphia practice in not stacking the best rooms.

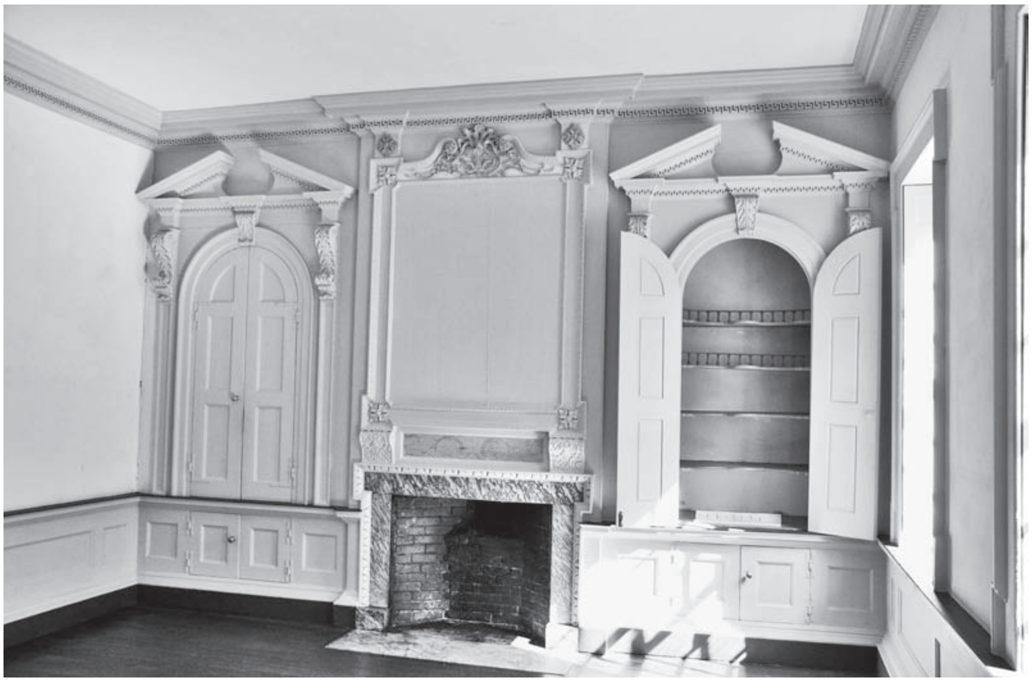
The inventory of John and Ann Penn's furniture at Lansdowne (1770s) reveals much about fashionable interior design and room use late in the colonial era. We do not know what Lansdowne's woodwork was like, but the furniture displayed the hierarchy as clearly as the architecture. After John's death, Ann returned to England, where she busied herself with designing interiors and buying furniture for friends both in England and in Philadelphia, so it can be assumed that she played that role in her own house, Lansdowne.



Mount Pleasant, first-floor plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Mount Pleasant*



Mount Pleasant, dining room. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

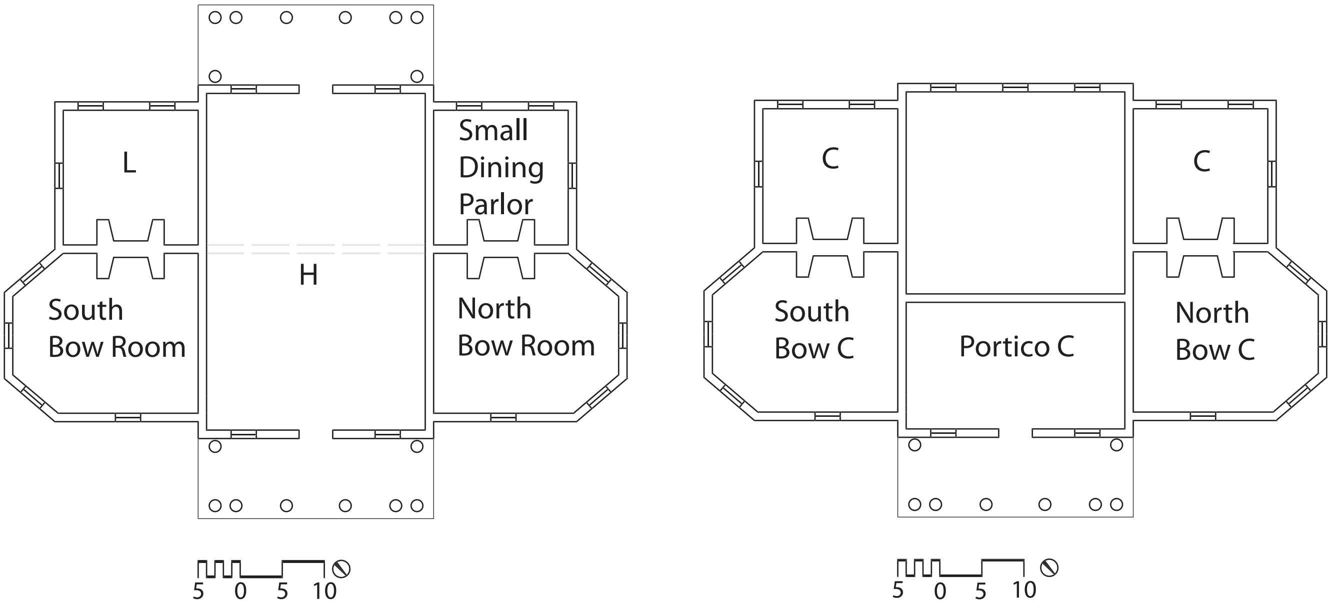


Mount Pleasant, drawing room. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Her surviving correspondence indicates that she understood the rapidly changing English fashions.[50]

Lansdowne's first-floor "hall" contained relatively little furniture, as was typical: many elbow chairs and two settees allowed people to sit while waiting; a large lamp gave light; and stands held ornamental flowers. The "north bow room," so called because of the highly unusual architectural feature that graced both flanks of the house, had the greatest amount of furniture, and the most valuable (approximately £200), and probably served as the great parlor. An expensive carpet (£47 8s., in Pennsylvania money) covered the floor, and the walls were graced by two large looking glasses (£80 the pair, again in Pennsylvania money), as well as two glass girandoles with shades. At the room's four windows (three in the bay and one to the front), with japanned cornices, were lined yellow curtains made of imported Stormont fabric, suggesting a yellow paper on the walls. Stormont also covered cushions on ten Japanned chairs and two "sophas." There were two sets of covers, suggesting seasonal rotation. Two "Sattin wood card tables" indicate one of the room's uses. Across the hall, the "south bow room" apparently served as the formal dining room, its furnishings nearly as valuable as those of the north bow room and demonstrating the increasing importance of dining rooms. It too had an expensive carpet, along with several tables, twelve chairs, and a sideboard, all mahogany and all domestically made. The only English furnishings were three girandoles—not exceptionally expensive at £6 6s.—and a "register stove with steel fender tongs poker etc." inserted into the fireplace to even the heat. The curtains in this room were dimity, of unspecified color. The "small dining parlor" was decorated in blue and also had imported curtains, of lined cotton and lace. The carpet here was smaller and much less valuable (£5 8s., Pennsylvania), as was the looking glass (only £7 sterling). The room contained a mahogany table and seven green-and-white chairs. The last room on the first floor, the "library," had very sparse furnishings—which is probably why the family posed here for Gilbert Stuart—and no English furniture: a mahogany bureau, a washstand, andirons, a small looking glass, and three green chairs, possibly a hint as to its color but possibly also indicating Windsor chairs, which could be used anywhere in the house.

As usual, hierarchy stacked the two best chambers, occupying the second-floor bow rooms, located at the front of the house. By far the finest, the "south bow chamber" contained furniture valued at approximately £70. The curtains at its four windows and the bed fabric were lined with imported green dimity. Its bed had a bolster, two pillows, a mattress, and two blankets, the usual accouterments in the chambers at Lansdowne. It also had typical chamber fixtures: a commode, a washstand, looking glasses, and small carpets around the bed to protect the feet from cold floors in the morning. Six "Green chairs Jap-



Lansdowne, conjectural plans of the first and second floors. Drawings by Thomas Peters and Fanglan Chen paned" provided seating for attendants and friends. Only slightly less fancy, the "north bow chamber" had about £50 worth of furniture. Dimity of unspecified color was used for the bed and curtains, and the latter also had japanned cornices. Small carpets lay in front of the bed, and there were the expected washstand and looking glass, neither expensive. The room also contained eight green chairs, which might suggest that its color matched that of the south bow chamber. The other chambers had significantly less furniture overall, none of it English.

* * *

Proportion, hierarchy, and parade governed the layout of the country house throughout the colonial period. These sets of rules, which arose from deeply embedded aesthetic principles and social mores of the period, ensured that a country house would seem familiar to its occupants and visitors. They would have recognized the codes presented outside and in, appreciated the order, and responded appropriately. Fortunately, the rules allowed flexibility in planning and design, particularly with regard to changing taste during the period. The codes were not so rigid as to stifle all creativity. The second half of this book presents the results of this creative achievement in the Philadelphia country house. But first we must examine the parts and aspects of the country house concerned, not with polite behavior, but rather with the crucial functioning of these places.

CHAPTER 8

The Logic of Service Spaces

Cellars, Garrets, Outbuildings, and Agriculture

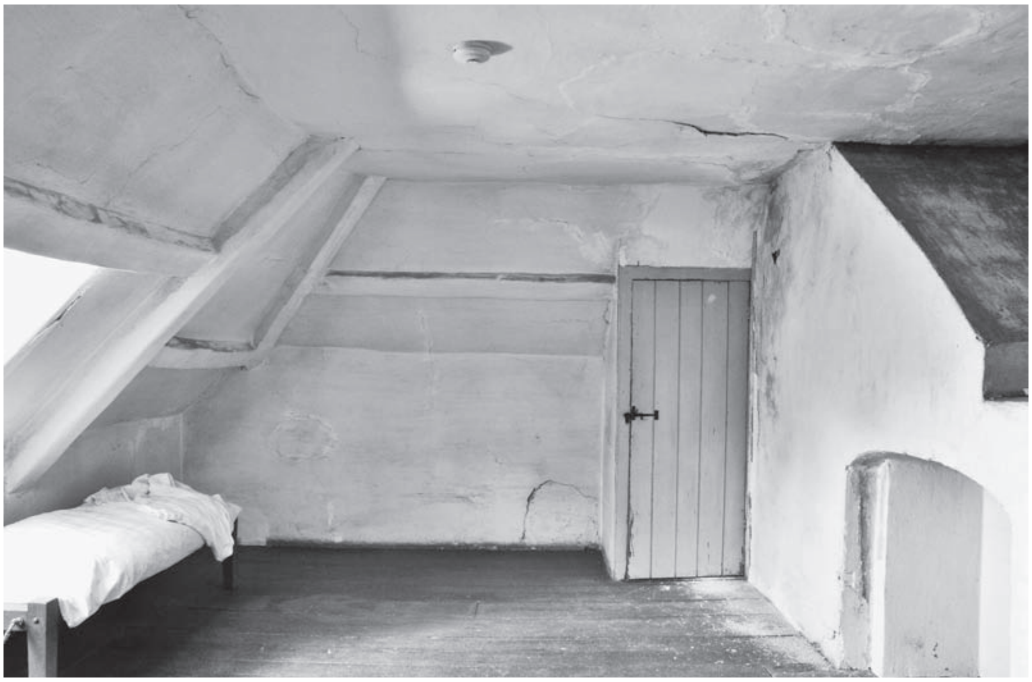
The concepts of proportion and parade had to do with the polite spaces in a house and garden. But underneath, overhead, behind, and around these spaces a constant buzz of activities kept the country house functioning. Servants stood at the bottom of the social hierarchy of the country house, but the spaces they occupied formed a substantial part of the physical plant and received a comparable amount of attention in design and construction. All Philadelphia country seats had some combination of cellars, garrets, and outbuildings that accommodated service functions. It is not always possible to tell what went on where, but enough evidence survives to give a good picture of life "below stairs." A few houses, such as Stenton, had an elaborate passage system that allowed servants to slip around, almost unseen, attending to occupants' needs in the principal rooms, much like a stage crew in a play.[1] Similarly, virtually all Philadelphia country seats accommodated at least some agricultural activity, if only a kitchen garden, and some constituted large plantations in which agriculture occupied much of the owner's time.

Service Spaces

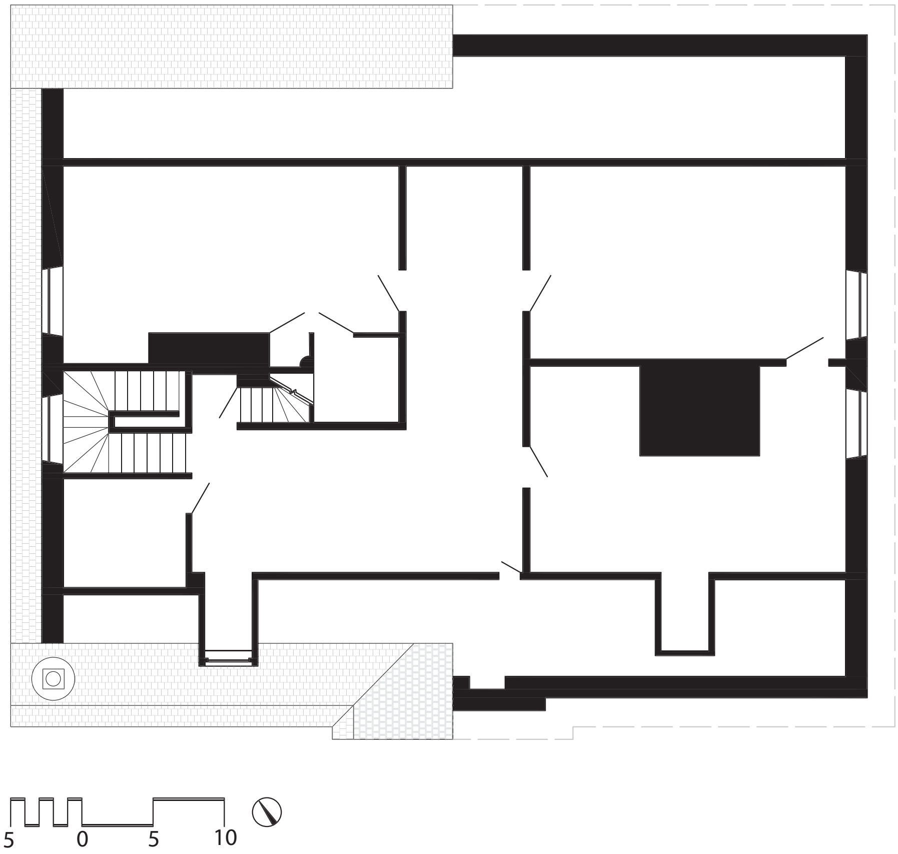
"Below stairs" also included areas above stairs, that is, garrets. All Philadelphia country houses had habitable garrets that performed a variety of sleeping and storage functions. Real-estate advertisements often mentioned them; for example, a country house for lease by Edward Jones was noted as having "very good garrets."[2] In the eighteenth century the word *garret* usually occurred in the plural, indicating several rooms. Pennsbury's "garrets" in 1701 held multiple beds and accouterments for sleeping, though Mrs. Penn's sidesaddle also resided there when not in use, perhaps because it was too valuable to be kept in a barn. Stenton's three finished garret rooms, two of which had fireplaces, accommodated the eight to ten servants employed by James Logan. Servants also slept in one of the smaller rooms on the second floor. Inventories list beds and a few other items such as chairs—furnishings were sparse.[3] At Hope Lodge, a farmhouse as much as or more than a bourgeois country seat, one large room served as storage, and a smaller space with a fireplace served as quarters for a Negro house slave, James Nettle.[4] Like Stenton's, Cliveden's garrets remain relatively untouched and suggest what these spaces were like in a substantial country estate. In addition to housing children and servants, they were used for storage.[5] The doors to some of the garret rooms have only rim locks with dead bolts (no latches), meaning that they could be locked from the outside but could not be pulled shut from the inside.[6] The left rear room has two closets, one of them a walk-in room with pegboards containing in total fifty-two pegs. The left front space probably also served for storage: it has no window, but two rows of slits opened the two panels of its door for ventilation. The crawl spaces behind the knee walls may also have served for storage.

Architectural style and structural requirements determined the plan of the garret rooms: exterior symmetry decided the position of the front dormers and side windows; the huge chimney masses affected the shape of most rooms; and the position of the side stair determined access to the rooms. The level of finish in garrets varied greatly. Like that of the side stairhall, the millwork in the garret at Cliveden was originally painted ochre, with a continuous dark brown painted base across baseboards and doors and on the window stools. As was common in colonial houses, a single window lights most rooms in Cliveden's garret. Stenton's original garret rooms had relatively fine finishes: the two on the west side had fireplaces, and bases and chair rails adorned all of them. At Hope Lodge, the garrets in the colonial period barely had any finish.

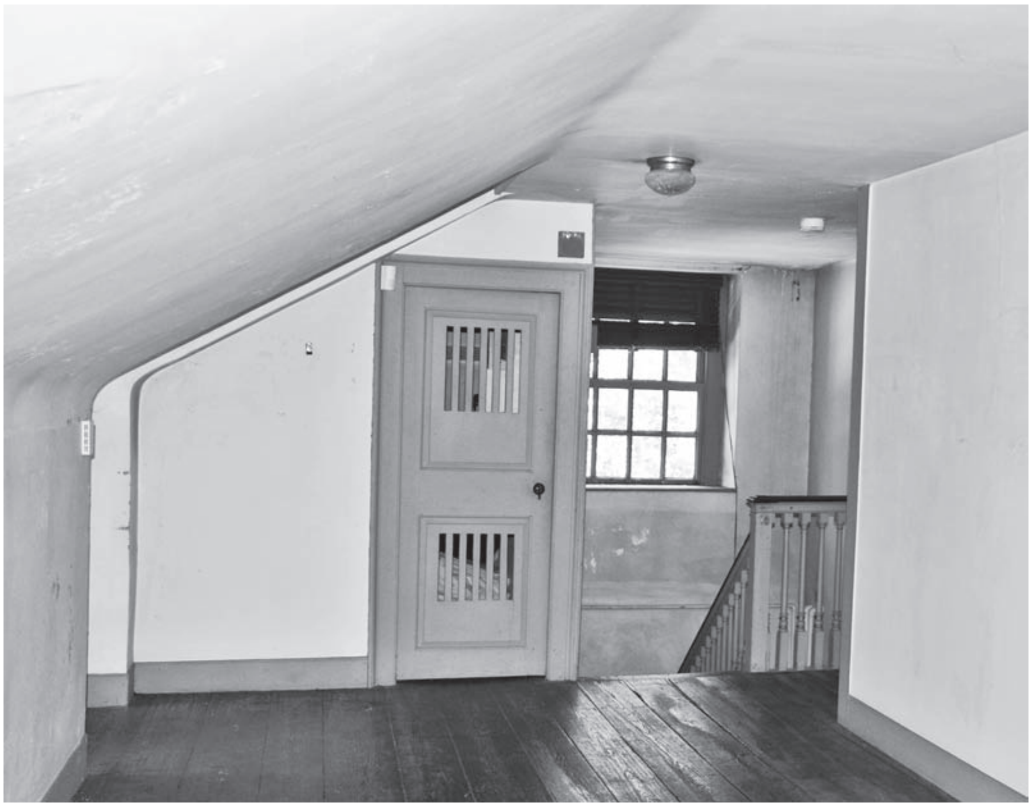
The kitchen was perhaps the single most important service space in a country house, and its varied locations evince a great deal of cogitation on how best to accommodate it.[7] There were three possibilities: (1) internal, first-floor kitchens, common early on but rapidly



Hope Lodge, slave quarters in the garret. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



Cliveden, garret (third-floor) plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 64, Library of Congress

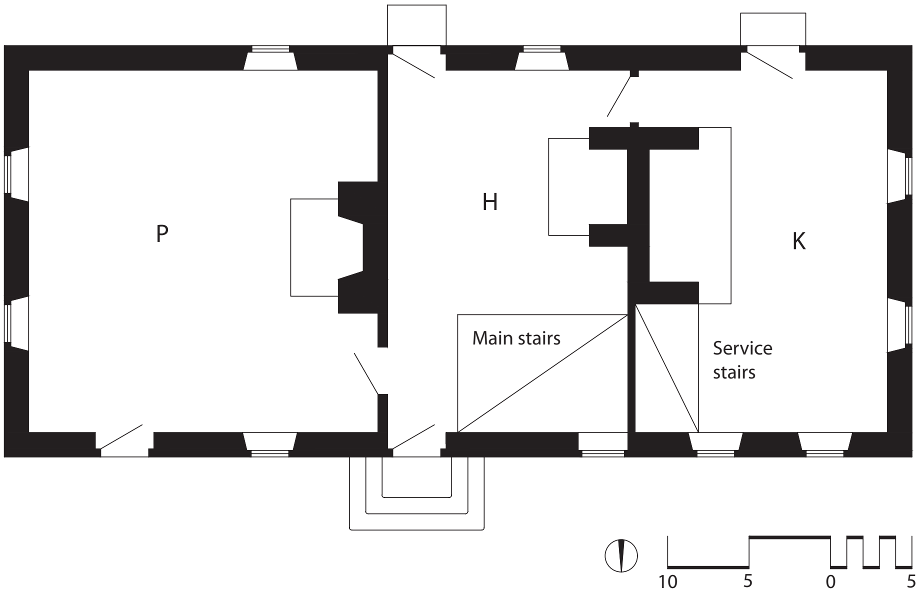


Cliveden, garret interior. Photograph by Mark Reinberger abandoned or replaced; (2) cellar kitchens, sporadically seen in country houses throughout the colonial period; and (3) external kitchens in dependencies, the norm for most of the period. Sometimes a house had two kitchens, as at Cliveden, with the main kitchen in a dependency and another in the cellar. For some houses the location of the original kitchen is a mystery, as later renovations removed all evidence.

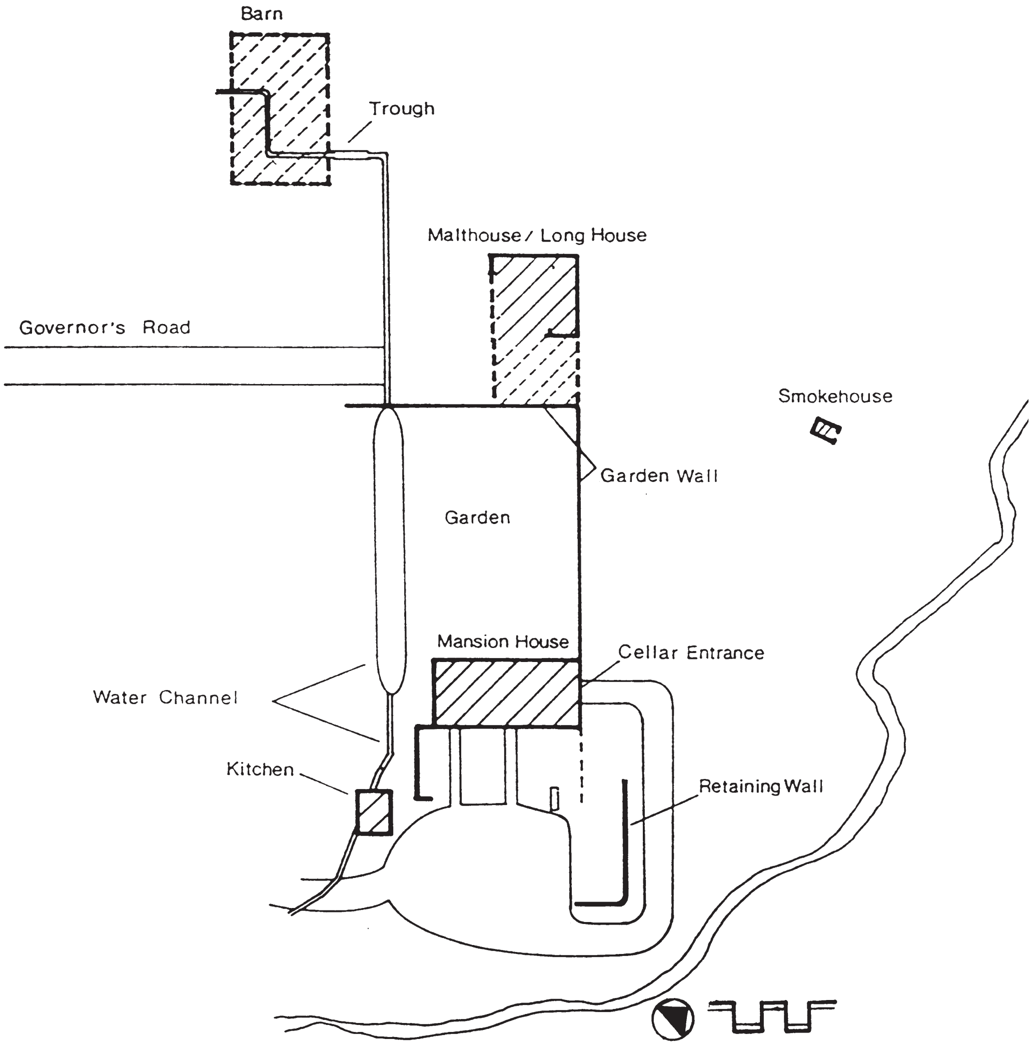
An early internal, first-floor kitchen occupied a substantial space on the east end of the house at Fountain Low/Graeme Park. This kitchen contained a large fireplace just over eight feet wide, with an iron trammel rod and three chains, still in place. A built-in sink that connected to a drain hole through the southwest corner ran to a water and drainage channel west of the house. A service stair rose from the kitchen to the garret. With improvements to the house around midcentury, the kitchen migrated to an outbuilding, and the former kitchen became the dining room.

Woodford and The Cliffs, two small country houses in the Northern Liberties, had cellar kitchens, which is surprising given that country houses had space for a detached kitchen building. Cellar kitchens removed the smells and servants from polite areas, but cooks did not like them because they were damp and hot. Philadelphia town houses often had cellar kitchens because space was at a premium, and perhaps this urban usage transferred to the country. In detached houses of the mid-Atlantic region, cellar kitchens tended to disappear by the late eighteenth century.[8] Judging by the lack of soot in the fireplace or telltale grease in the room's paint, Cliveden's cellar kitchen saw little use, perhaps because the cooks objected to it. The room has two small square openings—eighteen inches square and with stout stone lintels—in the south wall near the floor, that is, about six feet below grade. Perhaps these functioned as part of a drainage system to remove waste water from the kitchen. As part of the original construction, the masons were paid for "stone for the common sewer."[9] The drains could have emptied into cisterns underground down the slope from the house. English pattern books of the time give instructions for installing site-drainage systems for large houses and their dependencies.[10]

Despite examples of kitchens in the main house, early on detached kitchens became the norm for Philadelphia country houses, as they had for country houses in Virginia by



Fountain Low/Graeme Park, original plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters and Fanglan Chen after *Graeme Park*



Fountain Low / Graeme Park, site plan. Drawing by Mark Reinberger, in *Graeme Park*

the end of the seventeenth century.[11] Most of the major houses of the first generation had one; Penn ordered one built for Pennsbury. Documents related to Fairhill name three kitchens: two in outbuildings, a new and an old one, and another in the house's cellar.[12] Belair, one of the surviving early country seats, has a detached kitchen that is a single-story rectangular brick structure measuring about 16 feet wide and 24 feet deep on the inside. It aligns with the front of the big house, and, in a gesture of exterior hierarchy, its front and right side, facing the big house, were laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers, while the left side and rear have common bond. Along the back wall stand a large cooking fireplace and a stair to a loft, very possibly used for slave quarters.[13]

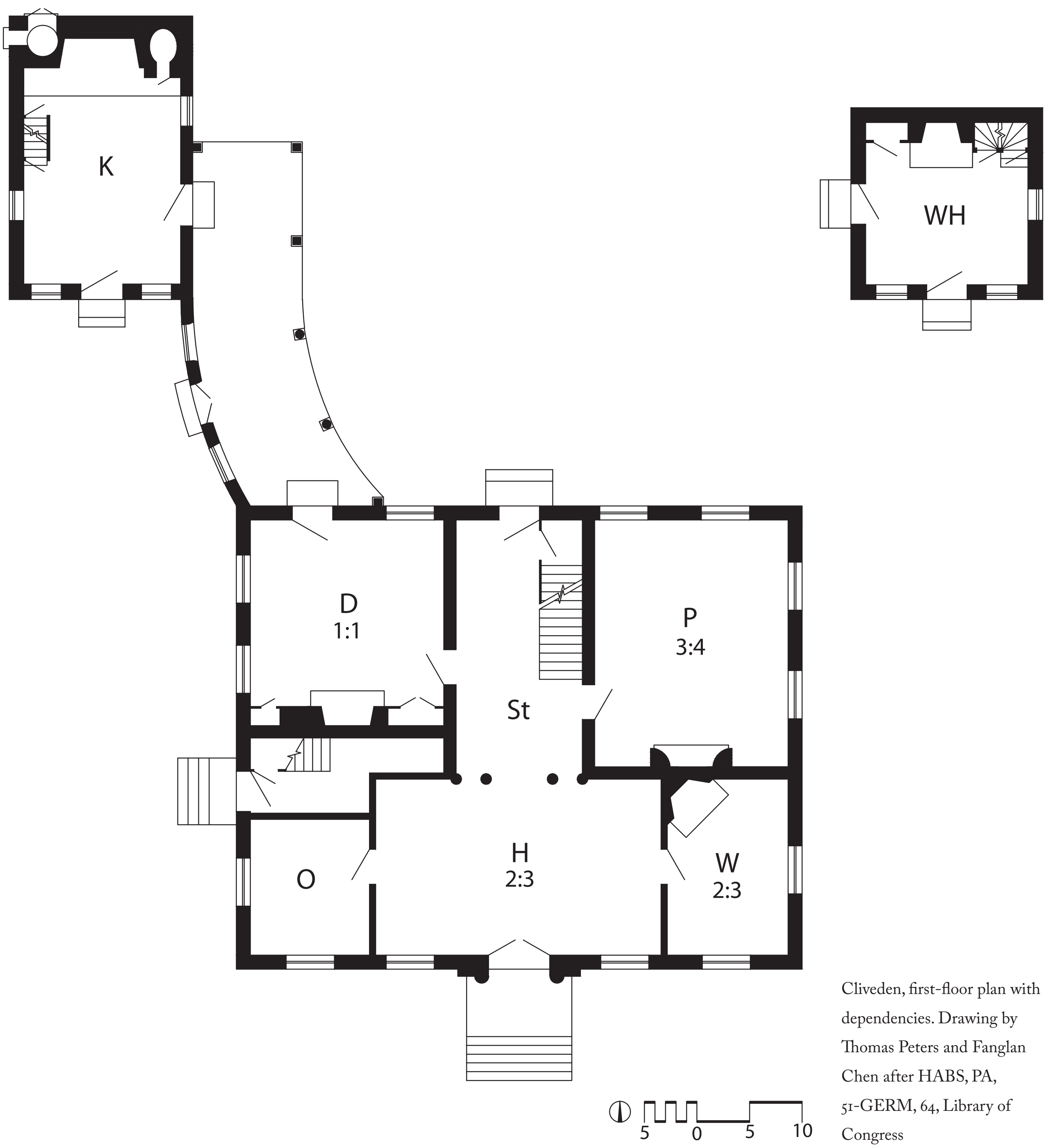
Later houses also favored detached kitchens, often simple and to the rear but later sometimes made part of a formal composition. Stenton may have had an internal kitchen when first built, but if so, it was soon converted into a dining room, with all cooking activities confined to a detached outbuilding. Hope Lodge had a cellar kitchen, but its primary kitchen occupied a detached building just behind the main house. The detached kitchen may have postdated the main house, but if so, not by much. The detached kitchen sat immediately behind the right rear quadrant of the main house, the quadrant in which the cellar kitchen was located. The first-floor room in the house in this quadrant may have served as a dining

Belair, detached flanking kitchen. Photograph by Thomas McIlhenny, Fairmount Park Archives

room, as at Stenton, or it may have been a kind of warming room or pantry. Its fireplace had a crane, as did the detached kitchen's. Belmont's kitchen occupied a long-demolished, nearly detached wing well back from the mansion. At Mount Pleasant the kitchen occupied the first floor of the south dependency, one of a pair of architecturally distinguished structures that flank the main facade of the house. The south room in the mansion cellar served this function originally.

Cooking, like many of the service functions of Cliveden's household, occurred in symmetrical dependencies built simultaneously with the mansion. The original kitchen dependency was approximately 18 feet square, but it was expanded to 28 feet in depth during construction, making a quite sizeable structure.[14] Eighteen feet square seems to have been somewhat small for detached kitchens of large country houses in the eighteenth century, although it was about average for all houses in rural Blockley Township in 1798.[15] The Chews' town-house kitchen, in the back building, was this size—perhaps the reason they began with this scale at Cliveden—but most major country houses had larger ones.[16] The first and second floors of the kitchen dependency at Cliveden each had one large space, interrupted only by a stairway. The kitchen's very thick rear wall contained a large cooking fireplace and a well niche. In addition to the desire for more floor space, the size of the new fireplace probably explains the enlargement. The original cooking fireplace would have been approximately 4 feet wide; however, after the extension the new fireplace measured almost 8 feet in width and was conjoined with an oven, a feature missing from the original. Most probably the Chews decided during construction to minimize the use of the cellar kitchen in order to banish heat, odors, the possibility of fire, and service activity in general from the mansion.

The rear wall of Cliveden's kitchen also accommodated a well niche. Chew recorded payments for well digging and hardware for a well, including a large eye—still in place in the niche—a chain, buckets, and a "truckel" (pulley).[17] The blacksmith Christopher Hargasheimer supplied an endless stream of augers and picks,[18] which is understandable given that the well had to penetrate 9 feet of earth and at least 10 feet of rock.[19] The well measures approximately 3 feet in diameter, and one can only shudder at the idea of digging such a pit with premodern technology and lighting. Placing a well in a niche prevented rainwater and debris from falling into it and provided security against people contaminating the well or falling into it. The large eye at the center of the niche held the pulley used to lift the water bucket. A hinge pintle and four wood blocks were set into the masonry at the sides of the opening, suggesting that doors or shutters closed off the opening completely, providing more safety and cleanliness. On the west side of the well a splash block is set into the masonry. The opening for this block steps down in several stages from inside to out, perhaps to provide more room to maneuver a bucket inside and to allow only a



Cliveden, first-floor plan with dependencies. Drawing by Thomas Peters and Fanglan Chen after HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 64, Library of Congress

relatively small opening outside, again for safety and security. A similar niche was located on the front of the kitchen dependency at Belmont, suggesting that perhaps the idea came from William Peters, who designed both houses.[20]

While cellars sometimes contained kitchens, they served mostly for storage, especially of foodstuffs. Stenton's cellars contain a very complex arrangement of spaces that served mostly for storage of food produced on the plantation.[21] Racks outfit the wine storage

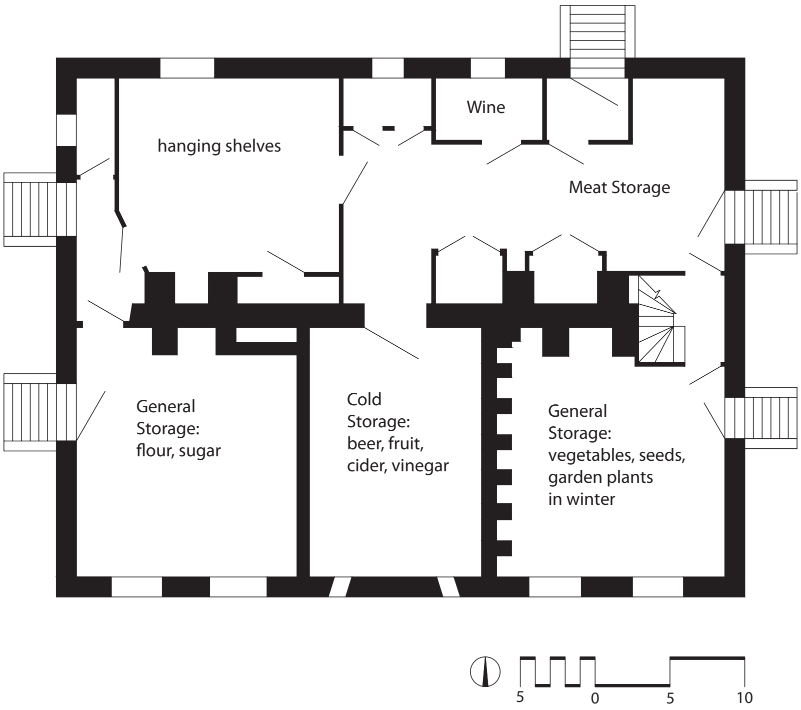
Cliveden, well niche. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

closet under the stair; large hooks in the ceiling of the northeast room suggest meat storage. The vaulted room under the central hall contains racks for root crops. The northwest room functioned as a dairy, having a water trough in the floor, hanging shelves, and the only brick floor in the cellar. (Later a subterranean vault was constructed west of this room and its bulkhead converted to a passageway.) Presumably the southeast and southwest rooms held general foodstuffs. Lockable doors, some original, limited access to all the cellar spaces, a common precaution in the days of servants and slaves.[22]

Brick vaults such as the one over the front central room of the cellar at Stenton were never common among the English in Pennsylvania or elsewhere, and less so with time. However, the colony's Germans commonly built barrel-vaulted cellars, a fact that Logan would have been aware of from his travels around Pennsylvania. Grumblethorpe, the first bourgeois country house in Germantown and one still standing, has a stone vaulted cellar, one of several features that point to German roots for the house. These cellars were used for food storage, staying cool year round. Like many Pennsylvania-German cellars, Grumblethorpe's is vented to the exterior, but it also has an original slatted wood vent that opens into the cellar stairway, with its stone steps, another feature more common in German work than in English.

Many other outbuildings clustered around the service yard of a Philadelphia country estate. Penn listed the outbuildings he wanted at Pennsbury as follows: "a kitchen, two larders, a wash house & room to Iron in; a brewhouse & in it an oven for bakeing & a Stable for twelve horses"; the larders might well have been two separate freestanding structures.[23] He envisioned the outbuildings grouped together and in alignment with one another and with the house—"in a uniformity & not ascu from ye house"—although he did not specify their exact positions. The present row of reconstructed buildings, set behind the house and at a right angle to the front, was based on archaeological findings. The outbuildings seem correctly positioned, and they are similar to those of other plantations in colonial America.[24] Penn also mentioned a pump between the house and the outbuildings. Other documents mention a barn, a porch, and a shed.[25]

It is difficult to know which of the structures that Penn ordered were actually constructed. Among outbuildings, the 1687 inventory mentions only the old kitchen, a smith's shop, and possibly a carpenter's shop, all with chambers above them, as Penn requested. An immense combined brewhouse and bakehouse was reconstructed in 1940, supposedly on the basis of good archaeological evidence and a nineteenth-century drawing of the building, which had been turned into a tenant house. Also reconstructed was a subterranean icehouse, clearly present archaeologically but nowhere even hinted at in the documents and not a usual feature for mid-Atlantic country seats until the end of the eighteenth century. The brewhouse reminds us that beer was an everyday item in the colonial diet.



Wine
hanging shelves
Meat Storage
General Storage: flour, sugar
Cold Storage: beer, fruit, cider, vinegar
General Storage: vegetables, seeds, garden plants in winter
5
0
5
10

Stenton, cellar plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after *Stenton*

At Fairhill about 1726, Norris listed his outlying buildings and structures with their dates of construction. Early ones included a "garden closet," a henhouse, a garden wall, and a "stone kitchen." In 1721 he added a granary, a cornhouse, and a cider house; in 1723, a milkhouse, a smokehouse, a shop shed, and a greenhouse; and in 1725, a "shelter house" and a new barn.[26] The final building on the list of outbuildings was a brick schoolhouse built in 1726.[27] The succession gives an idea of Norris's practical priorities. The granary, the cornhouse, and the cider house appeared later, and a "new barn" even later, as fields were added and farm produce increased. Similarly, an increase in livestock led to the need for a milkhouse and a smokehouse. Other buildings erected by 1731 included the "cow house," a barrack, a brick kiln, a coach house, a boathouse, and a "coach stable."[28]

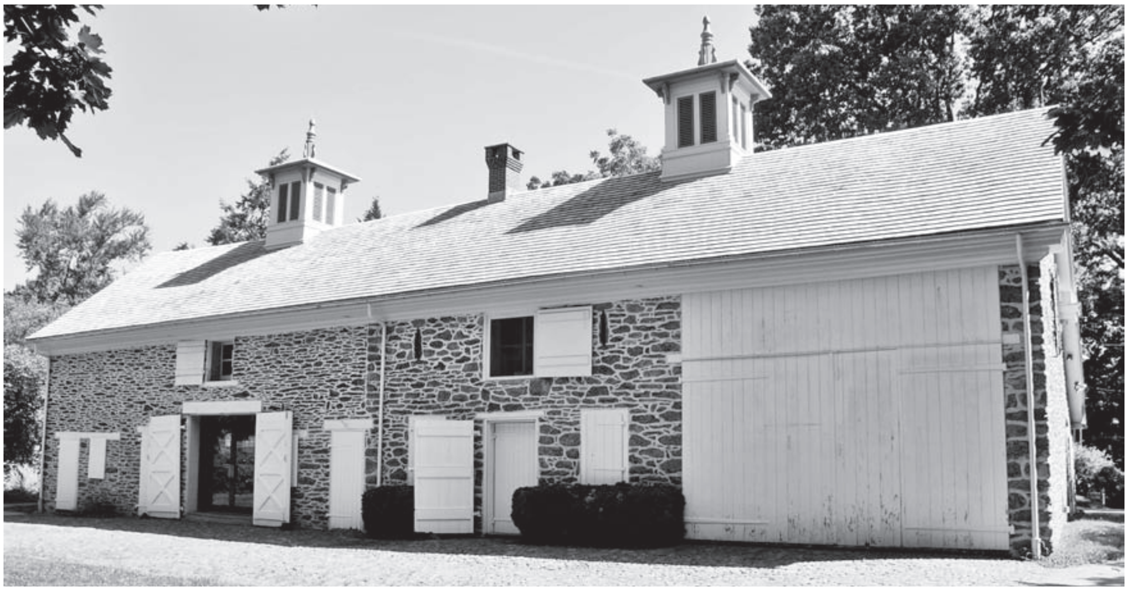
None of Pennsbury's or Fairhill's outbuildings survive. Among outbuildings that do, Woodford's served as a stable/coach house and "an Out-house suitable for a tenant, built of stone, with 4 fireplaces, 2 on each floor."[29] The tenant probably served as a gardener and caretaker during the long periods when the family lived in the city. Residences for caretakers were probably common at country houses in the vicinity of Philadelphia for the security of the properties. Mount Pleasant's north dependency probably served as the estate office.[30]

Stenton, vault in cellar. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Finally, Cliveden's east dependency, long known as the washhouse, began as a symmetrical pendant to the kitchen. Its name, which appeared as early as the 1798 direct tax roll and lasted into the twentieth century, implies a service function no more refined than that of the kitchen.[31] Its size—18 feet square—is almost identical to that of the average stone washhouse in Chester County in 1798.[32] Most mysterious, however, is the relatively fine level of interior trim in the building, including a paneled closet door and a chair rail, apparently from the beginning. By comparison, the kitchen dependency never had such fine woodwork. Very likely, the east dependency was never intended to be a washhouse, but rather an estate office. The Chews probably intended to do the laundry in the kitchen, the most common practice, as separate washhouses were rare in the 1760s. When large Philadelphia country houses had two flanking dependencies, they most commonly functioned as kitchen and office. Mount Pleasant had such a pair, as did Trevose.[33]

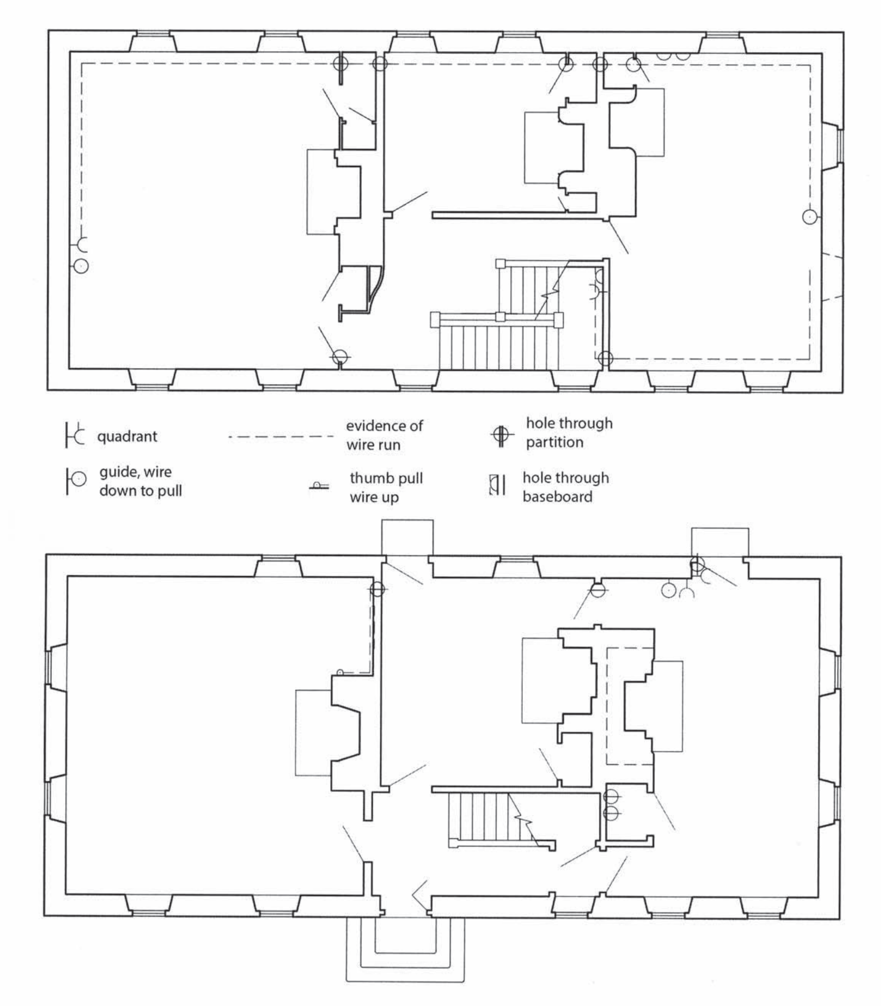
Cliveden's horse stable and coach house, set substantially behind and to the left of the main house, deserves note because a significant portion of the structure survives in remarkably good condition. It was built in 1765–66 by the same professionals who constructed the house and of the same materials—rubble stone walls and a wood-shingle roof. Enlarged many times over the years, it originally stood two stories tall, measured 42 feet wide by 27 feet deep, and was divided approximately in half between horse stables and space for a coach by a stone partition. No openings linked the two sections, probably so that there would be at least a degree of fire protection. The building resembled an English barn, on flat ground and with entry on the long sides. The stable side had four stalls; overhead a loft held hay. Beneath the coach house a ten-foot-deep pit probably served as an icehouse; if original, it was one of the earliest in Philadelphia.[34]

In a medieval house, relatively few and open rooms meant that servants were rarely far away. But the more modern house's provision for privacy and differentiated rooms demanded some way to call servants to chamber and parlor. In the eighteenth century this demand was met by bell-pull systems, which are often evident in Philadelphia country houses. In 1756 John Eliot advertised his services as follow: "Lately . . . from Philadel-



Cliveden, horse stable/coach house. Photograph by Mark Reinberger phia . . . who hangs House . . . Bells . . . as done at London, with cranks and wires."[35] William Penn installed a "parlor bell" at Pennsbury after he moved there in 1701 to recuperate.[36] Hope Lodge had a whole system original to the house; none of it is extant, but it is evident in old photographs.[37]

An unusually large amount of evidence survives for the bell-pull system at Graeme Park. The system serviced the parlor—where the pull was a brass slide on the side of the fireplace break—and all three chambers on the second floor. In each chamber, a pull cord hung on the wall where the bed most logically stood. All lines terminated at the southeast corner of the dining room, near the exterior door to the detached kitchen. In addition, a line ran through this doorframe to either a doorbell or a line to the kitchen building. Apparently, the dining room served as a general living space when not in use for meals and formed a chief point of contact between family members and servants.[38] The hardware of Graeme Park's bell-pull system typifies such eighteenth-century installations. Wires held in place by iron staples ran along cornice fascias. Holes drilled through the fascias gave access from one room to another. Wires usually dropped down the face of walls to holes in the baseboards. The walls at Graeme Park are mostly solid masonry, and the system was installed after the walls were built, so wires could not be hidden. Moreover, wires would have needed regular tensioning, so hidden wires might have proved troublesome. Where



Graeme Park, Bell-pull system, first and second floors. Drawings by Fanglan Chen after *Graeme Park* changes in direction occurred, “cranks,” or quadrants, served as pivots, but instead of acting as a pulley does, wires from the two different directions terminated at the quadrant, thus breaking long stretches of wire that could be difficult to tension. In the second-floor chambers the lines ran through iron eyes driven into the wall and apparently hung free below, probably with a cloth pull for easy gripping.

The Working Landscape and Agriculture

The largest Philadelphia country seats contained full-fledged farms, and even the smallest included a kitchen garden and usually some fruit trees. Indeed, agriculture was one of the reasons for a country estate; the vegetables were often sent to the family’s town house.[39] Clarissa Dillon estimates that an “average family” would need from a quarter acre to a half acre,[40] while James Lemon estimates that two acres for “flax, orchard and [kitchen] garden” would provide subsistence for a family of five as part of a larger farm.[41]

A kitchen garden was a traditional part of a British estate, and Philadelphia real-estate advertisements trumpeted their presence.[42] According to an 1874 source,

> Vegetable gardens are kept for almost every house. There are generally cultivated beets, parsnips, onions, parsley, radishes, Turkish beans, large beans, peppergrass, red peppers, lettuce, head-lettuce, German lettuce, and scurvy grass. Anything else is regarded as a rarity. Common herbs for domestic remedies are wormwood, rue, sage, thyme, chamomile, etc. Pease are also grown in gardens, as they can be eaten whilst still green.[43]

These gardens bore little relationship to the prettified “herbe garden” of the Colonial Revival and after, though there is much we do not know about them. They were often the work of women, who rarely wrote about them, except indirectly to describe some of the plants grown. Men, such as James Logan, often ordered the seeds for their wives.

Orchards were also common. Peter Kalm, the Norwegian pupil of the great botanist Linnaeus, visited eastern North America in 1748 to collect seeds of useful plants deemed to be hardy in Sweden. He spent much time in the Delaware valley, and his precise descriptions provide a detailed picture of landscapes and customs of the period. In 1748 Kalm reported: “Every countryman, even a common peasant, has commonly an orchard near his house, in which all sorts of fruit, such as peaches, apples, pears, cherries, and others, are in plenty.”[44]

As in so many areas, Philadelphia’s first country seat, Pennsbury, provided the pattern. The landscape here was dominated by agriculture. Penn wrote in 1684 that he wanted the gardeners to “plant sweet herbs, Sparragrass, carrets, parsnups hartechokes, Salatin, & all flowers & Kitchen herbs there.”[45] Penn’s most abiding interest in Pennsbury was agricultural; above all, he wanted the place to be self-sufficient in food, instructing Logan to “let Pennsbury be put in inhabitable order, with the gardens, that we may subsist in good measure upon it, for a spare food and living suit me and mine.”[46] Penn’s letters indicate that he was a knowledgeable and skillful gentleman-farmer, able to give precise instructions on farming in line with the latest agricultural treatises. The detail bespeaks a good knowledge of farming practices. He knew where “hay dust” was to be found, just how he wanted his board fences planed, and how far apart his fruit trees were to be planted:

> I recommend to thee for the gardens and improvement of the lands, the ashes, & soot rather beyond them, are excellent for yr ground, grass or corn. Soot may be gotten at Philadelphia for fetching I suppose. it should be sowed, pretty thick for corn, in Spring not so thick. its best for Low lands, & such as are moist. Lett me desire thee to lay down as much as thou canst wth English grass, & plow up new Indian feilds, & after a crop or two, they must be layd down so too, for that feeds sheep, & that feeds the ground as well as they feed & cloth us, & fitts it, for grass corn & wine.[47]

Pennsbury's orchard was a very important part of the estate. Upon his return to England in 1684, he sent approximately four thousand plants to Pennsbury, the majority apparently fruit trees. He instructed that a peach be planted between apple trees, knowing that the peach trees grew faster and would shelter the apple trees and that "the peach would be done by yt time the other Spread."[48] Penn also sent nuts for planting to grow trees, particularly walnuts, haws, and hazelnuts.[49] A letter from Pennsbury's caretaker to Penn gives the following description of the orchard:

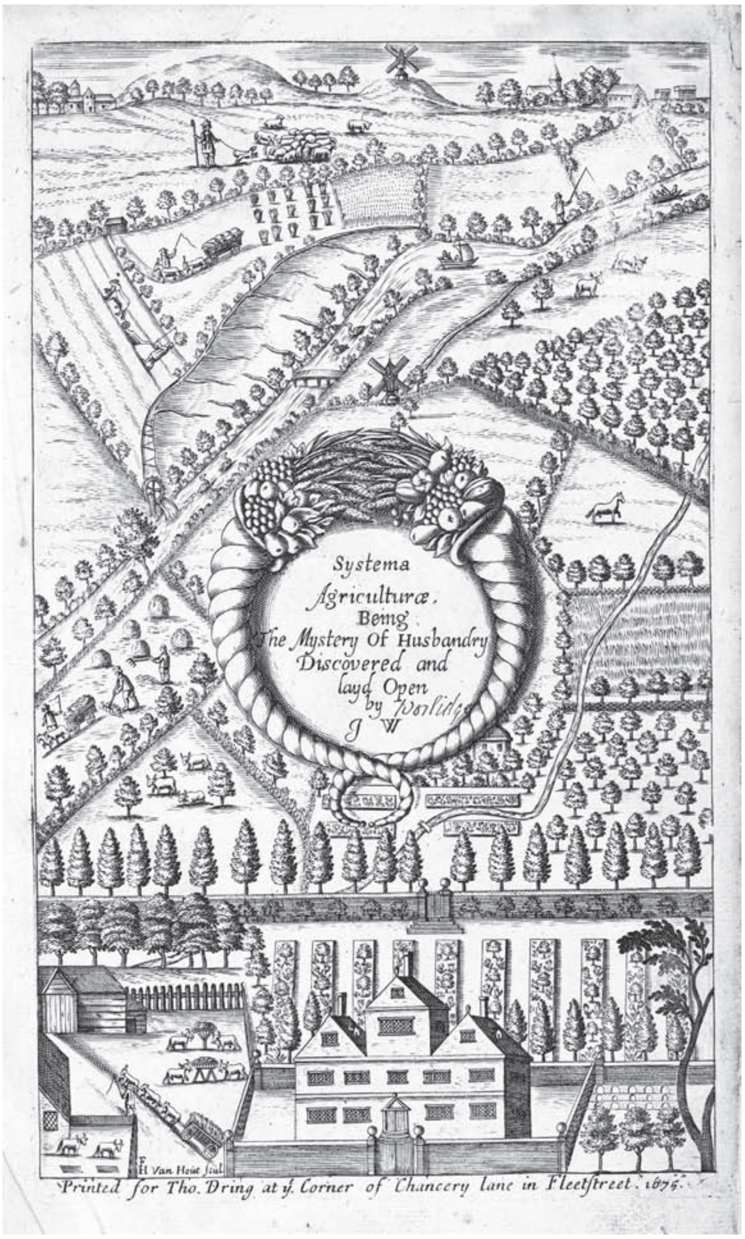
> The Gardiner is brisk at Work. The Peach-Trees are much broken down with the weight of Fruit this Year. All or most of the Plants that came from England grow, (being about four Thousand.) Cherries are sprung four and five Foot. Pears, Codlings and Plumbs three or four Foot. Rasberries, Goosberries, Currans, Quinces, Roses, Walnuts and Figs grow well. Apricocks from the Stone fourteen or sixteen Inches sprung, since the Month called April.[50]

Even allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration to the absentee owner, the list is impressive. Besides the produce from trees, Pennsbury's main crops were grain (wheat) and hay, mostly for livestock. Penn followed the latest "improving" advice when he told James Harrison to overseed with "nonesuch" (*Medicago lupulina*) and to use clover as a forage crop. By 1687 wheat (at least twenty acres of it), barley, rye, oats, and summer wheat were being grown at Pennsbury.[51] As to livestock, Penn's letters mention horses, hogs, cattle, sheep, and poultry.[52]

A few estates tried to grow grapes, long a goal of English colonists throughout the mid-Atlantic and southern colonies. For example, Springettsbury, Penn's other estate near Philadelphia, had a vineyard, which received as much attention as any other part of the place. Early colonists admired the great ropes of wild grapes climbing vigorously through the woods and assumed that Pennsylvania was a natural spot for vineyards. In 1683 Penn optimistically reported that the "great red grape (now ripe) called by Ignorance the fox grape, [*Vitis labrusca*] . . . is in itselfe an extreordinary Grape, and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent Wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Fruntiniack. . . . There is a white kind of Muskedello, and a little black grape . . . they tell me when ripe . . . that they only wants skilfull vinerons to make good use of them."[53] Indeed, William Penn established a vineyard at Fairmount and even imported a French vintner, André Doz, to tend it. Thomas Penn planted a new vineyard at Springettsbury with vine cuttings sent by Peter Collinson in 1737.[54] Penn hired a German named Jacob, a "vigneroon," and had a small wood-framed dwelling called the "Lodge" built for him. *Lodge* was a fashionable term for a small dwelling in the midst of a large garden for habitation by servants or occasional use by the owner. Penn imagined that he could "soon . . . expect to drink both wine and cyder of my own planting."[55] By 1739 he had made a "few gallons of Burgundy and white wine," but his brother John, in England, was not impressed by their quality, writing: "It did not prove so good as I expected but has the rawness and foul taste occasioned by the grapes not being full ripe."[56]

As it was for other colonial viticulturists, the initial seeming success was short lived. The European grape did not thrive in American soil unless it was grafted onto a native grape. Thomas Penn suggested this solution to his brother in 1739: "I believe if you find the Burgundy or French claret vines too tender, you may help them much by grafting or inarching them on either your black or fox grapes, which may be worth trying." But there is no indication that William ever tried it. Ironically, the earliest named hybrid of which we have record, the Alexander grape, was discovered by Penn's gardener, James Alexander, at about this time (1740), near André Doz's old vineyard at Fairmount. This was a cross between an unidentified native and a vinifera vine.[57] Jacob and Thomas Penn persisted for a time. Jacob "improved" the Rhenish grapes, and Penn suggested raising the grapes four to five feet above the ground. However, a series of insect attacks and blight caused Penn to give up on wine and let Jacob go. Jacob's work may have been a failure, but subsequent to his departure James Alexander grew a fine grape at Springettsbury.[58]

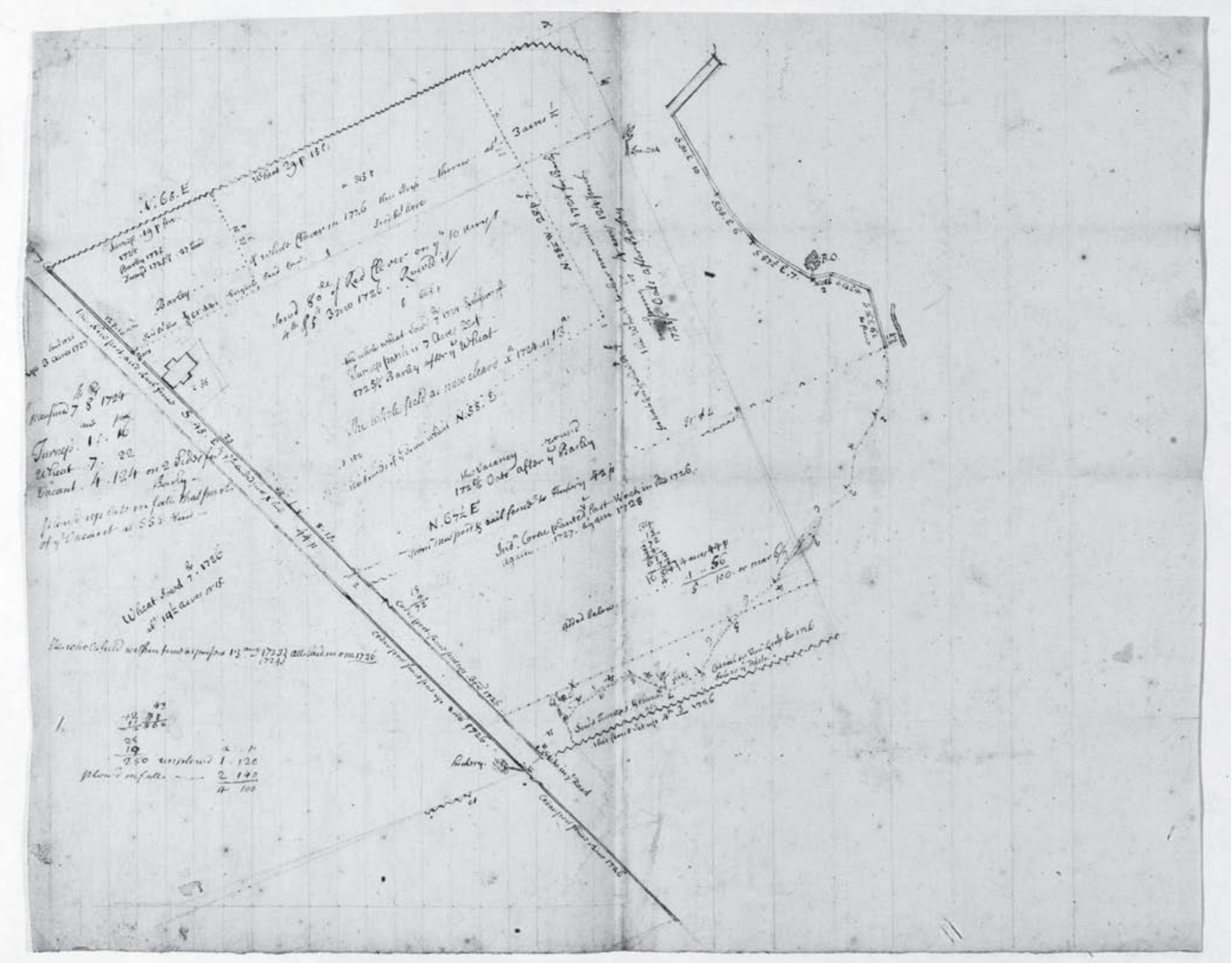
Frontispiece to *Systema Agriculturae*, by John Worlidge (London, 1675). LCP



Fairhill provides some of our best evidence for agriculture on a Philadelphia country estate, because Isaac Norris's many surviving almanacs, journals, and letters record his meticulous notes on all the farm's activities. In 1712, as he embarked upon his extensive building program at Fairhill, Norris characterized himself in a letter to his English agent: "Now that I am turned planter."[59] He had bought, in pieces, a working farm, with house, barn, and orchard. Although it is impossible to draw up anything like a complete balance sheet for Fairhill, Norris's almanacs seem to indicate that his plantation produced a subsistence of food, fiber, and fuel for his extended family—he often sent food to his sons' families in the city—as well as a small surplus. He farmed Fairhill for five years before he moved there in 1717, planting wheat, oats, "Indian corn," rye, and turnips.[60] The mention of turnips is interesting in that Norris was planting them well before Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount Townshend, or "Turnip" Townshend, extolled their virtues in England. John Worlidge also discussed their advantages as fodder in *Systema Agriculturae*.

Beginning in 1710, Norris ordered grass seed from England again and again, with careful instructions as to its packing and transportation, but was continually frustrated with the shipments.[61] Earlier colonists had found native grasses unsuitable for hay.[62] The fact that Norris asked for the "best directions" along with the seed shows the young merchant's lack of experience in farming, and there were not yet American books on agriculture for reference. Like the other colonists, Norris referred to the most popular English books, including Worlidge's *Systema Agriculturae* and Richard Bradley's *Survey of Ancient Husbandry and Gardening*.[63] The work he most relied on, however, was John Mortimer's *Whole Art of Husbandry*.[64]

Norris used various almanac editions as diaries, recording personal, business, and farming events, a habit continued by his son Isaac Norris Jr. Thirteen of Isaac Norris Sr.'s and twenty-two of his son's are known to survive. They provide a wonderful record of the rhythm of active farm life—from lambing to slaughter, from sowing and reaping barley to brewing,[65] from grafting fruit trees to cider-making—all against a continuous obbligato of fencing, ditching, and the comings and goings of farm laborers.[66] Corn or buckwheat was planted in the old orchard,[67] clover in the "young orchard,"[68] tobacco in the cornfield. Norris also raised timothy and cattails in wet areas. Wetland pasture proved important for grazing, and Norris's tributary to Gunner's Run and his dikes were valuable assets.[69] In the meticulous notes in his almanacs,



Fairhill, plan of field. Norris Papers, HSP

Norris added the number of "loads" brought from various fields, but only once does he indicate the results of his wheat harvest—13 bushels an acre in the "willow field." James Lemon tells us that "despite the great importance of wheat, yields per acre were low . . . abundant comments suggest that five to twelve bushels was all that could be expected on old land." Lemon does not qualify "old," but much of Norris's land had been farmed prior to his purchase.[70]

In 1712 Norris began to plant his "new orchard";[71] later he added to it, ordering twelve varieties of pears, seven kinds of cherries, nine of apricots, and nine of plums from an English nursery (color plate B). He wanted both standard and espaliered trees, for a new stone wall was to enclose the orchard.[72] Espaliered trees used space efficiently, and the fruit, protected by a warm wall, ripened earlier. By 1731 Norris had enough apple trees to sell his good friend James Logan sixty of them.[73]

With the exception of James Logan's apple trees, Isaac Norris does not appear to have sold any of his produce or trees. His livestock, however, did produce income, though not on a large scale. Because at this time it was difficult to feed livestock through the winter, much slaughtering occurred from November through January. Norris did not record wool, which probably was used domestically.[74] He must have been experimenting with breeding—as indeed William Penn had recommended—for in 1733 he noted, "Kill'd ye fatted Sow our own Breed."[75]

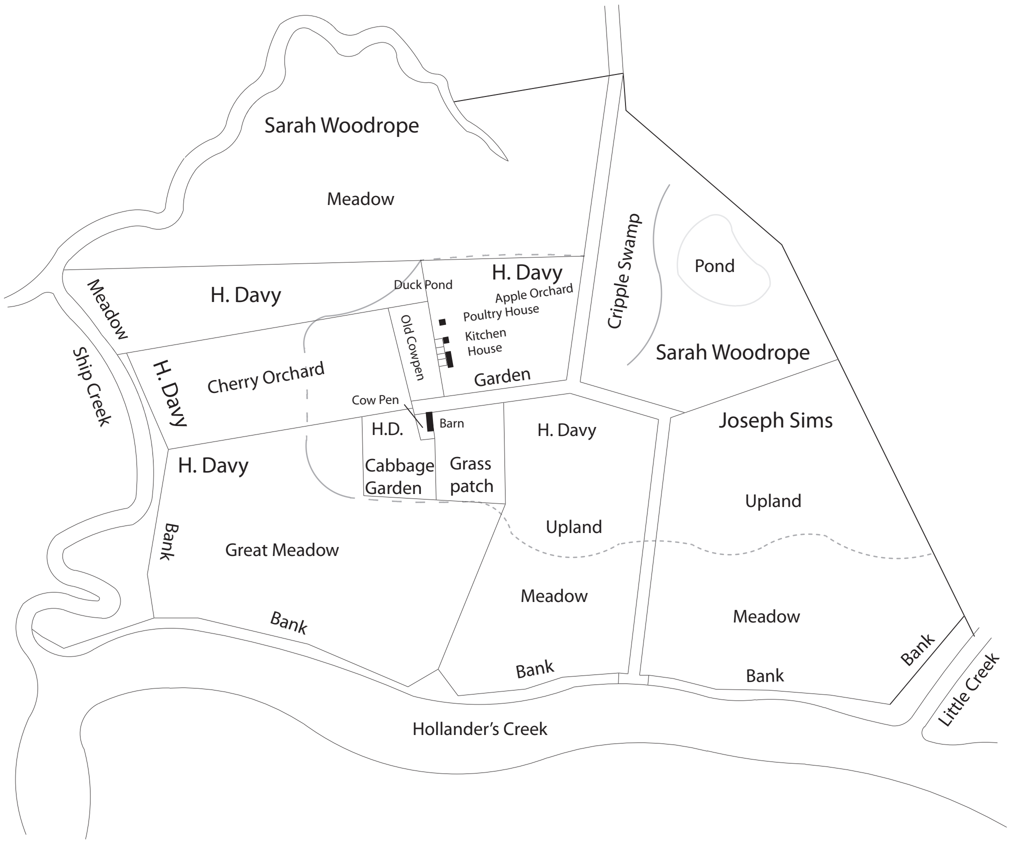
In 1718, within a year of moving permanently to Fairhill, Norris had the kitchen garden paled[76] and ordered vegetable seeds from England: carrots, radish, cabbage, lettuce, celery, savoy, endive, and "newest and best cauliflower."[77] These were the vegetables he continued to grow, adding spinach, English beans, his "own hotspurrs," Rounceval "large green pea," gray peas,[78] and red peas, as well as "Bermuda potatoes."[79] In the good gardener's tradition of plant sharing, Norris had received the English beans from "the Proprietor" and the potatoes and red peas from "bro Preston."[80] The Proprietor at this time was Thomas Penn and "bro Preston," was Samuel Preston, Norris's brother-in-law. In 1733 Norris had a "new garden" paled and planted five beds of asparagus there.[81]

Toward the end of his life Norris acquired a new interest: bees. In 1733 he had a straw hive, a (garden) closet hive, a "middle colony," and a "hollow tree hive on low stool in bee shelter." His son Isaac Jr. continued this interest when he moved to Fairhill in May 1742. Although Isaac Jr., like his father, recorded the swarming of bees and listed ever more hives, there is no record of honey, which probably was consumed domestically. Perhaps their interest was inspired by Virgil's long discourse on "this wondrous pageant of a tiny world" in the *Georgics*, popular reading among the educated in the eighteenth century.[82]

Fencing is a perennial task on a farm, especially on a new one. Penn's "Great Law" of 1682 provided that "all Corne [i.e., wheat] fields shall be fenced, and all fences shall be at least five feet high."[83] In 1729 the Pennsylvania legislature eased this regulation in an act stating that a fence was "sufficient" if it was four and a half feet high, with the lower rail not more than nine inches from the ground.[84] Isaac Norris's ledger books, daybooks, and almanacs for Fairhill show a continual expense for fencing—making, moving, mending—for the barn meadow, the cow pen, the chicken yard, the goose yard, pasture, the new barn field, the "grass point field," and other spaces. Each new field Norris added had to be enclosed with cedar post-and-rail fencing,[85] although in one case, on a property boundary, he had seven-foot posts made from his own white oak.[86]

Far below the city, Norris's brother-in-law Samuel Preston had to focus more on marsh meadows at Belair. The plat of Belair shows that Preston spent much on controlling the drainage by creating banks or dikes that kept the salt water out of the meadows and allowed roads or paths to snake through the farm. The Reverend Israel Acrelius, rector to the Swedes from 1749 to 1756, was impressed by the "swamp meadows": "Along the Delaware river and the streams which fall into it, there are large tracts of swamp, which within the last fifteen years to the extent of many thousand of acres, have been improved into good meadows, but at a very great expense."[87] This land became very valuable, which explains why Preston got such a good price for his property when he sold it. One advantage of the irrigated meadows was that the crops (grass, later red clover) would appear earlier in the spring, and the farmer could mow three crops a year. However, the embankments went out of favor: they were expensive to create, high tides could sweep them away, and fiddler crabs and muskrats dug into them and "make the banks like a sieve."[88]

The labor to manage agriculture came from several sources. Tenant farmers and hired hands provided much of it. So did slaves, of which Penn had a family at Pennsbury. The Quaker builder of Belair, Samuel Preston, manumitted five slaves about the time he sold Belair in 1735, and he manumitted their seven children in his will of 1743.[89] But family members also did much of the work. At Stenton, Logan's daughter Sally learned the woman's side of farming, for Logan reported that "Sally, besides her needle has been learning French, and this last week has been very busie at Plantation in ye Dairy in which she delights."[90] The kitchen garden would have been Mrs. (Sarah Read) Logan's responsibility. In 1742 Logan wrote to Peter Collinson that "her Pease of all sorts, she says, degenerate," and he ordered "marrow fats, early hotspurs, and those larger ones she had some from these about 5 or 6 years ago that appear greenish when dry, 2 quarts of each & about 3 or


Sarah Woodrope
Meadow
H. Davy
Duck Pond
H. Davy
Apple Orchard
Poultry House
Kitchen
House
Old Cowpen
Garden
Cripple Swamp
Pond
Sarah Woodrope
Meadow
H. Davy
Cherry Orchard
Ship Creek
Cow Pen
Barn
H.D.
H. Davy
Joseph Sims
H. Davy
Cabbage
Garden
Grass
patch
Upland
Upland
Bank
Great Meadow
Meadow
Meadow
Bank
Bank
Bank
Bank
Little Creek
Hollander's Creek

Belair, plat. Drawing by Thomas Peters after 1750 plat of real estate of Alexander Woodrup by George Heap, Norris Manuscripts, "Philadelphia and Other Counties," 41–43, HSP

4 oz of good carrot-seed, in some close bottle well stopt, for our carrots have quite lost their colour" (color plate B).[91] Logan sent his brother William, of Bristol, England, "our own Peaches preserved by Her self [Mrs. Logan]."[92] Logan thus painted a pleasant picture of farm life, with his daughter Sally busy in the dairy and his wife making peach preserves and brewing beer.[93]

Even the landscape of a later country seat, Mount Pleasant, best known for its fashionable and ornamental character, was dominated by agriculture. The builder, John Macpherson, had a dairy herd, sheep, an extensive orchard, and a walled vegetable garden that also included fruit trees. These presumably were espaliered to take advantage of the protection of the walls. Macpherson described the orchard as containing "a great variety and number of the best inoculated and grafted fruit trees, viz. apples, apricots, cherries, peaches, pears, plumbs, quinces, and a number of chestnut and shell-bark trees."[94] The mention of native nut-bearing trees, chestnut (*Castanea dentata*) and shellbark or white walnut (*Juglans lacinosa*), is unusual and another example of Macpherson taking advantage of the natural landscape. Macpherson's walled vegetable garden fits the description of an eighteenth-century Scottish vegetable garden as described in James Justice's *The Scots gardeners director*.[95] The remains of similar gardens can still be seen throughout Scotland. Archaeology in 1986 unearthed foundations at Mount Pleasant substantial enough to support the eight-foot stone wall described by Justice, on a gentle, south-facing slope as Justice also recommended. Macpherson described the kitchen garden as "large and within a stone wall; it contained a fine variety of fruit trees, above 50 beds of asparagus, as many of strawberries, and one of artichokes."[96] The fifty beds of strawberries and asparagus raise the question whether some of Macpherson's garden was for commercial use.

Macpherson described "68 acres . . . in good grass [the] great part of which is watered by constant springs, and from which were cut last year at least 80 tons of the best hay, and is tho't will produce much more next year, as 12 acres of the 68 were put in red clover and not mowed."[97] Red clover, the "premier soil-improving crop of Pennsylvania," had been grown from the time of the earliest settlements, having been introduced into England from Flanders in 1633, so Macpherson was not ahead of his contemporaries in growing it.[98] What was unusual was Macpherson's "very convenient moveable pen for manuring the land by cattle." Planting clover and adding manure were the only known ways to improve the soil until after the Revolution, when gypsum and lime were found to reduce the acid in the soils of southeastern Pennsylvania, leading to increased crop yields.[99]

Macpherson had "100 sheep, 12 cows, 3 steers, one bull, [and] 3 horses."[100] According to James Lemon's chart of "hypothetical annual production from an average farm of 125 acres," the sheep would have needed 10 acres of pasture, 10 tons of hay (7 acres), and 50 bushels (3⅓ acres) of grain. The cows would have needed 15–20 acres of pasture "plus browse in forest and stubble," 30 tons of hay (20 acres), and 150 bushels of grain (20 acres). The horses would have needed 3 acres of pasture, 9 tons of hay (6 acres), and 80 bushels (5 acres) of grain.[101] Macpherson's 80 tons of hay on 68 acres of "good grass" lies within these limits. Another important activity at Mount Pleasant was sheep raising, especially popular in Scotland, for which there was a "shepherd's cottage." Mount Pleasant was thus a working landscape, having nothing to do with the *ferme ornée* so popular in late-eighteenth-century England. Nor would it have had the type of garden created there during the Colonial Revival for the sesquicentennial.

The working landscape occupied well more than half of the land area of a typical Philadelphia country seat, sometimes much more. Similarly, the service spaces of the house and outbuildings made up a substantial portion of its built area. For many country seats, farming constituted their *raison d'être*, in large part to furnish food and hay to the family's city establishment. Country seats also had more extensive service spaces than did houses in the city, because the estate had to be self-sufficient, lacking shops, markets, and craftsmen in the vicinity. All members of a household had contact with the working parts of the estate, especially the master and mistress, who ran things, directed servants and working hands, and even performed domestic and agricultural tasks. This seems to have been true especially early in the colonial period, when Penn, Norris, and others embraced a Quaker ethic that extolled physical work and frugality. But even much later the Graemes and others actively engaged in work around their farms. The ubiquity of this activity should warn us against imagining life in the Philadelphia country house too grand or genteel. However, despite the continuity of agriculture and service as a theme in our story, the purpose and form of the bourgeois country house and landscape changed over the colonial period, an evolution to which we turn in part III.

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CHAPTER 9

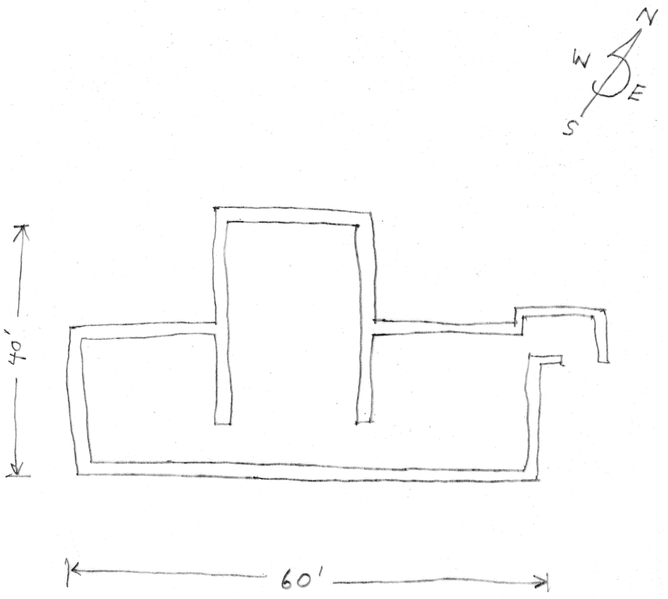
Diversity in the First Generation of Country Houses

Pennsbury, Fairhill, and Their Contemporaries

During the colonial period country seats evolved as their style and purpose changed. Four houses represent the first generation, from William Penn's arrival until the early 1720s. Penn's own country house, Pennsbury, disappeared long ago, but a variety of evidence gives important clues about its nature. Chapter 3 dealt with Penn's vision for Pennsbury and its meaning to him; here we look at its actual form. Pennsbury provided a model that many of Penn's close associates followed. Some were motivated by similar considerations of Quaker retreat to a simpler life in the country. Some saw the country more as a locus for economic gain and as a seat of power. Fairhill's house and agricultural landscape, also long gone but reconstructable, perhaps best typifies this diverse early period. Belair remains, reinforcing the pattern of Fairhill and showing at least what an early house looked like. Finally, Graeme Park (originally Fountain Low) also survives and offers a very different model by a distinctly non-Quaker gentleman. All these houses vary significantly in form and together demonstrate the diversity among Philadelphia country seats in this early period.

William Penn's Pennsbury Manor

The house now standing at Pennsbury Manor is a reconstruction built by the state of Pennsylvania in 1938–40, one of many homes of "founders" reconstructed in this era as Americans tried to inspire patriotic values by means of historical exemplars.[1] As early as 1889, Pennsylvania Quakers began advocating for a memorial to William Penn at the site of the founder's plantation. Finally, in 1929 the Pennsylvania legislature acceded to the acquisition, by gift, of the former Pennsbury property for the purpose of creating such a memorial, putting the project in the hands of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum



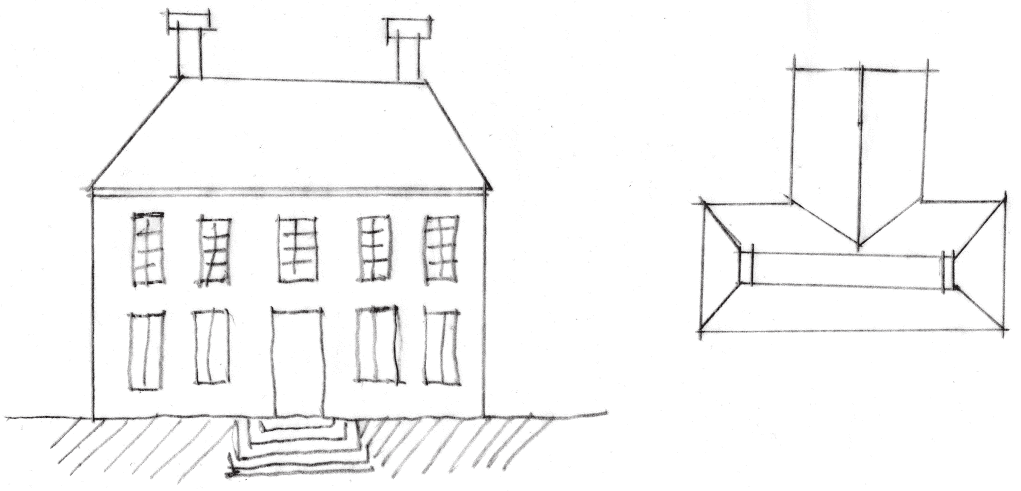
Pennsbury, archaeological plan of cellar. Pennsbury archives

Commission (PHMC). Site mapping, archaeology, and documentary research occupied the early 1930s, and the architect Richardson Brognard Okie (1875–1945) designed and supervised the reconstruction. Williamsburg, Virginia, then in its exciting early days, strongly influenced the project, and almost inevitably the vision in people's minds of the reconstructed Pennsbury resembled the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg. Most notably, the vision included a very substantial house with a double-pile plan. External and internal evidence cast doubt on the accuracy of this reconstruction even before the house was finished.

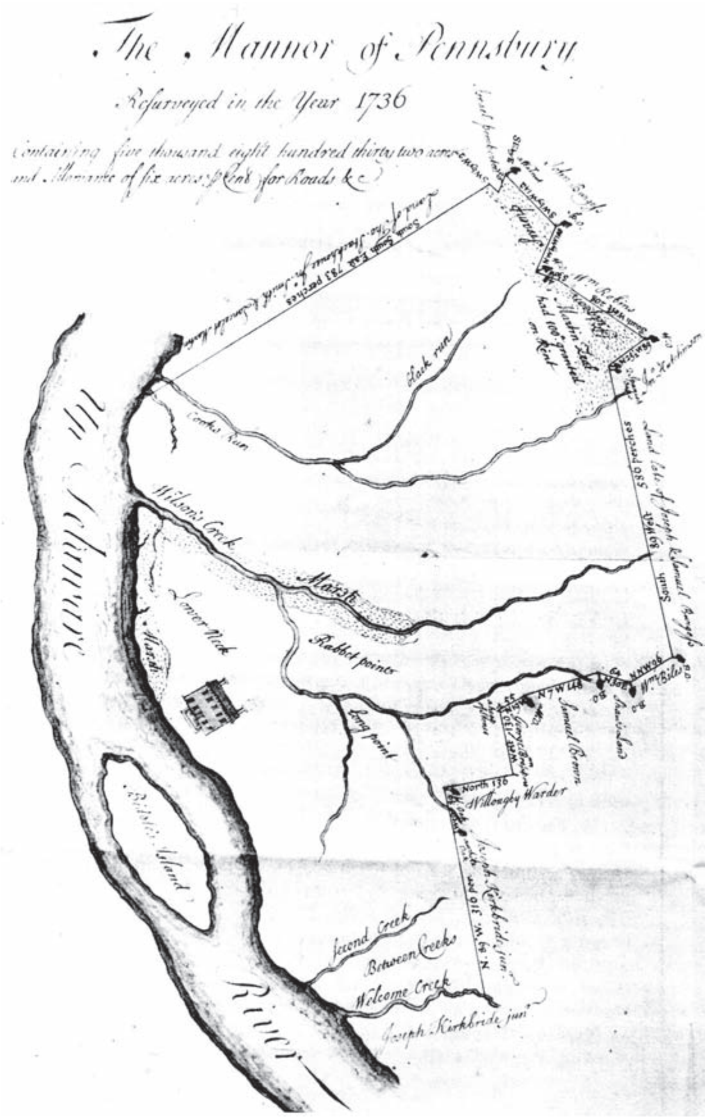
So what did the original Pennsbury probably look like? Most importantly, it was not as large as the reconstruction, nor so grand, and it probably had a single-pile T-plan, perhaps symmetrical, perhaps not. These contentions are supported by much evidence, including several key documents. First, the cellar remains excavated in 1933 suggest a T-plan. At the time of archaeological investigation, an early unknown draftsman became so convinced that the evidence pointed to a T-plan that he developed reconstructions based on such a plan.[2] Second, images of the Pennsbury house from old surveys also suggest a T-plan. An image from a survey of 1736 shows a straight, five-bay facade with pyramidal steps and end chimneys. This view, which may be of the river front, is the view on which the current Pennsbury is largely based.[3] Another view, unknown at the time of the reconstruction, shows a central pavilion or projection with a gable roof; this view may well represent the land front.[4] The stem of the T likely was formed by a stair tower possibly built of wood (the surviving foundation walls were thinner), thus accounting for comments in the documents about the "wooden side" of the house, which is reflected in the reconstruction's clapboard rear.[5]

Calculation of the size of the house from the number of roof shingles also points to a T-plan for Pennsbury. In 1688, only five years after it was begun, the great house at Penns-

Pennsbury, T-plan reconstruction (c. 1933). Pennsbury archives



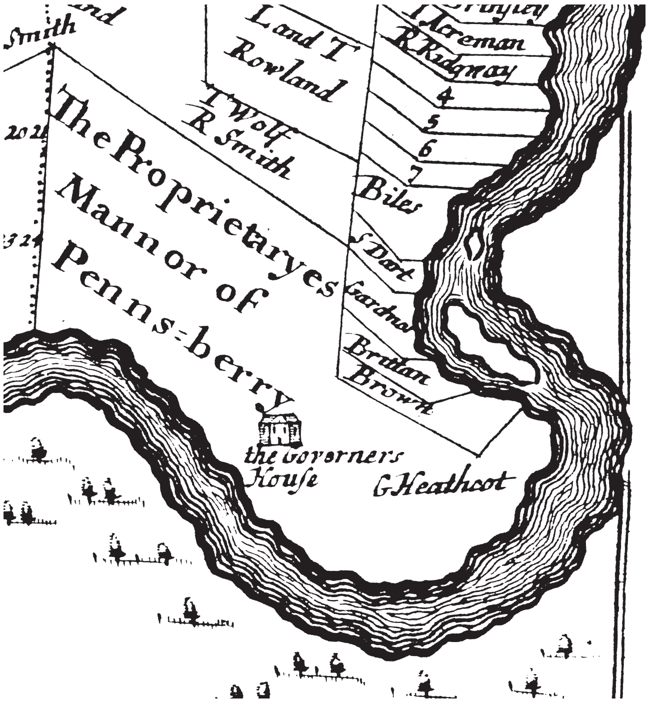
bury was reroofed with five thousand wood shingles. This number of shingles would cover *at most* 2,043 square feet of building area, assuming small overhangs all around.[6] The area of the double-pile house with overhangs reconstructed at Pennsbury is more than 2,600 square feet. The area of the T-plan brick walls discovered in the archaeology—assuming symmetry around the rear projection, plus overhangs—is approximately 1,800 square feet. Five thousand shingles comes much closer to covering a T-plan house than it does a double-pile one. The wood shingles probably replaced terra-cotta tiles, which was most likely necessitated by the failure of Pennsbury's roof framing: the first carpenters had not allowed for the excessive weight of the tiles. A fragment of a terra-cotta tile survives from the Pennsbury archaeology.[7]


The Mannor of Pennsbury
Resurveyed in the Year 1736
Containing five thousand eight hundred thirty two acres and allowance of six acres p Cent for Roads &c
The Delaware
River
Wilson's Creek
Marsh
Rabbet point
Long point
Lower Neck
Biles's Island
Second Creek
Between Creeks
Welcome Creek
Joseph Kirkbride junr
Willoughby Warder
Samuel Brown
Wm Biles

Pennsbury, plat with closeup of house, 1736. Pennsbury archives

Inventories taken of Pennsbury in 1687, when James Harrison, the steward, died, and 1701, when Penn returned to England for the last time, played a large role in the reconstruction of the house. Ultimately, they point to a T-plan rather than a double-pile one, or at least to a house significantly smaller than the reconstruction. At the time of the 1687 inventory the house remained unfinished. Tools and building materials cluttered many of the rooms, especially on the ground floor. Only the parlor and possibly the passage room on the ground floor and the parlor chamber and governor's parlor chamber on the second floor were in use (as suggested by furniture), probably in line with Penn's agreement allowing Harrison three rooms. Because of this unfinished state, it is difficult to ascertain how many fireplaces the house had. Penn had completed the house by the 1701 inventory, which represents the house more or less fully furnished. At that time Penn was leaving in a hurry for England and intended to soon return. He thus left many of his furnishings.

Both inventories list four or five major spaces on the lower floor and five or six spaces on the upper. Table 1 presents a potential correspondence. A double-pile house such as Pennsbury's reconstruction would have had at least six very large rooms per floor. Taken together, the two inventories indicate that Pennsbury had only three major rooms on the lower floor: the hall or great hall; the governor's, or best, parlor; and the parlor. The other spaces—two closets and the passage room, or little hall—were smaller. Moreover, the inventories note three fireplaces on the upper floor and only two below (although there were probably the same number on both floors), making a total of six hearths for the entire house. This is well above average for houses in general at the time but relatively low by gentry standards, indeed exactly the average for "mere" gentlemen, the lowest rank of the English gentry.[8] The reconstructed house has a total of eleven hearths, including one in

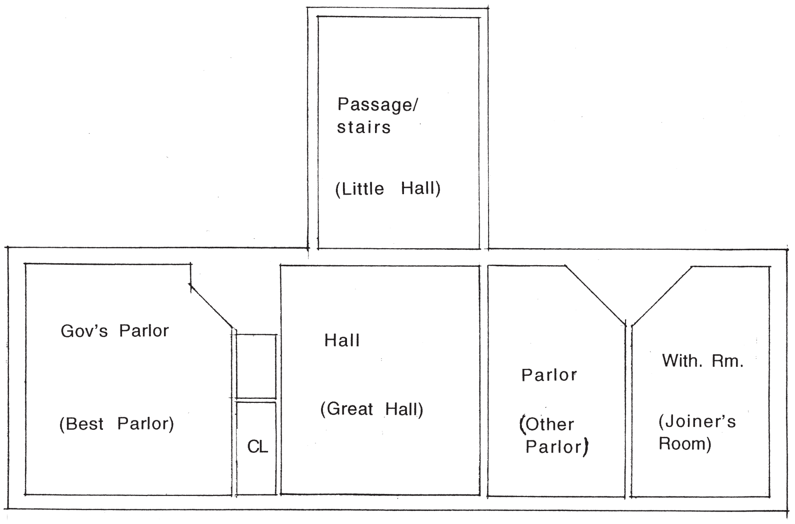

Smith
Land T
Rowland
T Wolf
R Smith
The Proprietaryes Mannor of Penns:berry
Areman
R Ridgway
4
5
6
7
Biles
S Dark
Brittan
Brown
the Governers House
G Heathcot

Pennsbury, closeup of Holme map (1687). LCP

the attached kitchen, double the number mentioned in the documents. A T-plan, with four spaces across the front, for which there would be plenty of room in a sixty-foot-wide facade, is more consistent with the inventories than does Okie's double-pile plan.

It seems unlikely that Penn and the workmen available to him could have created what at the time would have been a substantial and sophisticated house even in England. Clearly, some of the work done during the first phase of construction was faulty and in some cases crude. The structural failure and required reframing of the roof suggests less than top-notch builders. After he returned to England, Penn wrote often of elements of the house that he had come to regard as deficient. For example, "I would have the back door a two leave door, & the front made from top to bottom, for it is most ugly & low, out of all proportion."[9] The records indicate that Pennsbury was built mostly by a succession of young, and thus inexperienced, indentured servants brought or sent over by Penn. No workman seems to have stayed on the site very long, and there is no record of a long-term supervisor, especially one with architectural or construction experience. Penn himself, who is not known to have had any training in architecture, apparently supervised construction during its first phase, and James Harrison, who supervised later, was originally a shoemaker and shopkeeper.

Penn also stated the desire to upgrade some of Pennsbury's windows from casement to sash windows, a type then becoming fashionable in England. Lead cames, the strips of metal that held old glass in place, from the original casements were found in the archaeology.[10] If his directions were carried out, Pennsbury was probably the first house in the colonies to have sash windows.[11] He wanted to change the windows of his "middle story," that is, the second-floor windows, to sash windows and reuse the older casement ones elsewhere or sell them. Sash windows presumably provided better air and privacy for the


Passage/
stairs
(Little Hall)
Gov's Parlor
(Best Parlor)
CL
Hall
(Great Hall)
Parlor
(Other Parlor)
With. Rm.
(Joiner's Room)

Pennsbury, reconstruction with T-plan. Drawing by Mark Reinberger

Table 1 Pennsbury Room Uses from Inventories of 1687 and 1701

	1687	1701
Lower Floor[1]		
	Governor's parlor	Best parlor
	No fireplace equipment	Fireplace equipment
	Little furniture; many tools	Much furniture
	Parlor	Other parlor
	Fireplace equipment	Maybe fireplace equipment
	Much furniture	Little furniture
	Passage room	Little hall
	Fireplace equipment	No fireplace equipment
	Some furniture	Little furniture
	Hall	Great hall
	No fireplace equipment	No fireplace equipment
	Some furniture	Much furniture
	Joyner's room	—
	Maybe fireplace equipment	
	No furniture; many tools	
	Governor's closet	Mrs.'s closet
	Only books	No fireplace equipment
		Little furniture
	Closet	Little closet
	Storage only[2]	No fireplace equipment
		Only furniture = storage
Upper Floor[3]		
	Governor's parlor chamber	Best chamber
	No fireplace equipment	Fireplace equipment
	Some furniture	Much furniture
	Parlor chamber	Next chamber
	Fireplace equipment	Fireplace equipment
	Much furniture	Much furniture
	Joyner's room chamber	Next chamber
	No fireplace equipment	No fireplace equipment
	Some furniture	Fairly much furniture
	Room over passage	Nursery
	No fireplace equipment	Fireplace equipment
	Tools and materials	Fairly much furniture
	Room over hall	Next chamber
	Nothing[4]	No fireplace equipment
		Fairly much furniture
	[name not given]	
		No fireplace equipment
		Only furniture = storage

[1] The two columns indicate potential alignment of the spaces.

[2] After recording the uses on the upper floor, the inventory takers went to the cellar, which had three spaces: "common," "kitchen," and "next the garden." These could well be the three cellar spaces found during archaeology: one under the west wing of the T; one under the center (front and back); and one (divided by a wooden partition) under the east wing (mostly built over by the Crozier House).

[3] No actual location is intended by these matches, simply correspondence of the number of rooms.

[4] After recording the uses on the lower floor, the 1687 inventory then goes to the outbuildings.

chambers, considerations not so important in the public rooms below, which in colonial Pennsylvania houses often had solid-paneled shutters. Only the windows on one story were to be changed, leaving a mixture of windows that would probably have seemed odd to a classically trained architect.

As with the house, documents clarify much about the original landscape. Indeed, as is typical for Penn, as much, if not more, is known about the gardens as about the house. However, much of our understanding of Pennsbury's original landscape must remain conjectural; we know what Penn had and what he grew, but not the design. We know what books he had available and left for the gardener's use when returning to England in 1684. In light of the typical English gentleman's estate of the period, Penn's wants were simple. The sole bit of formal landscaping seems to have been the entry sequence from the river to the house, decorous and even somewhat ceremonious, as befitted the proprietor. The design of the rest was treated more casually.

At the river's edge the entry walk climbed several stone steps and progressed forward on a gravel walk approximately 120 feet long and 20 feet wide, planted on each side with poplars.[12] This allée terminated at a higher set of steps that climbed through a brick retaining wall into the upper court in front of the house. Here another walk, of either gravel or smooth stone, led to "handsom playn steps" and a landing into the house. Two of Penn's English sources (Worlidge and Cook) recommended the native English white poplar (*Populus alba*) as doing well in moist ground and being suitable for pollarding.[13] Penn would have preferred another allée to lead from the back door of the house to a bridge but assigned this project lower priority.[14] The courts of both the river and land fronts of the house were to have fences of "rale & banasters," but the side courts and the garden needed only palisade fences if that was more economical. The courts were to be planted with hay imported from Long Island.[15] The resultant landscape composition around the house at Pennsbury probably came close to that recorded in the mid-eighteenth century at Fairhill. The effect of the Fairhill landscape is formal but simple, appropriate to the Quaker sense of aesthetics, which favored plain and handsome.

Penn also wanted another piece of ornamental landscape, a walk upriver to the falls and downriver to a point below the house. He wanted these paths "cleered so as two may walk a foot," and he told James Harrison to cut timber for firewood from these routes, one of which may have been an old Indian trail. In addition, he wanted the trees along the river in both directions cut down "to open a prospect upwards as well as down wards" from the house.[16] Penn also had visions of creating a deer park at Pennsbury, probably in the bend of the river southeast of the house: "Tis pitty a pale [a fence] did not cross the neck half way towards the south point, for a beginning of a Park."[17]

Fairhill: A Seminal Plantation and Retirement

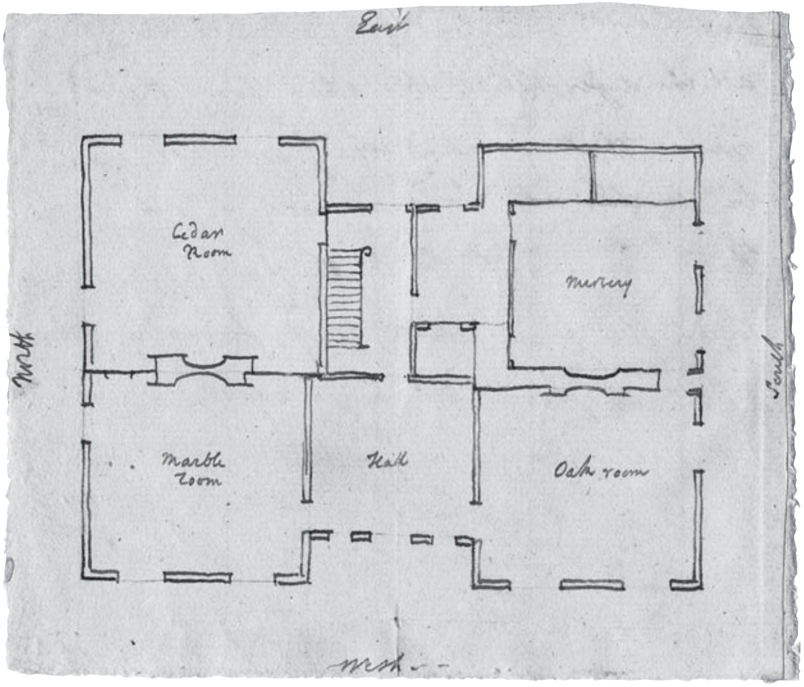
Though long gone, Fairhill illuminates the nature of other estates in this period.[18] The British burned the original Fairhill in 1777, and the post-Revolutionary rebuilding disappeared in 1884, but copious documents allow Fairhill's reconstruction. Even more importantly, Isaac Norris's letters record his motives in building Fairhill and its meaning for him and his family. Norris saw Fairhill as a fulfillment of Quaker ideals of a virtuous life in the country, as a retirement away from both the riches and the worries of the city. In both word and deed Norris was inspired by his close friend William Penn. Norris tried in the house, its landscape, and his life there to adhere to his religion's call for plainness and frugality, an often difficult struggle within himself and his family, as it had been for Penn. Norris was a Quaker, and apparently a good one. But he was also a merchant in the early-eighteenth-century Anglo-American world. As a member of a wealthy social elite, Norris found it hard to fulfill the Christian dictum to be in but not of this world, and in many ways Fairhill shows the influence of the dominant culture of England. Fairhill's house and landscape reflect influences from Norris's travels in England and from books, especially agricultural and horticultural works, which at this early period often included architectural advice. Fairhill also became a very large real-estate investment, indeed the principal repository for Norris's wealth and that of his children.

Isaac Norris Sr. belonged to a devout Quaker family in Surry, England. His father practiced carpentry and undoubtedly taught Isaac much about building. In 1678 the family emigrated to Jamaica, where Isaac became a merchant and met the well-connected Lloyd family. Through the Lloyds, Isaac gained access to the Quaker merchants of Philadelphia and moved there in 1693. A year later he married Mary Lloyd (1674–1748), and he rapidly became one of the most important political figures in Pennsylvania. He unfailingly supported the Penn family and was an active member of the Philadelphia Quaker meeting.[19]

When Norris began to assemble land for Fairhill in 1709, he was one of the wealthiest men in Philadelphia—fourth on the poor-tax list of 1709. But he had gone through five years of economic uncertainty and was increasingly disturbed by the political situation in Pennsylvania. General prosperity, although certainly not unwavering progress, had marked his first fifteen years in Pennsylvania. In the economic dislocation that began in 1704 he shifted his activities from foreign trade to local investments, such as mills and city property, including the Slate Roof House, purchased in 1708 or 1709. Fairhill was part of this reinvestment strategy.

In 1709 Norris purchased 160 acres on the Germantown Road as it approached the Fair Hill Meeting House, built c. 1707. The name Fair Hill fit the site, which stretched across the crest of a hill that sloped down in all directions but had especially good views east and south to the Delaware River and the city of Philadelphia. In fact, Fairhill stood on the first hill crest one encountered when proceeding north from the city. It stood at one hundred feet above sea level, while the city was at about twenty feet.[20] When Norris bought the land it held the headwaters of a tributary of Gunner's Run and no fewer than seven springs. It also had a house, an orchard, another building, and fencing, all indicating farming on the southern half of the property.[21] Norris later acquired adjacent property, bringing his total to 804 acres.

Long gone, the house at Fairhill is known from several sources, most importantly an eighteenth-century drawing (p. 118).[22] The original house had an H-shaped plan with a large, unheated central hall and a slightly narrower stairhall at the rear. The front hall appears quite formal in plan, with strict symmetry on the front and back walls. To each side of the hall, two rooms shared a chimney block, part of a spinal partition that ran across the entire plan, no doubt serving as the major internal support for floor joists. The first, or principal, story of the house stood atop a fairly high cellar, and there was a fully lit garret story under the roofs. The house faced west, and on the west facade the legs of the H rose into steep gables, while the recessed center was topped with a balcony and a cross-gable roof, out of which a cupola rose over the stairhall.[23]



Fairhill, plan, c. 1777. Norris Family Papers, 2:40, HSP

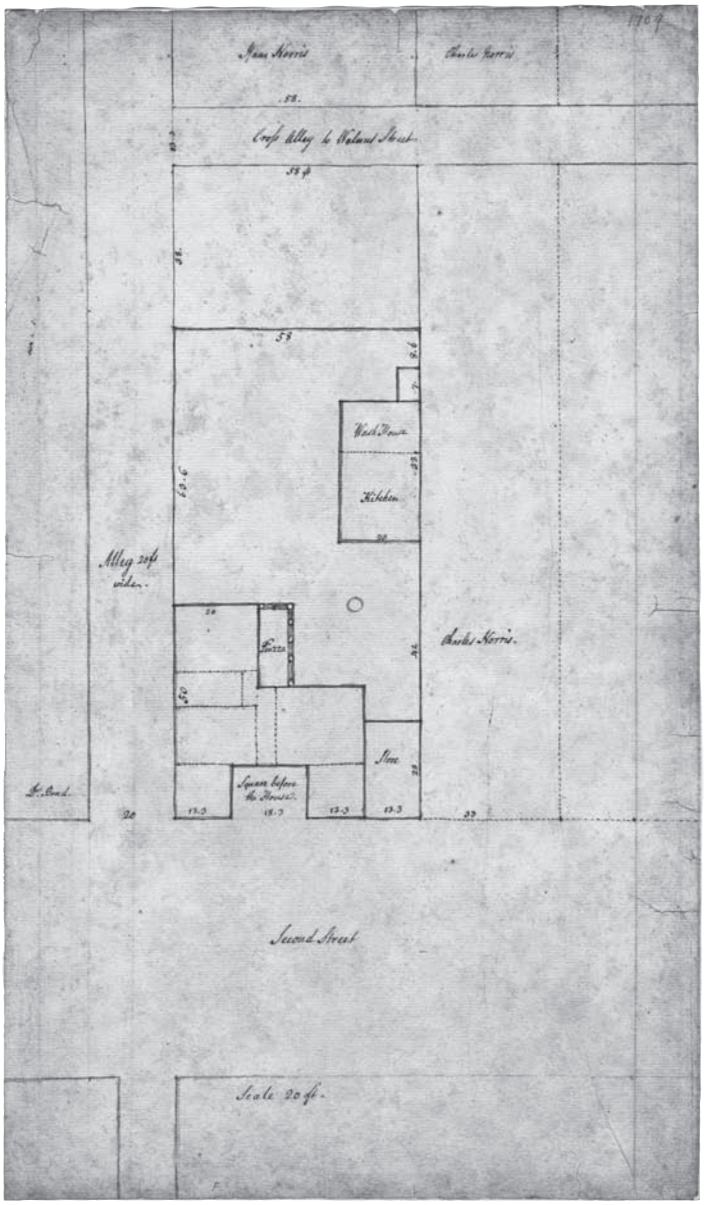
In designing Fairhill, Norris looked much to the house of a relative, John Pemberton, of Bennett's Hill, then in the country about a half mile from the nearest city—Birmingham, England—a geographical situation not dissimilar to Fairhill's. Pemberton, an ironmonger, had married Elizabeth Lloyd, a cousin of Mary Lloyd Norris's. On a visit to England in 1706 Isaac and Mary Norris saw Pemberton's house, all evidence for which has long been destroyed.[24] Its scale was very much the same as Fairhill's (four rooms and a double hall on the first floor), it was of the same general quality (fairly expensive, but for strength not finery), and it had perhaps the same plan. If the last is true, Fairhill provides an example of a very direct translation of house form from England to America.

Architecturally, Fairhill's H-shaped plan is one of its most significant features and makes it unique among known country houses in the Delaware valley. Norris's city house, the Slate Roof House, built by Samuel Carpenter c. 1699, had what might be called a pseudo H-plan. On the front it had a recessed center and advancing wings, but it was missing one leg of the H on the rear, making it more of an L-shaped plan, which would become typical of Philadelphia town houses. Its interior differed greatly from Fairhill's, with only a narrow passage running from front to back.[25] Elsewhere in the colonies, H-plans do occur, the original Green Spring, in James City County, Virginia (1643–45), known from archaeology, being far and away the earliest in the colonies.[26] Better-known examples, including Stratford Hall in Westmoreland County, Virginia (1737), and Tuckahoe in Goochland County, Virginia (built 1733 and enlarged to an H-plan in the 1750s), are later than Fairhill.

Many gentry houses in England of the general scale of Fairhill possessed an H plan, an important vernacular configuration from the thirteenth century onward. Horton Hall, Staffordshire (1643), and Honington Hall, Warwickshire (1680s), have plans particularly close to Fairhill's.[27] Stephen Primatt's *City and Country Purchaser and Builder*, published in London in 1667, contains an H-plan for a house that derives from the vernacular tradition. In scale this plan resembles Fairhill, though with a much larger, heated hall. Richard Neve verbally elaborated on plans such as Primatt's when he wrote: "This way, like a Roman capital H, is much applauded by some; for say they this form maketh it stand better, and firmer against the winds, and light, and air comes every way to it."[28] John Mortimer in his chapter on building in *The Whole Art of Husbandry*, quoted many of Neve's ideas, including the value of the H-plan. Norris owned at least two editions of Mortimer's book.[29] Fittingly, an agricultural treatise and his relatives, rather than books on architecture or an actual architect, influenced Norris to use an H-plan. Quakers proscribed as useless and unnecessary the fine arts, one of which was architecture, or at least its ornamental part. Norris's great library contained books on many subjects, including such practical arts as beekeeping, ship-building, navigation, and gardening, but none on the fine arts or architecture.[30]

Several aspects of Fairhill's interior also epitomized this first stage of the Philadelphia country house. For one, the spinal partition firmly divided the front from the narrower stairhall. Also, Norris ordered varnish for two rooms that had wood paneling and remained unpainted. A plan of the house includes a "cedar room" and an "oak room." The cedar room, located in the northeast corner of the house and accessed only from the rear hall, a less formal space, served as Norris's summer parlor. Peter Kalm described this room's woodwork in 1748 as looking "quite faded when I saw it, and the boards looked very shabby, especially the boards near the window had entirely lost their colour."[31] The oak room occupied the southwest corner.[32] The northwest room on an eighteenth-century plan carried the label "marble room," an unclear nomenclature that perhaps reflected a later redecoration, although it may have been Isaac Norris Sr.'s "blew room."[33] Blue often indicated an important space because of the high cost of the paint pigment Prussian blue. Together with the front hall, the marble and oak rooms constituted a formal axis. The southeast quadrant presumably contained service spaces; the plan shows a nursery filling most of the space, with smaller closets occupying the rest. The surviving interiors of Belair (examined below) offer suggestions as to what Fairhill's original interiors looked like.

The eighteenth-century drawing of Fairhill shows a relationship to outbuildings and landscape not very different from that typical in late-seventeenth-century England. John Worlidge's proposal in *Systema Horti-culturae*, which Norris owned, is very similar to Fairhill in plan:



Slate Roof House (1699), plan. Logan Papers, 13:6, HSP

> The Square is the most perfect and pleasant form that you can lay your Garden into where the Ground will afford it; every Walk that is being straight, and every Plant and Tree standing in a direct Line, represent it to your Eye very pleasing. . . . You may divide the Plot you intend for your Gardens into three parts, by Walk or Palisade: the middle part may be subdivided into Gravel-walks, grass plots, edged borders, planted with your most select Plants, Shrubs and Flowers.[34]

The enclosed, rectilinear garden style had persisted since the Middle Ages, becoming more or less practical as styles of the times and wealth dictated. The design bespeaks a conservative, traditional gardening view and mirrors well the rectilinear or H-plan of the house.

Norris also owned a copy of Worlidge's *Systema Agriculturae*, the frontispiece of which illustrates an idealized farm of the period.[35] In it, the simple walled, rectilinear garden occupied one piece of a larger landscape, a progression of outbuildings, orchard, fields, and pasture that are only glimpsed in the eighteenth-century drawing of Fairhill. Worlidge depicted a working farm like Fairhill. When Norris sometime after 1726 summarized his extensive building activity at Fairhill, he wrote: "First build house, stable, brew house, brick walls."[36] In the Fairhill drawing the stable stands to the left, and the original brewhouse (later a washhouse), with the well conveniently located outside, balanced it on the right. This more or less symmetrical arrangement of outbuildings flanking the main house and approach is commonly associated with the colonial South and mistakenly believed not to be seen in the northern colonies. Except for the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, Fairhill's are the earliest-known symmetrical flanking dependencies in the colonies.

Differences between Fairhill and Worlidge's proposal include the former's lack of visible flowers and shrubs and its more visible practicality. The stable and stile were placed for the convenience of the owner; the presence of a groomsman to bring the horse to the door was not assumed. Evidently the front door saw everyday use, unlike in grand English houses of the period, where family and most guests normally used a side entrance.[37] The location of the nonornamental well outside the brewhouse/washhouse was certainly not particular to Norris; "water by the door" appears often in eighteenth-century Philadelphia newspaper advertisements. As would be expected in a predominantly agricultural landscape, flower gardens do not appear in the records or views. Norris did not mention flowers until very late in life.[38] Although Quakers were discouraged from "extravagancy in collour and fashion," Quaker writers from early times encouraged their flock to garden, which was sometimes their only aesthetic outlet. From its inception, the Society of Friends advocated the study of natural science. Their founder, George Fox, stated that Quaker schools should include the teaching of botany, and the apologist Robert Barclay urged Quakers to "follow after gardening."[39]

The greenhouse was a very remarkable feature of Fairhill's landscape, for it was one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest, in Philadelphia. Rural landowners did not need a greenhouse as they did a barn, but it did have a practical purpose. They used greenhouses for the wintering of citrus trees, thus supplying healthful fruit otherwise unavailable. The placement or arrangement of the greenhouse at Fairhill is not known; in the early eighteenth century it would have been a simple affair with glass only on the south or southeast side. Before 1726 very little had been published on greenhouse construction, which was still in a developmental stage.[40]

Norris's "garden closet" adjoining the greenhouse also deserves note. Early on, a *closet* was often "a room for privacy or retirement; a private room; an inner chamber," as well as a space for contemplation.[41] At Fairhill this building became the library in the time of Isaac Norris Jr. It certainly had a greater purpose than storage for tools, since Norris used it for studious endeavors. Norris asked his son Isaac Jr., then in England:

> And if thou should meet wth—by any accident Cheap & a good landscape or Two—ye Prospect Geometrically extended—well & beautifully shaded—& good painting in w^{ch} thou may take judm^{t} of somebody of skill—I did not care if thou bo^{t} y^{m}—for my garden clossett—but as thou Remembers my begun designs on y^{e}

> Chimeny piece there think of such as may be coppy's for my finishing and well shading ye figures rivers hills fields etc.[42]

This quotation indicates that Norris practiced drawing and painting as a means of intellectual self-improvement. This greenhouse/garden closet may well have stood behind the brick wall to the left of the house in the drawing. The placement and the tall chimney suggest that it was the greenhouse, with the "closet" side facing the viewer and the opposite side facing east, as was usual for a greenhouse.

Norris first established Fairhill as an investment, a hedge against uncertain trade and politics and a natural extension of his increased wealth and political influence. However, as the house rose and the estate evolved, its purpose and meaning for Norris changed as well. Norris's letters over the second decade of the eighteenth century depict the unfolding of a religiously inspired resolve to retire to the country. In 1712 he proclaimed to English relatives that he was establishing a plantation, a large farm.[43] For a few years thereafter, Norris spoke of Fairhill as a "country house," as distinct from his city dwelling, and he apparently planned to use Fairhill seasonally. Yet by 1714 he had decided on a permanent retreat to Fairhill: "I am retiring to the Country and resolve to be contented wth less prospects as well as less cumber." In 1717 he moved his family out of the Slate Roof House and into Fairhill.[44] To a very limited extent Norris remained in trade, mostly helping Isaac Jr. and his sons-in-law establish themselves as merchants.[45] In public and religious affairs Norris remained busier than ever. Besides his continuing work for the Friends, he held numerous public offices. At this point in his career, what did retirement mean to Norris? Age presumably was not a factor, as Norris was only forty-three in 1714. Nor was his health impaired; rather, he seems to have been at the height of his energy. Samuel Carpenter, who had retired to Shackamaxon during the difficult economic times of the first decade of the century, may well have inspired Norris. Norris felt keenly Carpenter's death in April 1714, within a month resolving on his permanent retreat to Fairhill.[46]

Besides these personal factors, Norris's letters reflect several topics current in Quaker circles during this period, notably the Quaker concern for a "country life" and the commitment to plainness and frugality. Norris's phrase "less prospects as well as less cumber" reflects Penn's calls for a more private and contemplative, if less comfortable, life on the land. Norris devoted himself wholeheartedly to agricultural pursuits, in line with Penn's recommendation to "love labour" and "chuse God's trades." Even some of Fairhill's less necessary accouterments, such as the beehive and the greenhouse, fulfilled a dictum of Penn: "A garden, an elaboratory, a workhouse, improvements, and breeding, are plesant and profitable diversions to the idle and ingenious; for here they miss ill company and converse with nature and art."[47] Norris took this advice to heart and not only actively worked at farming but also regained an interest in the craft his carpenter father had taught him: "I have fitted up a shop of tools, & work at some joyners or carpenters business about my house & plantation or turn something at my lathe."[48]

Norris's life and thought also demonstrate concern for the Quaker ideal of plainness or frugality, also a concern of Penn's. Indeed, Norris wrestled with his conscience in these years, caught between desires for a lifestyle that accorded with his wealth and political power and his religion's demand for frugality—a common dilemma for wealthy Quakers. Frugality and its opposite, extravagance—how to define them, how to limit them—were major concerns of the Philadelphia Friends in this era.[49] Frugality, however, did not imply asceticism or parsimony. The Quaker "rules of discipline" cautioned against the *immoderate* pursuit of worldly riches but advised that wealth "brought within due bounds for the comfortable subsistence of ourselves and families and the charitable relief of others is not only lawful but commendable." *Plainness* in this era did not connote the drab "plain dress" that Friends later wore, but rather the common dress of the day, without excess ornament or fineries.[50] In a letter of 1707 or 1708 to the Irish Quaker leader Joseph Pike, Norris defended the notion that greater wealth could be reflected in a more luxurious lifestyle.[51] This principle perhaps guided Norris in his overall conception of the Fairhill house. He took the general scale, the quality of the appointments, and perhaps the plan itself from the Pemberton house outside Birmingham, an imitation that presumably put him above reproach among weighty Friends on both sides of the Atlantic.

Norris seems to have resolved to adopt a more consciously simple lifestyle soon after he started work on Fairhill, although the struggle never ended. Not long after beginning the house in 1712, for example, he considered making it twice as large, eventually deciding late in that year to restrict the size. Norris's increasing dedication to Quaker plainness was apparent in other ways in these years. In 1712 he ordered from England a coach or a chariot painted with a coat of arms, a decidedly extravagant and aristocratic luxury. A year later he desired that it only be painted with a simple cipher "IN," and a year after that he canceled the order altogether. After moving to Fairhill, and because he and his family still had to go into the city sometimes, Norris again ordered a coach but insisted on its plainness: "Altho a heavy coach must be avoided yet it be strong yt is made so by good stuff & good workmanship." Indeed, he regretted having to make the purchase at all because of the cost and its apparent departure from the principle of frugality.[52] Coaches generally raised eyebrows in early-eighteenth-century Quaker Philadelphia, and the city contained few. An aged Philadelphian told John Fanning Watson that in the early 1700s her grandfather had been "almost ashamed" to ride in his coach for fear of being seen as "effeminate and proud."[53] By midcentury, however, coaches had become more common, perhaps in large part because of the more widespread ownership of country seats. As Norris found, a family had to have some way of getting to and from the city. The vast majority of Philadelphia carriage owners listed in 1772 also owned country seats.[54] Wealthy persons who did not own carriages (such as Benjamin Franklin) also did not have a second home in the country. Even at that date, Friends lagged Anglicans in both the number and the value of their carriages, suggesting that the doubts that nagged Norris continued to operate in the Quaker community.

The struggle over frugality affected not just the size of Fairhill but other aspects of its building, most pointedly with regard to the weathervane on the cupola, itself a symbol of power. Norris admitted the vane's extravagance: "Another thing is a whim, but thou must get it for me. That is a weather-cock for the top of my turret which is designed to turn on a shaft ten feet long in the whole, and show the wind by a compass at the bottom."[55] When the weathervane arrived, Norris regretted its expense and style, which was fancier than he had wanted.[56] The weathervane, ornamented with a rooster, can be seen in the eighteenth-century drawing.

Frugality also affected the house's furnishings, a realm dominated by Mrs. Norris. In 1712 Norris ordered through his brother-in-law Thomas Lloyd some fancy furniture, including a large mirror, some sconces, and a couch. A year later he reduced the number of pieces of furniture and turned the decision about style and quality over to his sister-in-law: "I Desire sistr to bespeak the furniture Strong neat & plain as would please herself for such rooms."[57] Norris here deferred to the judgment of his relatives in England on a matter that might impugn him for extravagance. Indeed, he and his brother-in-law acted merely as go-betweens, for the letter indicates that Mrs. Norris stood behind the furniture order. Norris allowed an order for a mirror to stand, but when it arrived broken, he reacted with almost an admission of sin: "The extravagant great glass broke to pieces."[58] Likewise, in ordering a clock his concern resided with the quality of construction, not the ornamentation: "And speak to Josh Wilson to make me a good clock, the last I had of him no. (232) is such. But would have a walnut case the fineering well done wth the best glue upon seasoned oak or other good wood if thought better to hold agt our extremes of heat and frost, wth a spare glass."[59]

An illuminating illustration of tension within the Norris family between frugality and extravagance concerned liveries. Norris wrote that "I am not for a Livery, but my wife has a mind that the Servants who drive and go with the Coach should be distinguisht from the Others," and so he ordered liveries "strong and cheap, Either of a Dark Gray or a Sad Coullour . . . or any Grave Coullour thou likes."[60] Although some might fault Mrs. Norris for pride and extravagance, which Isaac evidently feared, her desire that liverymen be "distinguisht" from other servants might also suggest that liveries were appropriate symbols of a well-ordered society.[61] Indeed, uniforms would have elicited respect for the coach servants themselves.

A very thoroughgoing frugality, almost a back-to-the-land mentality, is evident in the following letter from daughter Deborah Norris to her brother Isaac Jr., then apprenticing in England: "We bake our own bread but brew not our own beer, because thou sold all our molasses, & stock's low, and make our candles. . . . Father has promised all the wood we burn this winter. . . . I think I promise fair for frugality, but whether I shall perform in all I'll not say."[62] The date of this letter, 1733, suggests that the Norris family's commitment to plainness had increased; retirement to the country and frugality affected not Isaac alone but his whole family. Indeed, a prosperous country life could be seen as the ideal ground for developing domesticity, a Quaker creation that facilitated the spiritual path.[63]

The Quaker commitment to plainness has often been debated, and it is difficult to see establishments such as Fairhill as "plain" if viewed in the context of most eighteenth-century Philadelphia residences. However, in comparison with estates of comparable wealth in England—a good example is Groombridge Place in Kent—or even with houses built in Philadelphia in the next generation, such as Belmont, Bush Hill, or Mount Pleasant, Fairhill and its landscape were relatively plain. This is not to say that the precise forms of Fairhill are inherently Quaker; they shared a common parlance for their time among the houses of Anglo-American gentry. But Norris did filter his design and construction decisions through his Quaker philosophy.[64]

Belair: Fairhill's Cousin

The Quaker Samuel Preston (1665–1743), one of Isaac Norris's closest friends, a business associate, and his brother-in-law, began building a country house of his own as Fairhill neared completion. Preston's Belair—the name dates from the early nineteenth century—represents another architectural variety of plantation house, a single-pile, central-hall form. Norris and Preston shared plants for farming and workmen for building.[65] There is no record of Preston's attitude toward retirement, but since he too was a staunch Quaker, his pattern of life matched Norris's: he constructed Belair at the height of his business and social activity; for a short while he maintained both city and country residences; eventually he retired to the country, returning to town only for public business. Architecturally Belair is perhaps most important for its surviving original interiors, among the earliest surviving in a Philadelphia country house. They suggest what the interiors of Fairhill and other houses of this period looked like.

Born on Maryland's Eastern Shore, where his Quaker family owned several farms, Preston moved in early adulthood to Sussex County, Delaware. There he began to make his fortune through mercantile pursuits and married Rachel Lloyd, a daughter of Pennsylvania's deputy governor, Thomas Lloyd. Along with his universally admired character, this marriage immensely aided Preston's rise to prominence in Pennsylvania business and politics, as Rachel's sister Mary was married to Isaac Norris and his sister Hannah married Richard Hill, two of the leading men in the colony. By 1704 the Prestons had moved to Philadelphia, where they quickly rose to prominence in the Quaker merchant community. At this time Preston stood in the ninety-fourth percentile of taxables in the city of Philadelphia. He reached his greatest prosperity in the second decade of the century, when he partnered in purchasing several ships with Norris, Hill, and others. A comment he made about one of their ships, the *Hope Galley*, reflects the Quaker willingness to spend money as long as it was for practical ends and sound construction: the ship was "not as a common New England or American [ship], not patcht up for sale but as a ship on w[hi]ch no cost or care [was] spared to compleat after the best manner, Season'd plank & choice timber, no Iron work spared, the workmanship Extraordinary."[66]

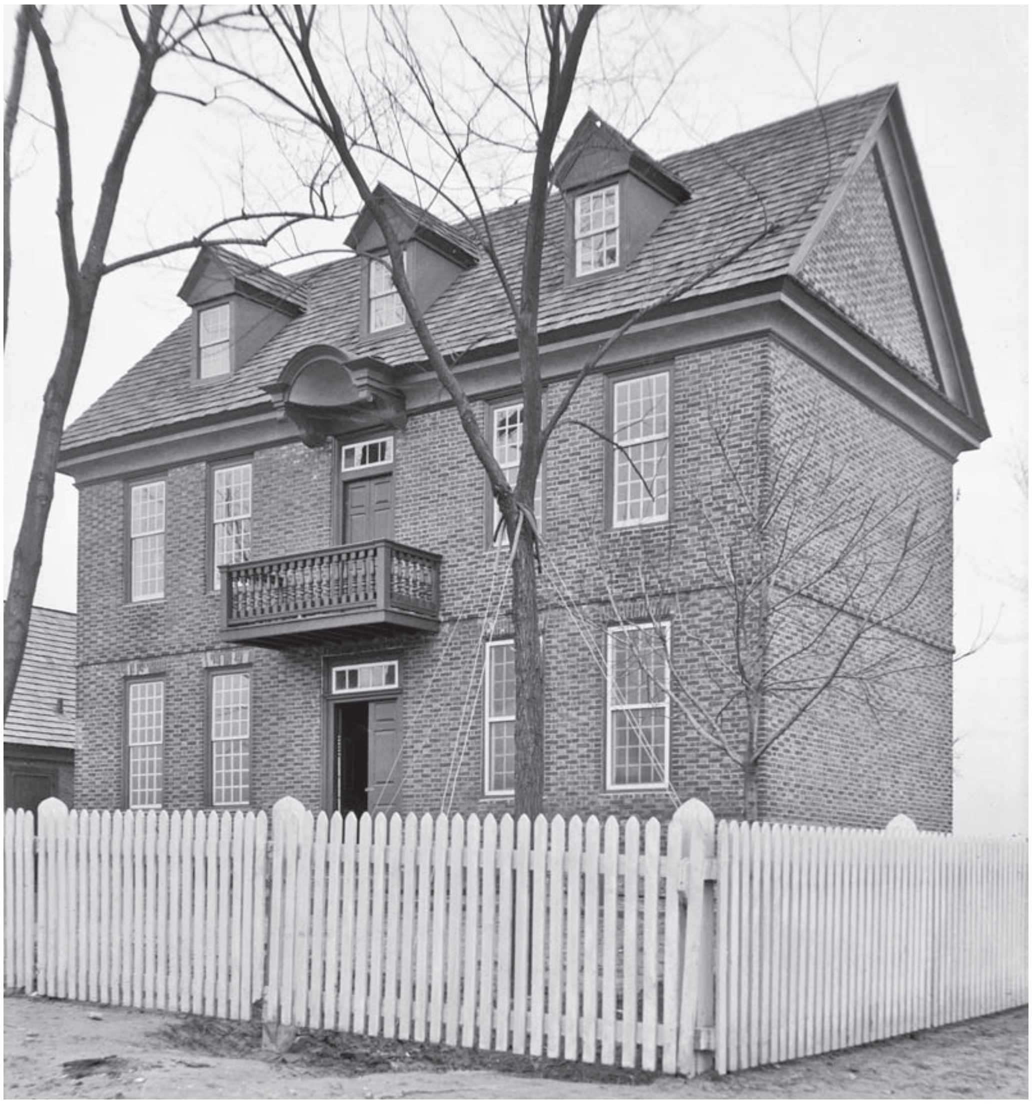
In 1714, at the height of his prosperity, Preston bought the land in Passyunk for a country house, property that had held a Swedish farm. Preston presumably began construction on his new brick house soon after the purchase.[67] The house probably neared completion by 1719, because after 1720 Preston pulled out of most of his business ventures and retired to his farm, where he spent most of his time. Thereafter he made the four-mile trip into the city only for Quaker business or for governmental reasons. He lived at Belair until 1735, when, compelled by ill health, he returned to the city. In that year he sold Belair to Alexander Woodrup, a Philadelphia merchant, for the substantial sum of £1,100.

Although the house was by no means simple or small, Belair, like Fairhill, was primarily a working, self-sufficient farm (p. 181). The house and the central area of the farm stood on a low rise in a flat meadowland divided by numerous tidal creeks. The large Hollander's Creek largely bounded the property and provided boat access from the Delaware River and the smaller Ship Brook. A 1750 plat by the surveyor George Heap shows a dock on Hollander's Creek, along with the house surrounded by agricultural appendages. West of the house stood the kitchen dependency, the poultry house, and a duck pond. Behind the house stretched an apple orchard. To the east lay a garden, probably for the kitchen, a cornfield, a fenced grass patch for grazing, a cabbage patch, and a barn with a cow pen. There was also a pond, which may have been for fish. Peter Kalm proclaimed his approbation of such features in Pennsylvania, commenting that "not only people of fortune, but even others that had some possessions, commonly had fish ponds in the country near their house. They always took care that fresh water might run into their ponds, which is very salutary for the fish."[68]

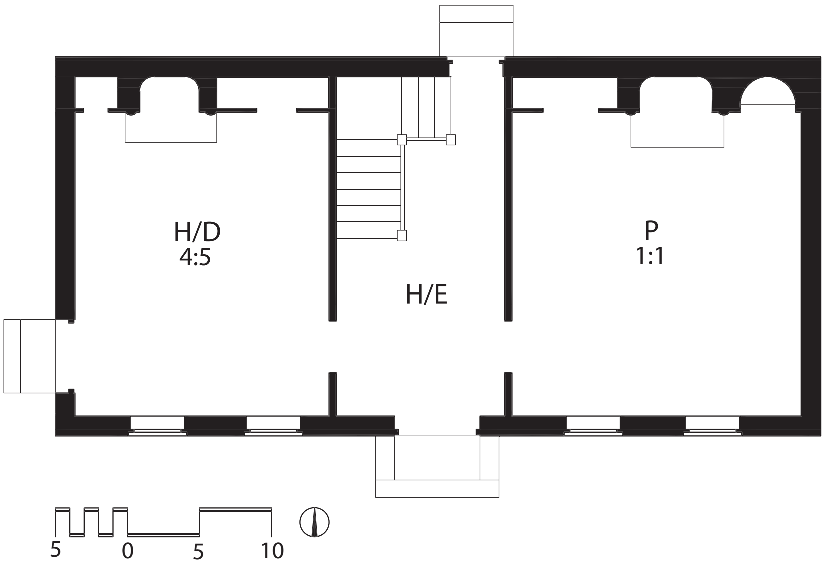
The only element in the landscape that could count as politely ornamental was a cherry orchard that stretched down to Ship Brook, providing a nice vista from the front of the slightly raised house. If standing in evenly spaced rows, cherry trees could be an ornamental feature, as well as fruit bearers. Peter Kalm commented that where there were cherry trees in the orchards, they were "commonly on the sides of them towards the house, or along the enclosure,"[69] thus putting them to decorative use. However, even Belair's orchard was separated from the house by the "old cow pen." That the pen was noted as old suggests that it dates from Preston's time. Preston's landscape partook even more thoroughly of the agricultural than did the one at Fairhill. Norris at least had an enclosed courtyard, albeit plain, at the front of the house, giving a sense of entrance from the drive.[70] Preston's front door opened toward a cow pen, which was more typical of yeomen farmhouses. However, the four squares shown on the plat directly in front of the house and connecting the house to the kitchen may have represented a series of fenced or walled yards to separate the farmyard from the more polite house.

The location of Belair generated its siting: the house looked south, directly down the Delaware River after it makes a bend at Mud Island. In Preston's day the mile of marshland between the house and the river lay open, and the house standing on a rise would have had clear lines of sight to ships on the river, perhaps an attraction to a merchant and former shipowner. The front of the house would also have been quite visible from the large bend in Hollander's Creek, although either from the dock or from the road from Philadelphia through Passyunk the visitor would actually have arrived at the side or back of the house through an unabashedly agricultural landscape.

One of the most striking things about Belair's main house is the austerity of the sides and back. Almost all architectural pretense appeared on the five-bay, symmetrical south front, with its tall windows and central doorway on both stories. In a design maneuver sophisticated for the period, the builders made the second-floor windows slightly shorter, reflecting the lowered ceiling height in this story. The second-floor door opens to a small balcony and is sheltered by an arched hood supported on console brackets. The low three-centered arches, the glazed headers, the plastered cove cornice, the steeply pitched roof, and the second-floor balcony and door hood identify Belair's house as an early structure in what is best known as the Queen Anne style. The balcony especially identifies Belair's house with this style. Not uncommon in the Philadelphia area, outside of Pennsylvania balconies were rare, usually associated with public buildings, such as the College of William and Mary (1695–1700) in Williamsburg, the Old Town House in Boston (1712), and City Hall in New York (1699). Several early private residences in Boston also had them, including the Peter Sergeant House (1676–79) and the Foster-Hutchinson House (1676–79). In Philadelphia they first appeared in town houses. Robert Turner reported in 1685 that in Philadelphia "we build most houses with balconies," indicating the form's seventeenth-century pedigree.[71] The "best or balcony chamber" or "balcony room," designations found in Philadelphia inventories and advertisements, was a second-floor space in a town house opening to a balcony similar to Belair's but overlooking the street or other view. An advertisement for a town house in Philadelphia's Society Hill neighborhood noted "a handsome balcony fronting the river, and piazza under the same . . . a new billard table in the balcony room."[72] In Philadelphia alone balconies migrated from the city and public buildings to country houses. They sometimes merged into a pent roof, no doubt in urban examples now lost but also in country houses such as Harriton (1704) and Grumblethorpe



Belair, front. HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 228, Library of Congress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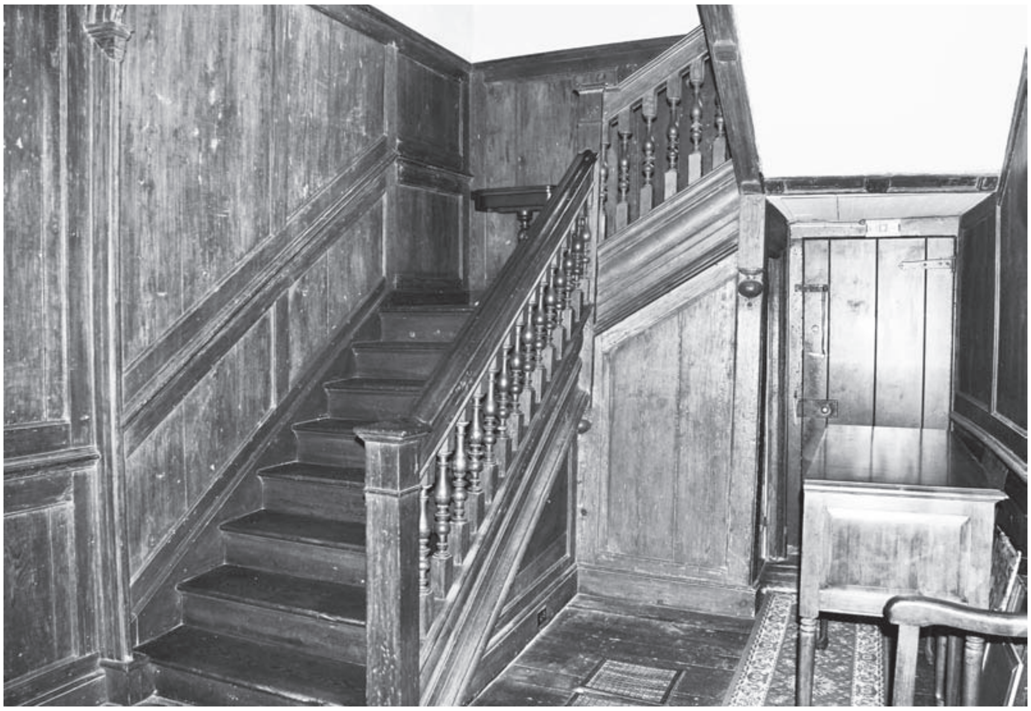
Belair, plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after drawings in Fairmount Park archives

(1744). The arched hood that we see supported on large console brackets on Belair was even rarer in the colonies than the balcony, but it was very well known in England.[73]

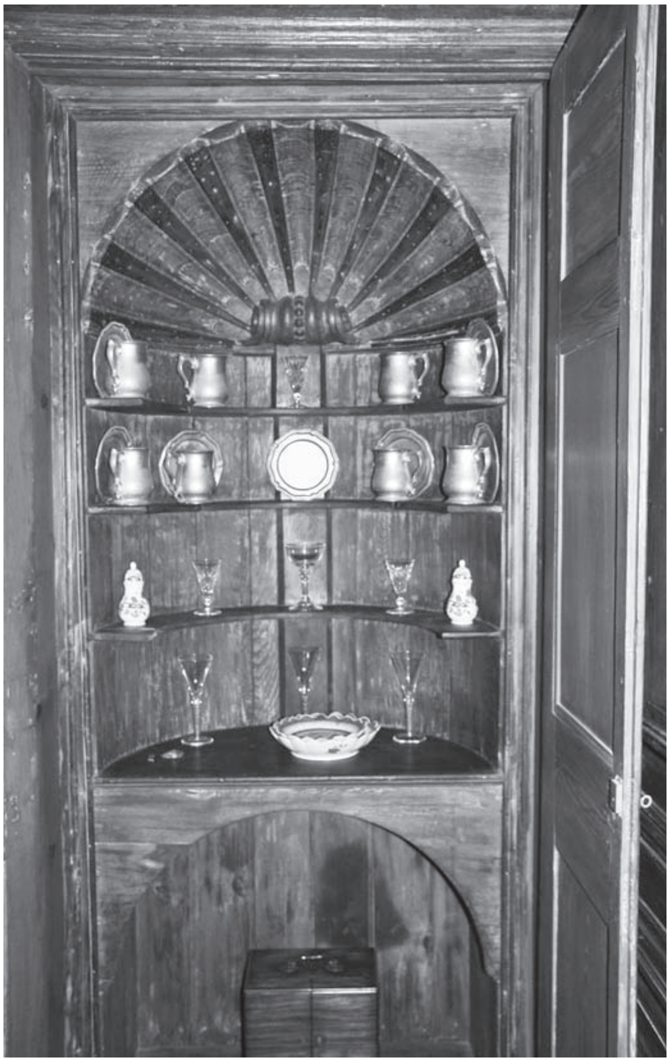
Belair's plan is very typical for large houses in the colonies, but it has some very unusual details. Symmetrical and single-pile, the plan has a central passage and stairway with a hall to the left, probably used for dining, as the kitchen is adjacent, and a more formally treated parlor to the right. This basic plan carries through all three floors.[74] Similar early colonial examples include Foster's Castle, New Kent County, Virginia (1690–1710), and the Nelson-Galt House, Williamsburg (1707–9).[75] Other Philadelphia country houses with this plan include John Nicolson's house on Ridge Road and the Bringhurst House (1771), near Gray's Ferry, both recorded by David Kennedy.[76]

Somewhat unusual for this plan form, however, at least in the colonies, is that the chimneys occupy the rear instead of the end walls, an arrangement found in English gentry houses and indeed very much resembling the arrangement of the front half of a double-pile house with interior chimneys. The front half of Fairhill had such an arrangement. The form also appeared in Philadelphia city houses located on a corner and having the entrance on the long side. The rear chimneys at Belair explain the lack of windows on that elevation—the only window lights the stair—but they do not explain why there are no windows on the ends. Perhaps no windows open the west wall because they would have faced the kitchen, the work yard, and the slave quarters, but surely the parlor and the parlor chamber would have been brighter and airier with windows on the east side. Even more mysterious is the precise chimney placement, asymmetrically placed in the rooms and different from one another. Perhaps this imbalance suggests an obvious nonchalance about symmetry and a possible desire to supply a larger closet in each room. However, the larger closets did not serve for the display of plate or china—too much of which would have been somewhat surprising for a Quaker of this generation anyway—because in the parlor the single obvious display space occupied the smaller niche flanking the fireplace.[77]



Belair, entry. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Other details give the house the wonderful richness of the Queen Anne style, the dominant style at the time for both city and country houses on both sides of the Atlantic.[78] The first-floor entry and stair passage, into which a visitor would be admitted, establish the themes that were then modulated up or down in the other spaces. Throughout the house the moldings project boldly, often with the characteristic Queen Anne bolection. Such profiles occur in the passage in the bulbous closed stringer of the stairway, the robust turnings of the balusters, and the strongly projecting chair rail, which delightfully carries across the lock rail of the doors to parlor and hall. These doors are topped by a segmental arch broken by a keystone drop that playfully grows upward into breaks in the ceiling cornice. This same playful character belongs to the elliptical arch that divides the hall into two spaces and frames the stairway. It too has a drop that grows up into the cornice and is terminated at the bottom with a pendant carved with an openwork heart. Similar drops hang from the newel posts.[79]



Belair, parlor cupboard. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Presumably the visitor proceeded from the passage to the hall or parlor, the doors to these spaces symmetrically located between the stairway arch and the front wall. If to the parlor, he or she met a crescendo of the entry's motifs (p. 128). The paneling here received strongly projecting moldings and a chair rail more robust than the entry's. Just as the stair distinguishes the passage, the parlor has a fireplace wall that in richness and complexity surpasses all other elements in the house. The fireplace itself is surrounded with marble and a bolection architrave and topped with a pulvinated frieze and a cornice that appears almost dangerously heavy. To each side, double doors are topped with elliptical arches decorated with sawn keystone drops that once again grow into cornice breaks. In this lavish display of woodwork the one true extravagance is the righthand closet, the doors of which, once opened, reveal a semicircular niche with butterfly shelves topped with a hemispherical dome carved as a scallop shell, for the display of china and plate. For its place and time this constituted an extremely impressive display of wealth and artistic workmanship.

Belair has to stand for its generation of polite country estates in the near environs of Philadelphia. The seats of Preston's close friends—Norris, Dickinson, Hill, Rawle, and Masters, the generation born in the 1660s and dying mostly in the 1720s—have all disappeared. Substantial in acreage, these estates served primarily the purpose of farming. The houses were large but not grand or showy. To our knowledge, none was of that most up-to-date of forms, the compact, or double-pile, house. In Philadelphia that would have to wait for a slightly later generation. Before we move on to that generation, there is one more example of early diversity in house form and a working landscape.

Fountain Low (Later Graeme Park): A Country Seat and Industrial Complex

Quakers had nearly a monopoly on country-house building in Pennsylvania's early years, the one exception to this hegemony being the colony's fifteenth governor, William Keith, a member of the Church of England. In 1719 Keith began construction of a distillery and country seat in Horsham, at the far northern limits of Philadelphia County. He called the place Fountain Low, but since the mid-eighteenth century it has been known as Graeme Park.[80] William Keith, of Ludquharn, was one of the most complex and colorful personages to grace the stage of early Pennsylvania.[81] He was born in 1669 in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and in 1714 he served as surveyor general of the customs for the southern districts of America, which encompassed Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Jamaica, and the Bahamas.[82] In this position he came to the attention of the Penn family, who installed him as governor of Pennsylvania in place of Charles Gookin. Keith arrived in Philadelphia in May 1717 with his wife, Ann; his four sons; his stepdaughter, Ann Diggs; and a young distant relative, Dr. Thomas Graeme. From his arrival until 1721 Keith enjoyed great success as governor, gaining both public popularity and the respect of the proprietor and his supporters. However, several of Keith's actions aroused the suspicions of the cautious and scrupulously honest Quaker leaders. For example, he undertook several land acquisitions that profited him personally. Keith's character became as offensive as his politics to the proprietary group. He was arrogant, a trait that increased after he inherited his father's baronetcy in 1721. James Logan commented that within a year it was "as if his very fabric had been changed with his appellation."[83] His high living, his attendance of risqué shows, and accusations of adultery led Quakers to question his morality.[84] In personal dealings he could be undependable and even deceitful. At times he also ignored instructions from his patrons, the Penn family, who in 1725 decided to replace him.

The Horsham estate represented one instance in which Keith turned a public debt into a personal windfall. The land had been owned by Samuel Carpenter,[85] who as treasurer of the colony early in the second decade of the eighteenth century had acquired some debts to the public purse that his estate satisfied by giving up the Horsham land. Keith somehow came into possession of this land for the substantially discounted price of £500.[86] A suspicion of impropriety surrounded this transaction, and Keith may never have paid for this land.[87]

Keith's name for his Horsham estate, Fountain Low, probably referred to the many springs and streams that supplied plentiful water. *Low* perhaps could be understood in two or more ways. In general, the entire area is low ground, but an archaic meaning of *low* was "mound" or "hill," and indeed at the center of Keith's property was an elevated point of land higher than any spot within three miles. Keith may well have intended the name to refer both to the springs and to the high ground, a favorable combination for agriculture and the healthfulness of the site. A possible additional meaning arises from archaic Scottish and British dialects, in which *low* means "blaze" or "flame," perhaps a reference to Keith's intended use of the property. Keith's manager was a Mr. Low, and the name Fountain Low may have been a joke for the fountain of alcoholic spirits that Mr. Low would produce.

Keith intended to establish a distillery and brewery for scotch, gin, and beer,[88] making Fountain Low first an agricultural and industrial center that only later became a country seat.[89] Keith's distillery and brewery would have served as a welcome outlet for grain products, thus enhancing the governor's reputation. Such a justification would have offset criticism about the method by which he acquired the land. Perhaps also inevitably for this governor, Keith's purpose would have riled some who were fearful of following in the footsteps of their brethren across the Atlantic, where distilled spirits were rapidly becoming a social problem during the so-called gin craze of the early eighteenth century.[90]

Keith built a malthouse at Fountain Low,[91] and an inventory of his personal property in 1726 listed several stills and other brewing equipment. However, no evidence suggests that he ever produced a large amount of alcoholic beverages. A 1737 advertisement for the property noted a building designed as a malthouse but gave no indication that it was equipped or serviceable for production. A later-eighteenth-century source treated Keith's attempt at distilling as futile.[92] In archaeological work at Graeme Park in the 1960s and 1970s the buildings mentioned in early advertisements, including the malthouse—later called the "longhouse" and used as a tenant and secondary dwelling—as well as a barn and several other agricultural buildings, were discovered.[93] In an early-nineteenth-century engraving (p. 88), the structure that stands in front of the mansion probably represents the malthouse.[94] It looks much like a barn, although its chimneys reveal it to be a dwelling. The walled garden and trees shown in the engraving date from the later colonial period. In Keith's day, an open courtyard filled this area. To have working or service buildings around courtyards adjacent to the fronts of country houses was common, as at both Fairhill and Belair. Archaeology at Graeme Park also led to the discovery of a large barn to the northwest. The entire complex was laced with a watering channel, part of the apparatus for distilling but then turned to account for farming (p. 169).

Keith probably began the house at Fountain Low in 1722 or soon thereafter, because he was deposed as governor in 1726 and so lost his annual maintenance from the Assembly, the source of capital for his investments. He had to release his personal property in order to establish a trust for Lady Keith, whose annuities Keith had consumed. He quickly sank into bankruptcy and fled secretly to England in 1728 to avoid his creditors.[95] After Keith's departure, his wife gradually sold much of the Horsham property, indicating her financial distress and suggesting that she probably made no further improvements. Thus any major construction at Fountain Low must have occurred by 1726, and the mansion can be dated 1722–26.

Although structural evidence indicates that the shell, the framing, and the chimneys at Graeme Park's house date from the time of Keith, most of the present interiors do not. The 1726 inventory of Keith's estate lists a profusion of furniture, plate, linens, and other items, testifying to the high living frowned upon by the Quakers. However, items were listed by type rather than by room, as if the material was packed away in storage after it was shipped from Keith's main residence in Philadelphia. Indeed, the amount of furniture listed would not have fit into the house at Graeme Park even if it had been fully completed.[96] Moreover, paint analysis and other physical evidence in the house suggests that only a few rooms were finished in this early period.[97] The second owner, Thomas Graeme, at first advertised the property for rent, stressing the availability of the malthouse, which he thought might be used for other industrial purposes. The advertisement mentioned a "large stone house and a good barn all in order for a tenant to enter upon," which surely would have been an understatement if the mansion had been completed.[98] As late as 1755 Graeme noted that he had greatly improved the park but had not yet significantly improved the house, an indication that the finer interiors were not yet finished.[99] Further, stylistic evidence suggests a date closer to the mid-eighteenth century for most of Graeme Park's wonderful Georgian woodwork (see chapter 12).

How much Keith lived at Fountain Low is uncertain. While governor, he and his family lived in Shippen's "Great House" in Philadelphia, the official governor's residence.[100] The inventory of 1726 indicates that after Keith's dismissal his household moved to Horsham, but Keith himself maintained a residence in Philadelphia in order to promote his restoration to power, which he could not do from isolated Horsham. Keith's family evidently lived at Horsham both before and after Keith left for England in 1728. A 1764 letter written by one of Keith's sons, Robert (born c. 1708), notes remembrance of his parents' portraits at Horsham.[101] Robert left the colonies in 1729, so his memory must have been of the late 1720s. Lady Keith may have lived at Horsham until 1737, by which time all of the estate had been sold.[102]

The plan of the present-day Graeme Park is unusual, even unique, in American architecture, a fact that has generated much speculation about its origin.[103] However, physical evidence for early alterations allows a reconstruction of Keith's original floor layouts (p. 168), and it emerges that the house belongs to a well-known type of the period, the three-cell plan. Fountain Low's original first floor had three rooms. On the west end lay the original kitchen, with winder service stairs in the northeast corner running all the way to the garret. The middle room ran front to back and held the main stair, to the second floor only.[104] The east end held a very large space, probably intended for a parlor. The original second and third floors followed suit. Winder service stairs landed on the second floor at an unheated passage divided from the kitchen chamber by a partition. The detailing of the present main stair indicates a probable date of 1740–60: it has a closed stringer, an old-fashioned form, but its balusters have a form that stylistically matches the form in Delaware valley examples of the period 1750–60.[105] The original main stair would have allowed a larger central chamber with a symmetrical fireplace wall. The east end, again, held a large parlor chamber. The garret originally comprised only three spaces divided at the lines of the chimney blocks. This plan represented the "full" version of the much more common truncated form for a rural house, the hall-parlor (or hall-chamber) plan, ubiquitous in all the American colonies. The Barnes-Brinton House, in Chester County, Pennsylvania (1714), provides a fine local example.[106]

The salient characteristics of Keith's original plan appear as three rooms in a line: a parlor at the better end of the house; a hall with the main entrance and stair; and a kitchen with a service stair at the lower end. All three rooms had exterior entrances—the parlor at the front, the kitchen at the rear, and the hall both front and back, the opposed entries suggesting a cross passage between the hall and parlor. All three rooms had a fireplace, and the interior chimney stacks allowed each stack to contain four fireplaces. This house form was extremely common in England for rural houses of the yeomanry and lower gentry in the seventeenth century and also occurred elsewhere in the colonies. Archaeological or documentary evidence survives for several Delaware valley houses that had a three-cell, or longhouse, form, all built by wealthy colonists recently arrived from Great Britain. Given the extremely low survival rate of Pennsylvania's first-generation houses, many more probably once existed. Thus Keith built within a recognized local context. Especially similar to the house at Fountain Low was the original form of Shomack Park, near Philadelphia, built by the Robeson family c. 1700 and now demolished.[107] Its cellar plan indicated its original form, with exterior dimensions of 23 feet deep by 55 feet long, almost exactly those of the Fountain Low house. It had three rooms very nearly equal in size, a kitchen (indicated by a large relieving arch in the cellar), a hall, and a parlor.

In its earliest period only the east rooms of Fountain Low's house were finished, that is, painted, although the first-floor hall was probably at least plastered. The present paneling throughout the house dates from a later period, and only in the original kitchen space is there plaster behind the paneling. The Keiths probably used some rooms in an unfinished state, a common occurrence in the colonies, even among wealthy families. Few surviving interior features date from the Keith period, beyond the floors and a Queen Anne–style door in the former kitchen.

The exterior, however, remains much as Keith left it and represents a successful struggle to achieve pretension and monumentality within a traditional building form that would already have seemed old-fashioned to many among Pennsylvania's elite. Indeed, the house at Graeme Park appears much more vernacular than country houses such as Fairhill or Belair. It belongs more with early structures such as the Thomas Fairman House or Clarke Hall in Philadelphia. The builder obviously worked within the vernacular tradition, but his use of scale, composition, and detailing raised the mansion above most rural vernacular colonial architecture. The north facade was clearly meant to be the entrance front. Although not completely symmetrical, its composition has balance, with a high degree of vertical alignment. The placement of its six bays produced symmetry within the original three rooms. The four dormers stand symmetrically on the roof, and three of them align with bays below. Most importantly, the red sandstone masonry is exceptionally fine, being very regularly laid and with much conscious manipulation of coursing. The segmental relieving arches over the first-story windows act as decorative as well as structural devices. The symmetry of the west wall gives a formality that allies it with the north front and distinguishes these two elevations from the south and east. This formality accords with the original location of the entrance drive, which approached the house from the west and north. The window frames and most of the sash that survive today date from the Keith period, making them some of the earliest windows in the Delaware valley.

Graeme Park's gambrel roof also marks the house as vernacular. The line of grander Philadelphia country houses, beginning with Fairhill, if not before, favored the simpler gable or the even more classical hip. However, the region once possessed many large gambrel-roofed houses, most of which have been destroyed or altered. For example, the Emlen House in Whitemarsh, not far from Horsham, was a long, narrow, two-story stone dwelling whose roof was converted from a gambrel to a gable in the early twentieth century. Germantown was once full of gambrel roofs, but only a few survive. Extant examples comparable to Graeme Park in scale and monumentality include the Cooper House in Camden, New Jersey, and the Downing House in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

With one exception, details of the roof at Fountain Low also have a vernacular quality. The cornice consists of a simple colonial box, the gable ends are trimmed with a plain board nearly flush with the wall,[108] and the unpretentious dormers have shed roofs. However, the glory of the roof, and indeed the most elaborate architectural feature of Keith's original construction, is the elaborate brick chimneys. Their articulation in both plan and elevation typifies important colonial houses built in the early eighteenth century, a continuation of a tradition of English brick masonry stretching back to the Tudor period. Early colonial chimneys often possessed a T-shaped plan, a form both visually pleasing, through the variety given the skyline, and functionally articulate, as it expressed the individual flues. Just above the roof Graeme Park's also have projecting and diagonally stepped header bricks as decoration and perhaps as a bit of cover to keep rain away from the junction of chimney and roof. A recessed arched panel, probably originally stuccoed, fills much of the chimney. Finally, an elaborate corbelled cap with a stuccoed frieze band and a corbel over the center of the arch, a kind of artisan-mannerist keystone, terminate the top.

* * *

Fountain Low/Graeme Park's original purpose differed from those of the other three seats discussed in this chapter, although its practical nature as a distillery, perhaps more putative than real, allied it with the emphasis on farming seen in the establishments of Penn, Norris, and Preston. Those three, good Quakers all, intended their country seats as long-term, even permanent retreats from the city where they could practice God's work, agriculture, and live frugally and plainly. This unity of purpose contrasts with the diversity of house form, if not scale, seen in the three Quaker seats and at Graeme Park. In the next generation, a more standard house type, the compact, or double-pile, house, would arise.

CHAPTER 10

Establishing an Architectural Norm

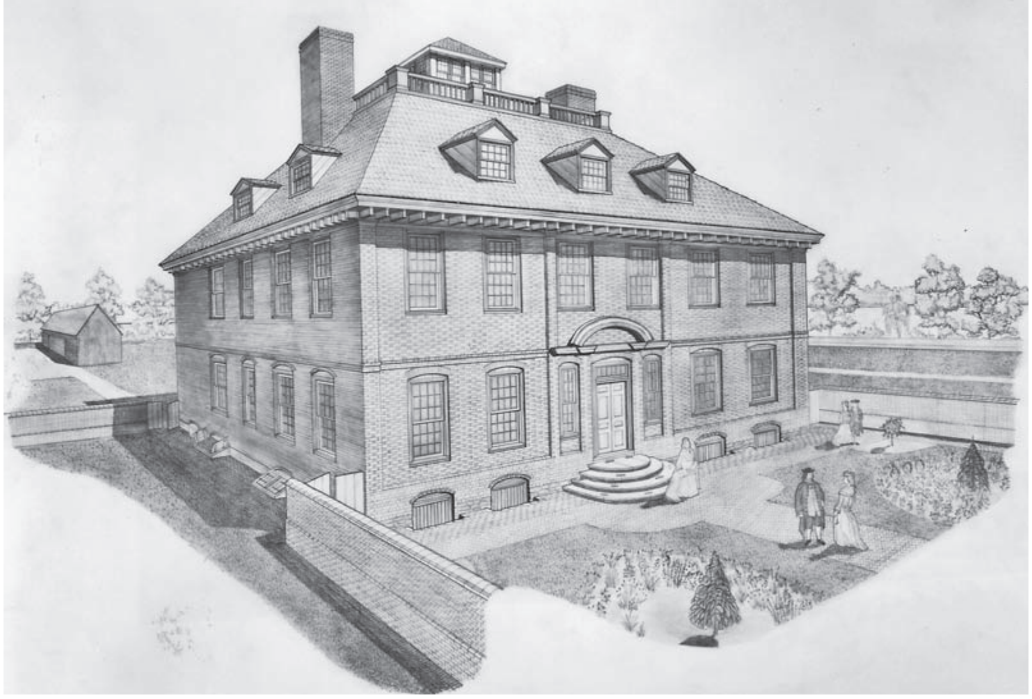
Stenton and Its Progeny

The compact house, especially in its most common form—two and a half stories, five to seven bays, hipped roof, brick, central-hall Georgian plan—has long stood as the normative form for eighteenth-century gentry country houses in England and the colonies. In this chapter we look at the inauguration of this type in Philadelphia with James Logan's Stenton. Once established, this type never disappeared. Stenton's offspring, especially Hope Lodge, show how a model could be varied to suit particular circumstances and an owner's needs and taste.

Stenton: The Fruit of a Classical Education and Scientific Inquiry

Stenton (1723–30) was the first self-consciously classical building in Philadelphia, begun at the same time and finished long before that other early paragon of Philadelphia Renaissance classicism, Christ Church (1727–44). Like Christ Church, Stenton had pilasters, if rudimentary, on its facade, and inside it had a full order, if not a completely correct one. Stenton also represents the first of other features that became common in Philadelphia: the first double-pile compact house; the first open-stringer stairway; the first modillioned cornice; the first route of parade that rose to the second floor. Stenton, like its owner and designer, James Logan, represented transitions in Philadelphia, rooted in the colony's past but also hinting at later eighteenth-century thinking.

The local houses that preceded Stenton would have suggested much to Logan. Fairhill and Belair probably influenced Stenton's plan and the location of its chimneys. Like Stenton, they had a detached kitchen from the beginning. Stenton originally had a cupola, as did Fairhill. Stenton's landscape, primarily agricultural and having a closed courtyard at the front, echoed Fairhill's. At the same time, Logan made sure that Stenton surpassed all



Stenton, reconstruction. Drawing by John R. Bowie, from *Stenton*

earlier houses in size and architectural sophistication, displaying a streak of un-Quakerly social competitiveness that bespoke a difficult rise to wealth and prominence from humble beginnings.

James Logan was called by his biographer the "most considerable man" in the Delaware valley in his lifetime. Born into a Quaker family, James passed his early days in Ireland and Bristol. He tried his hand at trade and failed but came to the notice of William Penn, who sensed his intelligence and readiness for adventure. In 1699 Logan sailed with Penn to Pennsylvania,[1] the young man's primary job being the handling of land affairs.

Logan's first decade in America did not go well. He felt shunned by the leading men, a feeling of social inferiority that perhaps later compelled Logan at Stenton to surpass Norris's Fairhill. To preserve himself from despair, he cultivated a stoic philosophy, educated himself through wide reading, and amassed books in great numbers.[2] In intellect he clearly saw himself as equal and even superior to other Pennsylvanians, not without reason given his considerable skill in languages and science. After a long trip to England, Logan returned to Philadelphia in 1712, determined to concentrate on business, especially the fur trade, a dirty trade in which Logan was "unscrupulous, hard, and venturesome" but also successful. He continued to help the Penns run the colony, and he married the much younger Sarah Read. At this time he was "firmly resolved never to set up a gentleman" but to "sit down and be content with ease and happiness instead of show and greatness," a resolution neither part of which he fulfilled for a long time, and then not completely.[3]

Perhaps because of his marriage and inspired by his fellow Quakers Norris and Preston, in July 1714 Logan bought the first piece of property of what would become his plantation Stenton, 196 acres in Bristol Township and the Northern Liberties. Soon thereafter he purchased 60 more acres in the Northern Liberties,[4] on which he built or renovated a house for his mother, his stepfather, and a few servants.[5] At that time Logan farmed the land with an overseer.[6] Logan vacillated for many years on building a great house, not being particularly unhappy with life in the city. He had children, made money, and began to see the promise of permanent settlement in Pennsylvania.[7] However, Logan, who was probably tired of renting various houses, clearly wanted to build something substantial. The event that determined his decision was the death of his mother in 1722, at a time of financial problems arising from the South Sea Bubble. These two events motivated Logan to relocate to Stenton. About his financial situation he whined, "Our Trade is sunk Our money gone. . . . I have very seriously proposed to my Self to retire into the Countrey while I have something left to help out what a Plantation may produce and accordingly this next spring I design to begin to fitt up the house for the Reception of my increasing family."[8] This statement suggests that he first intended to enlarge and renovate the house in which his mother had lived. The next year, however, trade improved. Logan decided to remain in business, and he began work on a new house in the country. Like Norris, Logan was unsettled by doubts about cost and fineness, torn between his own inherent frugality and a desire to appear suitably dignified but also remain outwardly a faithful Quaker. In hindsight, and somewhat ingenuously, he wrote:

> I have built a large brick house on it of 51 ft by 40, two good stories in height, very convenient & not unsightly, if it stood better. I expected to have been in it before this time, but being not fully plaster'd, I now know not whether I shall gett thither before winter. I made great mistakes in building it, I designed it a plain cheap farmer's stone house, but my Quarries entirely failed me. It then lay 2 years to find others but none could be found that would not cost dearer than brick. I therefore resolved on this, ye model & disposition naturally drew on ornament & ye whole will as naturally draw on an expense by visitants & will by no means suit me.[9]

In other words, for want of stone, which abounds just to the northwest of his property in Germantown and would cost less than brick, he was forced to adopt a larger, more sophisticated plan and exterior than he wished to, a design that inevitably needed ornament, which obviously increased his construction cost enormously and would draw curious visitors, thus costing him in entertainment expenses. All this seems a little hard to believe.

The events of Logan's life in this period and his evolving social philosophy provide a more convincing rationale for the altered state of what Logan called "My Plantation House." In 1723 he began, frugally enough, what may have been a "plain cheap farmer's Stone house." A year later, however, work stopped, and Logan returned to England in response to an attack on himself and other merchants by a revived antiproprietary party. In England he renewed old acquaintances with prominent persons, including many learned scientists,[10] and also conducted some good business, for when he returned he rented a town house for three more years and determined to stay in business, at least for a short while. The idea of retirement had not vanished, however, as he still found public life irksome: "I now proposed to quit [trade and public business] & change ym for a retired Life on ye Plantation I have mentioned wch I have since enlarged, & am building on it a conveniencey for my family."[11]

He may also have spent time in England looking at new houses that merchants were building, for when work resumed on his plantation house in late 1725 and 1726 he referred to the structure as "a large stone House." This is the phrase he used in asking the Philadelphia County Court of Quarter Sessions for permission to relocate the road from Philadelphia to Abington so as to open a new quarry "of fine stones" on his land.[12] The cellar was in fact completed in stone, but in the building season of 1727 the brick walls of the house rose. Thus from 1723, when trade was only just recovering, to 1727, when robust trade had made Logan finally quite comfortable, Stenton evolved from a vernacular, if fairly large, structure to the largest, most stylish house in Philadelphia.

Quaker scruples about building grandly apparently did not much trouble Logan. In this he differed considerably from Isaac Norris, a difference explained by their dissimilar attitudes toward religion. Norris possessed a fervent piety, while Logan was much more of a pragmatist; although he was a believer, Logan set limits to his faith.[13] Moreover, by the 1720s Logan had actually quarreled with the Quakers, especially over their pacifism and what he saw as hypocrisy.[14] Logan followed his own personal preferences in his lifestyle and living arrangements. While Stenton in its grandeur may or may not have reflected indifference to what other Quakers thought, Logan never embraced the conspicuous consumption that the Norrises did: Logan never had liveried servants, nor did he ever buy a large coach, let alone one that he considered ornamenting with a cipher or coat of arms. He did employ a cipher of himself and Sarah on a tankard made for their marriage, but this was a much more private object than a coach. This difference may reflect the two men's respective wives. Norris's wife, from the titled Welsh Lloyd family—the Welsh being notorious for insisting on respect due to titles—seems to have demanded the trappings of rank, while Logan's wife, from the relatively humble Read clan of Philadelphia, constrained her husband. Norris embraced frugality more as he aged, whereas Logan was more willing to spend money.

Another factor in Logan's life during this period may also have played a role in his final resolve to move to the country and in certain aspects of Stenton's design. In the fall of 1726 the rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, lent Logan a copy of William Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated*, published in London that year, an explication of rational theology that demonstrated how the truths of revealed religion could be deduced from nature with mathematical logic. Logan, despite quarrels with Quakers, was a man of faith who had long had an interest in mathematics and science. He was delighted by the harmony Wollaston proposed between religion and science, calling his book "a piece for which one may justly . . . congratulate the age."[15] Wollaston's work inspired Logan to begin his famous experiments to prove the sexual nature of corn, experiments that would bring him fame among the intelligentsia of Europe.[16] At this same time, Logan began to tutor the nascent botanist John Bartram, of Kingsessing, and to pursue research into optics and mathematics. By the time of his old age at Stenton, Logan had become the foremost mathematician and one of the most respected scientists in North America, one of those who advanced the Enlightenment in the American colonies.[17]

Logan may have moved to Stenton to cultivate this life of the mind, much as Norris had done in his move to Fairhill.[18] Stenton itself may have constituted a scientific experiment for Logan. Its evolution proceeded by a series of hypotheses begun, tested, and then given up for something better. The house also contains many experimental contrivances with regard to heat, ventilation, and convenience. Finally, Logan laid it out with more than usual deliberation with regard to mathematical proportion and geometry. Like Christopher Wren or Robert Hooke in England or Thomas Brattle in Massachusetts, Logan connected architecture with mathematics and with experimental science in general.[19] In this light, Logan and Stenton became agents of Enlightenment science and reason, moving

Philadelphia's society and architecture away from the traditionalism that characterized its earliest period.

In January 1728, in the midst of building Stenton, Logan fell and broke his hip, an injury that left him on crutches for the rest of his life. He had a bed set up in the parlor of his town house and determined to finish his plantation house "with all dispatch" so that he could "retire with his family into the Countrey."[20] Although the injury debilitated and undoubtedly disheartened him, Logan had some compensation in the satisfaction he derived from his "handsome house," an early assertion of pride in a piece of architecture in Pennsylvania and the earliest of many comments on building by prominent Philadelphians to the new proprietor, Thomas Penn, who was interested in architecture, particularly the country seats being erected in his colony.

The Logans did not move permanently to the country until 1730, when the sufficiently completed house offered reasonable comfort. His family went ahead to fit up the house. On 21 November Logan wrote, "I am just now removing into ye Countrey, where my Wife and family already are." Less than a month later he wrote to his brother in England: "We have been removed to our new house in the countrey about 3 weeks. I have proposed to call ye place Stenton after the Village in E. Lothian where our father was born."[21]

Even after he moved to Stenton, Logan never completely left business in Philadelphia. He kept a bed in his town house and stayed there on the weekends for First Day (Sunday) Meeting. He turned his mercantile business over to his apprentice, Edward Shippen, and later to his son William.[22] He also remained active in government. During this period the Penns bought him a four-wheel chariot to make trips from Stenton to Philadelphia and the Lower Counties. He also became vital in Pennsylvania's relations with the Indians. Logan's fur trade had given him contacts with tribes in the hinterlands of Pennsylvania and New York, and he was an adviser on all the many treaties written in this period. Stenton became a meeting place for Indians and officials from Philadelphia; in 1736, 110 Indians stayed for three days at Stenton eating and drinking. For the Indians, Stenton had taken over Pennsbury's symbolic role.[23]

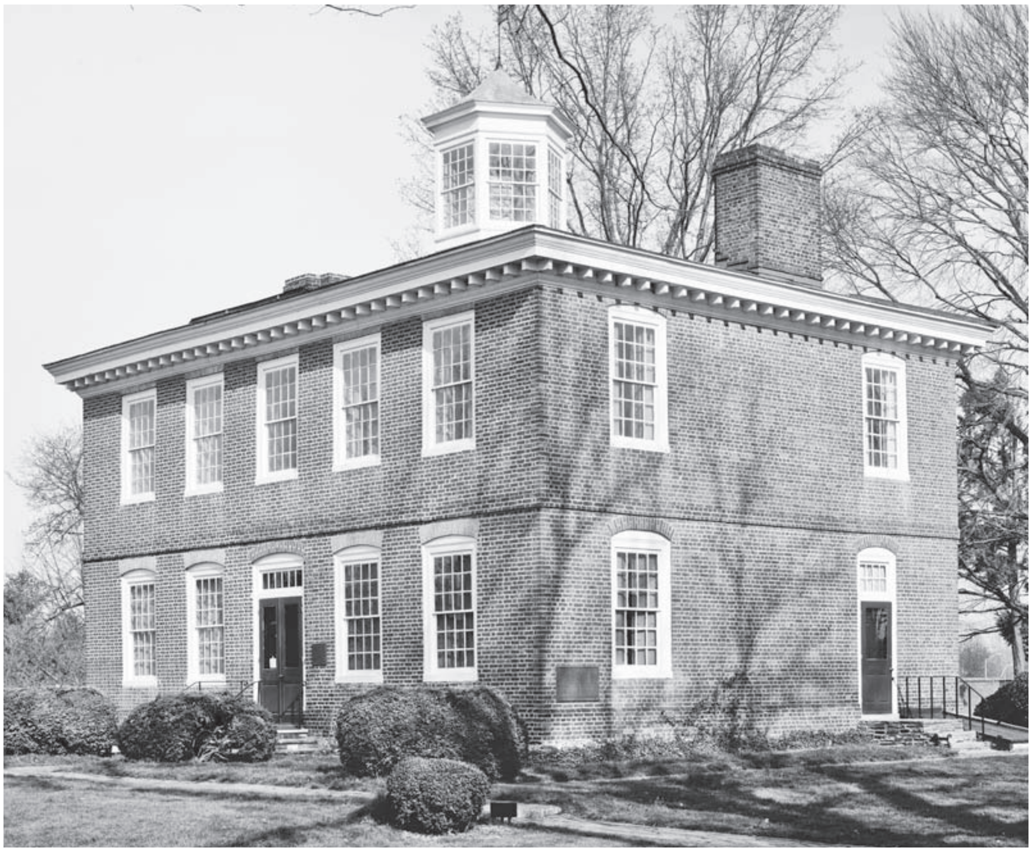
Stenton stands at the northwest end of the slowly rising ground today known as North Philadelphia, just at the base of the much steeper rise to Germantown. The ground in the immediate vicinity is fairly flat, and Logan evidently had a lawn near the house that was kept level with the "stone garden rowler" mentioned in an inventory.[24] Walls originally enclosed the front and side yards, making the place seem "gloomy" to later generations used to the greater openness of the later-eighteenth-century landscape.[25]

Compared with later Georgian houses, Stenton sits low to the ground; originally the grade was lower, exposing part of a stuccoed rubble stone foundation.[26] Although the partly crippled Logan must have appreciated the few steps he had to climb to enter his house, he criticized his own house because it did not "stand better."[27] This criticism implies a preference for a prospect, which the flat ground did not permit. (Perhaps the cupola was an attempt to remedy this.) Little is known about Stenton's landscape in James Logan's time except that it was a working farm. No mention of a garden or vista has been found in his correspondence. We know that he kept cows, pigs, sheep, and horses and that he grew oats, wheat, rye, and lucerne.[28] Logan saw the plant world as another opportunity for study. In 1743 he realized that he had few books on "botanic subjects." "I know of no subject more becoming a young man's study," he wrote to Peter Collinson and asked him to remedy this lack.[29]

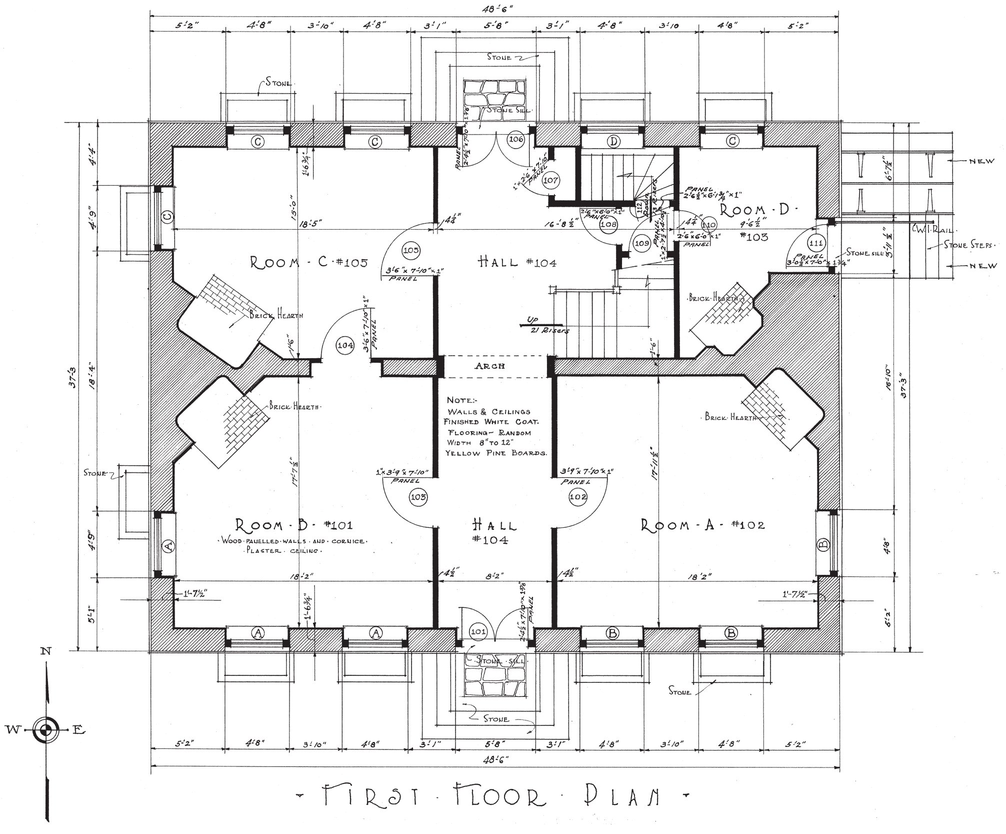
Stenton belongs to the compact-house type, just becoming standard in England and America for the gentry class in this period, and was the first of its type to appear in Philadelphia. Neither Fairhill, Belair, Fountain Low, nor, probably, Pennsbury broke out of the pattern of building blocks no more than one room deep. Logan probably was unaware of the scattered early examples of the compact house in America, all of which reflect a common source in the mother country. However, he must have been aware of the country seat William Trent had built in what would become Trenton, New Jersey. The Trent House was the most substantial pile erected to that date in the Delaware valley, with the possible exception of Shippen's Great House. Shippen's house might well have been a double-pile structure, which would have made it a clear model for Stenton.

The Trent House today consists largely of a restoration and reconstruction, but research confirms the general outline of its plan and exterior. Stenton's exterior unmistakably resembles the Trent House's in its general scale, its Flemish and English bond brickwork, its segmentally arched windows in the basement and on the first floor, its modillioned cornice, its hipped roof, and its cupola. At the same time, the two houses differ in their siting, their general disposition, and their plans. The Trent House was sited and planned as a true villa, with views up and down the Delaware River and consequently identical front and rear elevations. In plan the Trent House had an uninterrupted and unheated central hall with the stair pulled off to one side. However, this elegant and sophisticated arrangement, which prefigures later Delaware valley villas, accompanies the inelegant though constructionally efficient expedient of paired corner fireplaces on the end walls, which Stenton did not have.[30] From Stenton on, corner fireplaces did not appear in Philadelphia houses except in secondary spaces and in houses belonging to persons ranking lower on the socioeconomic ladder. Perhaps Logan saw the outside of the Trent House but never set foot inside. Unlike the Trent House chimneys, Stenton's lie inside, which allowed for a fireplace in the central hall, heat in the garret—which was not possible with end chimneys and a hipped roof—and more closets, in addition to conserving heat and making for easier internal symmetry and balance. On the last point, Belair and Fairhill, both of whose chimneys are internal, may have influenced Logan. Indeed, in many ways Stenton represents Belair doubled in depth by mirroring the front in the rear pile.

Logan's trip to England during his period of cogitation about Stenton also allowed him to see up-to-date examples of the compact house there. Mompesson House, in the Close at Salisbury (1700), might be relevant for Stenton because Logan was a friend of Roger Mompesson's.[31] Besides its overall form, scale, and style, all similar to Stenton's, the Mompesson House might also have suggested to Logan the use of narrow windows flanking the central entrance and the division of the hall into front and back with a slight shift in alignment. Of the English examples mentioned in chapter 1, Stenton compares most closely with the "House for a Merchant" and originated at exactly the same time (mid-1720s) and in the same milieu: Bristol, where Logan visited business associates, relatives, and fellow Quakers on his English trip.[32] Among the Bristol architect's instructions are several items that apply to Stenton: the necessity of many closets, especially in chambers; restricting wainscoting to a dado in chambers, evidently not the usual practice; and the stair wrapped around three sides of an open well, instead of the more usual scissors stair, with a single landing halfway up. "This enlargement of the Well upwards gives a better view of the Stairs and Cieling, and adds a beauty which cannot be imagind by those who have not seen the experience of it." Because the general trend was to eliminate heat from



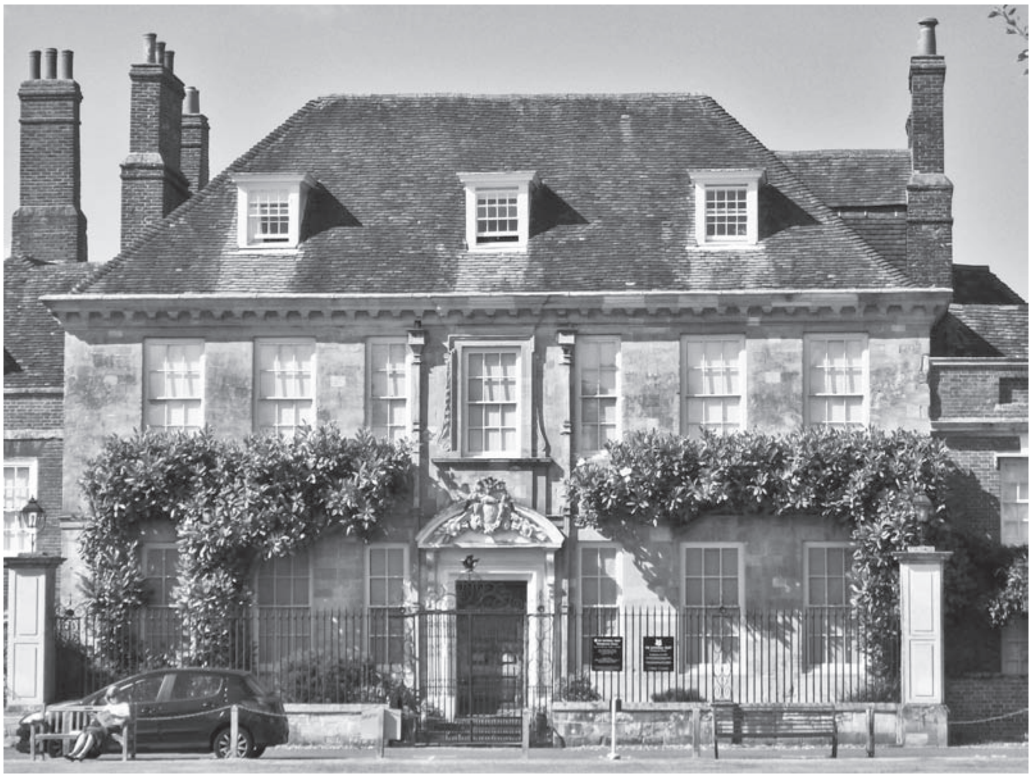
Trent House, in Trenton, New Jersey (1719), a possible precedent for Stenton. HABS, NJ, 11-TRET, 6, Library of Congress


48'-6"
Stone
Stone sill
Room · C · #105
Hall #104
Room · D · #103
Brick Hearth
Up 21 Risers
Arch
Note:-
Walls & Ceilings Finished White Coat.
Flooring - Random Width 8" to 12" Yellow Pine Boards.
Room · D · #101
· Wood · panelled · walls · and · cornice ·
· Plaster · ceiling ·
Hall #104
Room · A · #102
Panel
C.W.I. Rail
Stone Steps
New
N
W
E
· First · Floor · Plan ·

Trent House, plan. HABS, NJ, 11-TRET, 6, Library of Congress this space, Logan's inclusion of a fireplace in the front hall at Stenton was old-fashioned, a reminder that the English were slow to give up the traditional hall as a year-round living space.[33]

One of Stenton's most striking and unusual features is the division of the facade into an even number of bays (p. 123). Logan wanted an equal division of rooms on the second story, giving him an unclassical six bays and a central pier. Six-bay houses occurred in England in the seventeenth century but were uncommon thereafter in either England or the colonies; they occurred more frequently in Scotland and Ireland.[34] Perhaps Stenton represents what linguists call a relict construction, with a feature allowable early in the evolution of a form that was later considered incorrect in the mother country but still acceptable in a provincial situation.

Four pilaster strips articulate and ornament Stenton's facade, dividing it into three bays and corresponding with the internal divisions of the first story. A stringcourse topped by a course of molded bricks at the second-floor line provides a balancing horizontal line. Signs in the brickwork suggest that the house originally had a wooden cornice hood over the door, segmentally arched to fit below the second-story windows. Such arches were then very fashionable. The full gridding found at Stenton, with pilasters or pilaster strips in addition to stringcourses, rarely occurred in the American colonies before midcentury. Two examples occurred earlier than Stenton, the Foster-Hutchinson House in Boston (1676) and Archdale Hall, Dorchester County, South Carolina (1706). Examples were more common in the 1740s; an early Philadelphia church, St. Michaels Lutheran (1743), has pilaster strips very similar to Stenton's.[35] Pilasters and pilaster strips were common in English architecture of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and it is surprising that they did not appear more often in America. The agricultural writer John Mortimer,



Mompesson House, Salisbury, England (1700). James Logan may have visited this house on a trip to England before beginning Stenton. Photograph by Matthew Francis Carter per Google Images writing about rural houses, recommended projections in the brick at corners and where principal beams projected, because the wall between could be thinner and because they made the wall look more graceful.[36] Stenton's piers respond to plan and structural divisions, though their presence only on the front indicates that aesthetics was a more important rationale.

Stenton's central bay presented Logan with his greatest challenge in designing the exterior, a challenge he solved ingeniously, if not completely satisfactorily with regard to the rules of classical architecture. Stenton's two stories did not line up properly at the center, but several devices helped achieve balance and distract the eye from the misalignment. First, the width of the door matches exactly the solid panel above. Next, additional thin pilaster strips were introduced between the door and its flanking narrow windows, and the arches over these windows and door lie in the plane of the pilasters, unlike the windows in the two bays to each side, where the wall is recessed. This makes almost all the masonry of the first-story central bay stand forward and creates the effect of a projecting central pavilion, an effect that would have been heightened by the original cornice and door hood. Finally, the cornice and hood would have firmly separated the two stories, rendering their disparity less noticeable.

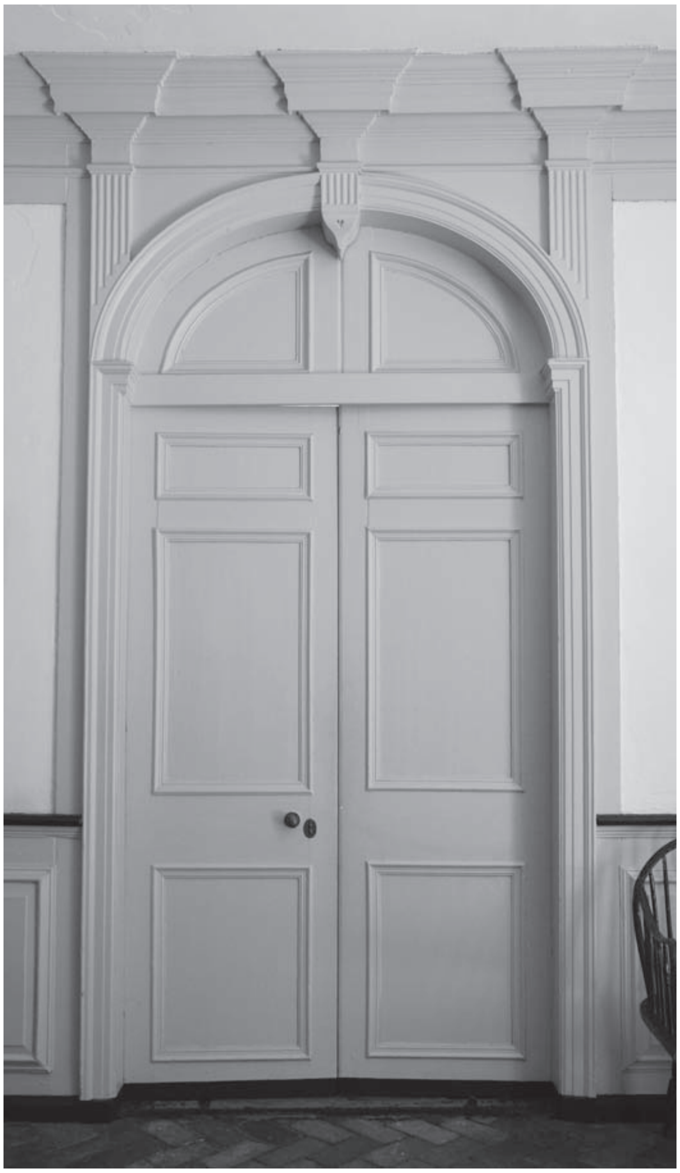
Stenton's exterior is fairly monochromatic today and in comparison with such later polychromatic houses as Mount Pleasant would always have seemed so. It is unclear whether Logan originally used white or a reddish-brown paint on the woodwork.[37] Whichever was used, there would originally have been more color than is now apparent. The brick, now aged and dirty, would have been more orange; the glazed headers would have stood out; and the rubbed brick of the arches and stringcourse would have been orange brown, contrasting with the main walls, a contrast emphasized further by whiter mortar in the arches.[38]

Less usual, a balustrade and cupola originally rose from Stenton's flat roof deck. Several eighteenth-century sketches depict the cupola but are too small to give any detail. The surviving deck framing suggests that the cupola was approximately 10 feet long and 7 feet deep, and some surviving remnant boards indicate that it was covered with painted tongue-and-groove siding. Atop it stood the weathervane Logan ordered from a Captain Wright in London in 1741, writing, "And bring wth thy self a Copper weather cock for ye top of our Turret pr. not exceeding 50 Shills."[39] The balustrade survived longer than the cupola, appearing in an 1823 drawing by John Fanning Watson. Pieces of it found in the attic suggest that it had heavy Queen Anne corner posts.[40]

As we have seen, cupolas appeared on a number of the largest early Philadelphia country houses of the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, including Stenton, Fairhill, and the Trent House.[41] As in England, the next generation in Philadelphia saw the cupola as old-fashioned or unnecessary, perhaps because it was distinctly un-Palladian. A pediment and occasionally urns replaced it as architectural displays of taste and status on the roof. Elsewhere cupolas remained more popular, particularly in New England. Tidewater Virginia also has later cupolas, most notably that at Mount Vernon.

Stenton's entry hall contains the crossing of two equally important axes, those of movement and social space (p. 146). Various elements of architectural and interior design reinforce the importance of the two axes. Although a self-conscious interest in architectural space more readily characterizes English houses from midcentury on, Stenton reminds us that even in the colonies a sequence of spaces was not a new concept.[42] In plan the hall is shifted slightly to the right, making the best parlor slightly larger than the little parlor and putting the front door directly in line with the rear-hall door and stair. The only full pilasters in the house draw attention to this arched doorway. The arches, but not the pilasters, repeat on the side walls over the doorways to the parlor and the little parlor, which establish the hall's cross axis. A subtle distinction between doors also differentiates the two axes: the taller arched doors to the stair give a full view up to the first landing and its window and reveal that the route of parade goes not only forward but up. The doors to the parlors have square heads, the arch above being filled with paneling. Toward these rooms movement is only horizontal, and the arches disappear inside the adjoining rooms. The elimination of both orders and arches plays down the asymmetry of the front wall of the hall. This wall lies behind the visitor; presentation—what's in front—is most important. Upstairs, a slight widening of the hall and a pair of double doors—one of those to the library is false—reaffirm symmetry and put the visitor directly opposite the double doors to the best chamber.

The pilasters that flank the doorway to the rear hall are remarkable simply for their presence, as full interior orders were rare, even in England.[43] They also best represent the mannerist quality of Stenton's Queen Anne woodwork. The woodwork in the hall is the second finest in the house. In both the front and rear halls it was originally painted a yellow ochre,[44] a tonality that continues up the stairs and was repeated in the best chamber and the library, color thus reinforcing this route of parade.[45] The costs of gold and straw colors was in the middle range of pigment costs in the eighteenth century, although yellow was a difficult color to get right and was not part of the usual paint hierarchy in England.[46] Somewhat surprisingly, the hall fireplace does not have a Delft-tile surround, which was typical in most first- and second-story rooms,[47] perhaps because in cold weather the room was not used for long periods. The herringbone-patterned brick floor, set over a vault in the cellar below, could never have been cozy in cold weather, but it would have been cool in the summer and appropriate for muddy boots upon entry.

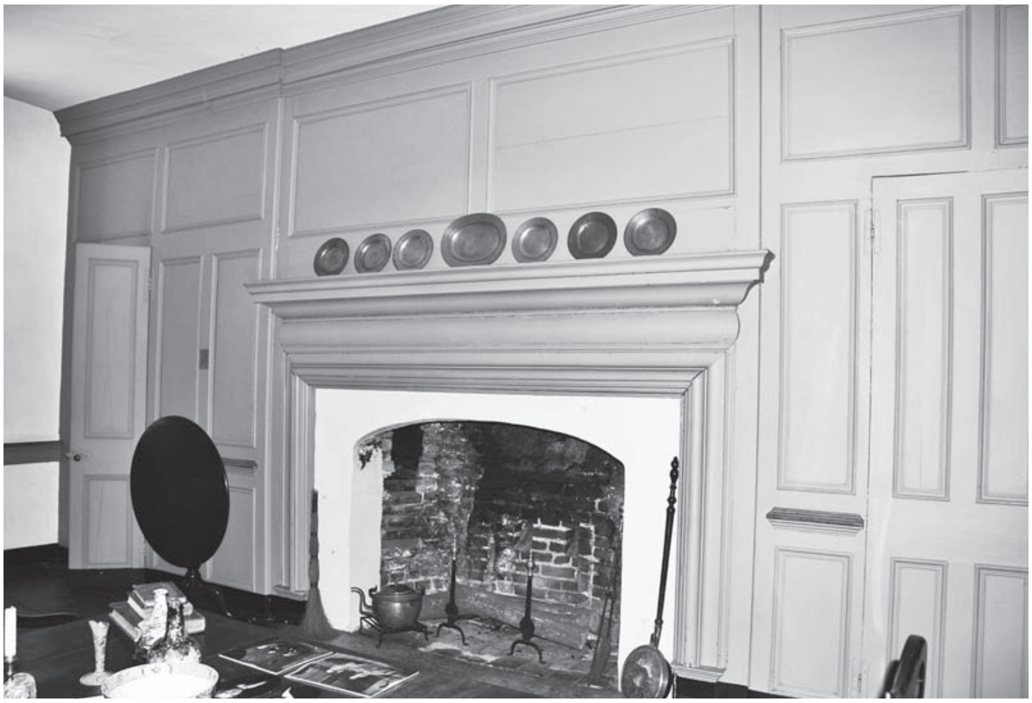

Stenton, door to parlor. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

The arched doorways on each side of the entry hall established its cross axis, but entry into those rooms showed that Logan was evidently not aware of, or chose to ignore, one of the staples of classical design in plan, the enfilade, or "visto." He could easily have created a most emphatic one in the front suite of rooms by not only aligning the doors across the hall, which he did, but also shifting the side window of the little parlor toward the front and eliminating one window on the west wall of the best parlor. He might also have employed the same arrangement on the second floor. It should be noted that in the best parlor a large mirror listed in the inventory might have stood between the two side windows, thus creating something of an enfilade.[48]

The parlor (or best parlor) establishes the top of the house's internal hierarchy. Architecturally it was the most elaborate room in the house, being the only room with full-height paneling on all four walls and symmetry on all four elevations. Its original color was a moderate gray, in the eighteenth century called "lead color," made with white lead and lampblack pigments.[49] This color was among the less expensive pigments in the eighteenth century, though more expensive than white. Logan's bedchamber, behind the parlor, also had lead-colored woodwork.

As the centerpiece of an eighteenth-century room, the fireplace received special treatment, a King of Prussia marble surround arched, molded, and supplemented by Delft-tile jambs. In the fireplace stood a fireback displaying Logan's initials, "IL."[50] The gray of the marble and the room's gray paint complemented each other. To the left stood an elaborate display cupboard, arched and with a keystone, which interrupted the otherwise strict gridding of the room's design but attracted attention by recalling the signposts of spatial movement in the hall. This cupboard's doors are unique in the house in having eared architraves. When the pair of arched doors was opened, they revealed a hemispherical vault ribbed like a scallop shell—recalling a similar feature at Belair—and five shelves, the top four having a butterfly shape.[51]

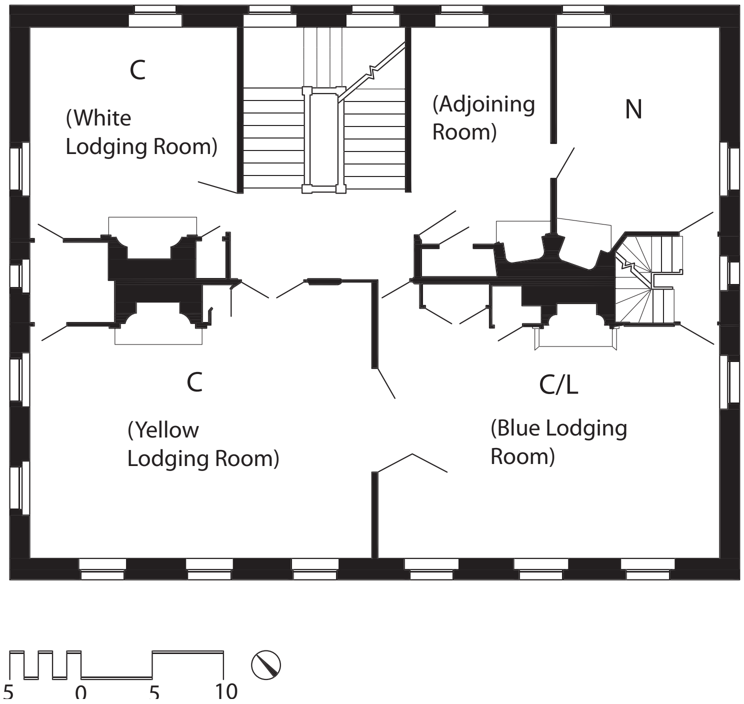
The other end of the cross axis in Stenton's entry hall was the little parlor, which received a lesser treatment than the hall and the best parlor, with no attempt at symmetry on any of the elevations. A closet to the left of the fireplace, possibly for papers and other valuables, is vaulted but for structural support of the chimney. However, other elements prevent the room from sinking too far in the hierarchy. For example, the window shutters



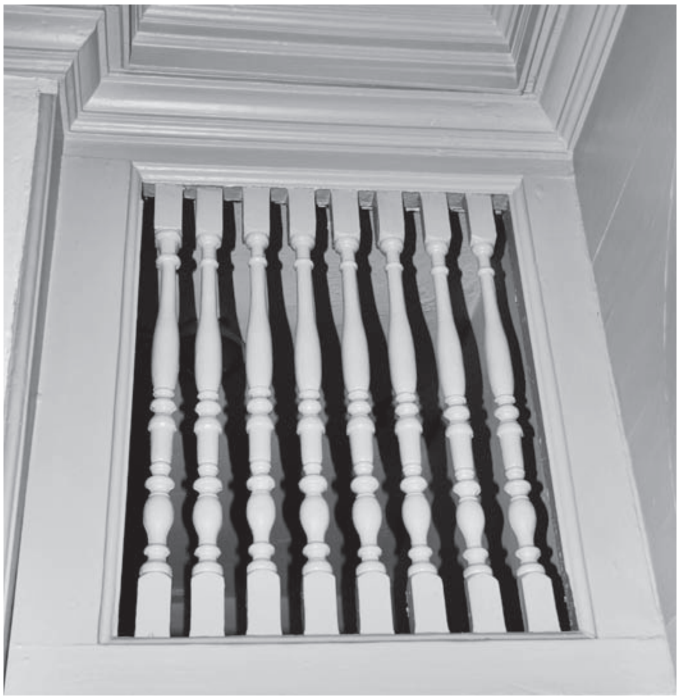
Stenton, dining room. Photograph by Mark Reinberger have the second nicest panel molding in the house, after those in the best parlor. Most importantly, the fireplace had an arch, a plain white Delft-tile surround,[52] and a bulbous bolection architrave standing on plinth blocks. This room was painted white, a fairly inexpensive color. Through a passage and back stair, it acted *en suite* with the dining room behind it, both everyday spaces not on the route of parade.[53] The dining room was painted a moderate brown, or café au lait color.

The two second-floor spaces across the front of the house acted *en suite* as the terminus of Stenton's parade: with the unique triple-folding doors opened between them, they formed a wonderfully grand, light-filled, elegant space 48 feet long and nearly 20 feet wide and overlooking the garden to the east. Deborah Logan wrote of the space: "The Library where the opening doors and windows form as fine a current for the air as any place I know of and the view with the folding door open thro' to the South window now curtained with vines beautifully interwoven with each others' branches and admitting a mellowed Green Light most grateful in this extreme warm day."[54] The western half of the space acted as the Logans' primary bedchamber; Sarah may have slept alone here after James was confined to the first floor. The room's common name might have been *parlor chamber*, although it appeared in the inventory at Logan's death as the "yellow lodging room," its original paint and upholstery color being the yellow ochre of the hall-and-stair sequence.[55] Yellow fabric was common in important bedchambers.[56] The eastern half of the front suite received the name "blew lodging room," although this must have referred to upholstery alone because here too the woodwork was painted yellow.[57] The display of textiles was one of the major purposes of this suite of spaces.[58]

The blue chamber served as James Logan's library.[59] That it was treated more simply than the adjoining chamber matches English usage of the early eighteenth century; not until the second quarter of the century did architecturally elaborate libraries become common.[60] Logan must have spent many happy hours in this room. His daughter, Sarah Logan



Stenton, second-floor plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Stenton*



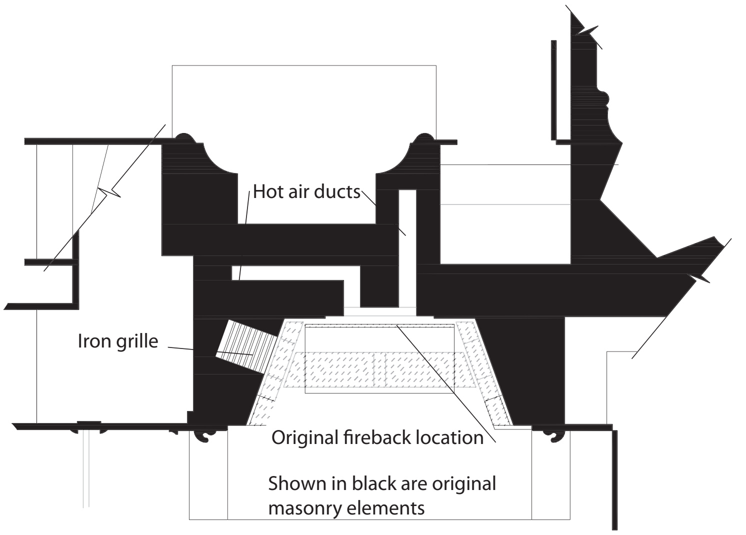
Stenton, grill in dining room. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Fisher, wrote of the space: "I am sitting writing in the Blue Room window, which commands a pretty view of the garden and meadows."[61]

Throughout Stenton, Logan demonstrated an interest in contrivance, or small but significant conveniences, and an inventiveness comparable to and not seen again until Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. On the first floor the major rooms interconnect by passthroughs—with one another, with the outside, and with upstairs and cellar—in ways that made Stenton convenient and private for both family and servants. For example, the best parlor connects to all three rooms surrounding it and to the outside. The dining room communicated with the service yard to the rear, the garden, the hall, and the front office/common parlor, as well as with the cellar and upstairs via the service stair. Likewise, every room on the first floor has at least one and often two closets, and these differ as to finish and use. For example, the dining room has a pantry closet with an inner lockable closet and another closet in the service stair. Small spaces were never wasted. In moving upward, window seats on landings of both main and service stairs provided lighted rest spots. Closets abound upstairs as well, and many are angled for convenience and to maximize space. Fireplaces in the two chambers over the dining room have slight angles to throw heat more directly into the rooms.

Logan also experimented with heating and ventilation. The dining room's pantry closet had a ventilation grill of delicately turned balusters open to the hall, where air would naturally circulate upward. To further encourage airflow, Logan installed ventilator panels in the ceiling of the garret stairhall, which was originally open to the cupola, where open windows created a chimney effect.[62] The dining-room fireplace incorporated an early hot-air heating system for the rooms above. Cool air introduced behind an original fireback was heated and rose through ducts, perhaps to the garret. This system probably reflects Logan's reading of a

Stenton, fireplace plan, Logan's contrivances for heating and cooking. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Stenton*

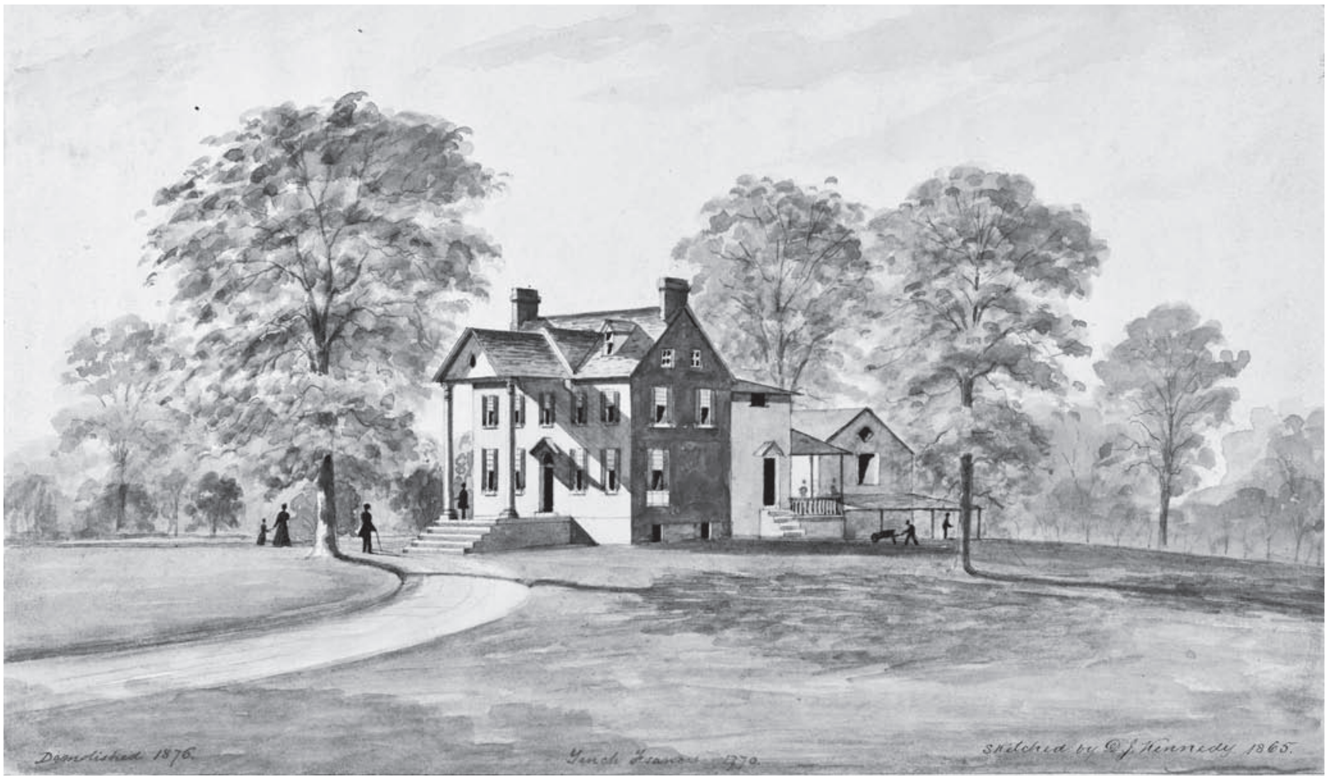

Hot air ducts
Iron grille
Original fireback location
Shown in black are original masonry elements

book he owned, Nicolas Gauger's *La méchanique de feu*, published in Amsterdam in 1714, a book that also influenced Benjamin Franklin's thinking about stoves.[63]

The Progeny of Stenton, Especially Hope Lodge: A Very Fancy Farmhouse

At first glance Stenton has few followers among surviving Philadelphia bourgeois country houses. This is surprising because in other parts of the colonies Stenton's formula—often now called the Georgian plan—constituted the single most popular form for large houses. However, the absence of this form in the environs of Philadelphia results from the historical accident of survival. Advertisements for country seats indicate that there were many houses similar to Stenton. For example, the country seat of Oswald Peel, a wealthy merchant and ship captain of Philadelphia, was described as "a large commodious well finished Brick House, two Stories high, four large Rooms on a Floor, having a good Cellar under the whole, with a Kitchen adjoining, . . . known by the name of Peel Hall."[64] Peel Hall rose soon after Peel bought the land in 1742. He at first called the place Greenhedge, renaming it after himself when he retired there permanently in 1749.[65] Celia Fiennes, traveling between 1684 and 1703, described "the new mode of building, 4 roomes of a floore," referring to the new compact house in England.[66]

Immediately next door the country house of Francis Jones and later his nephew Edward (built in the 1730s or early 1740s) lay west of Springettsbury and formed part of the Vineyard Tract, a reminder of William Penn's efforts at grape cultivation.[67] The place was described as a "valuable plantation," notable for its pasture, its fields of grain, and its orchard. In 1768 the Jones family sold the seat to the merchant Tench Francis Jr. A watercolor by David J. Kennedy


Demolished 1876.
Tench Francis 1770.
Sketched by D. J. Kennedy 1865.

Tench Francis House. Watercolor by David J. Kennedy, HSP depicting the house on the property shows a house with a Georgian plan and end chimneys, as well as a clearly later two-column portico.[68]

The Stenton formula strongly appealed to rural gentry elsewhere in the Delaware valley. Among others, houses built according to this formula includes Primitive Hall, West Marlboro Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania (1738); Moore Hall in Schuylkill Township, Chester County (mid-eighteenth century); and Trevose, Bucks County (1730). The sole surviving country house in the near environs of Philadelphia that exhibits obvious inspiration from Stenton is Hope Lodge, known throughout the colonial period as Whitemarsh House because of its location near the village of Whitemarsh.[69] This village contained an inn or tavern, a mill, a tanyard, an Anglican church, and several dwellings, making it a typical small rural settlement,[70] in which Whitemarsh House would have stood like an English manor house. The house was built by Samuel Morris (1708–1770), a man who straddled the line between urban and rural gentry and had trouble deciding to which he belonged.

Morris, a Quaker miller from Upper Dublin Township, in Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, came from an English and Welsh Quaker family of yeoman and artisan background. Then thirty-two, Samuel began buying property in Whitemarsh in 1740 with the purchase of a mill and a mill tract. Soon after that he bought the land on which Whitemarsh House would rise, and eventually he acquired several hundred acres in the immediate vicinity. Accounts indicate that construction on the house began in 1743.[71]

In 1742, after buying the mill and some of the land, Morris made a rather curious life change: he moved to Philadelphia, where he invested in storehouses and ships, putting together a commercial enterprise that shipped wheat, a Philadelphia staple.[72] He identified himself at this time as a "Merchant of Philadelphia County,"[73] suggesting continued allegiance to his rural roots, but he transferred his membership from the Gwynedd monthly meeting, which included Whitemarsh, to the Philadelphia monthly meeting. While living in Philadelphia he began construction on Hope Lodge. Two years later, in 1744, with Hope Lodge probably little more than a shell, he moved back to Whitemarsh and transferred his membership back to Gwynedd, where he remained the rest of his life.[74] Many have speculated on the reasons behind Morris's actions. Either he built Whitemarsh House as a permanent dwelling, intending all along to return to the country after a brief sojourn in the city, or he intended to make the city his primary residence and began the house at Whitemarsh as a country seat but changed his mind during construction. Perhaps constructing a large dwelling and maintaining two residential establishments overtaxed his pocketbook. Architecturally the house has qualities that support either contention. Hope Lodge represents the very large house of a countryman with a few touches of sophistication that show the influence of the city. However, it is not as self-consciously stylish as Stenton, let alone the houses of the urban gentry then beginning to rise closer to Philadelphia.

Samuel Morris's spotty accounts for Whitemarsh House indicate only a few craftsmen.[75] The plasterer William Plasket came from Trenton to do plaster work inside and stucco work outside,[76] which is perhaps significant since certain aspects of the house recall the Trent House. Other entries mention bricks, glass, shingles, and masons' work. Shingles bought in 1745 indicate a date for closing in the shell, two years after construction began.[77]

The landscape around Hope Lodge accommodated farming and other practical activities. Its flatness offered no dramatic vistas or other ornamental landscape features, but it was well suited to growing crops. Morris grew much grain and hay, raised livestock, and quarried and burned limestone for sale in Philadelphia. Nothing in the landscape could be called ornamental, but an axial walk led from the road to the central door of the house, through walls at the road and closer to the house, where steps are today; that is, there was a simple axial sequence of enclosed spaces, as at Fairhill and Stenton. A 1785 lease agreement mentioned typical agricultural attributes of the place.[78]

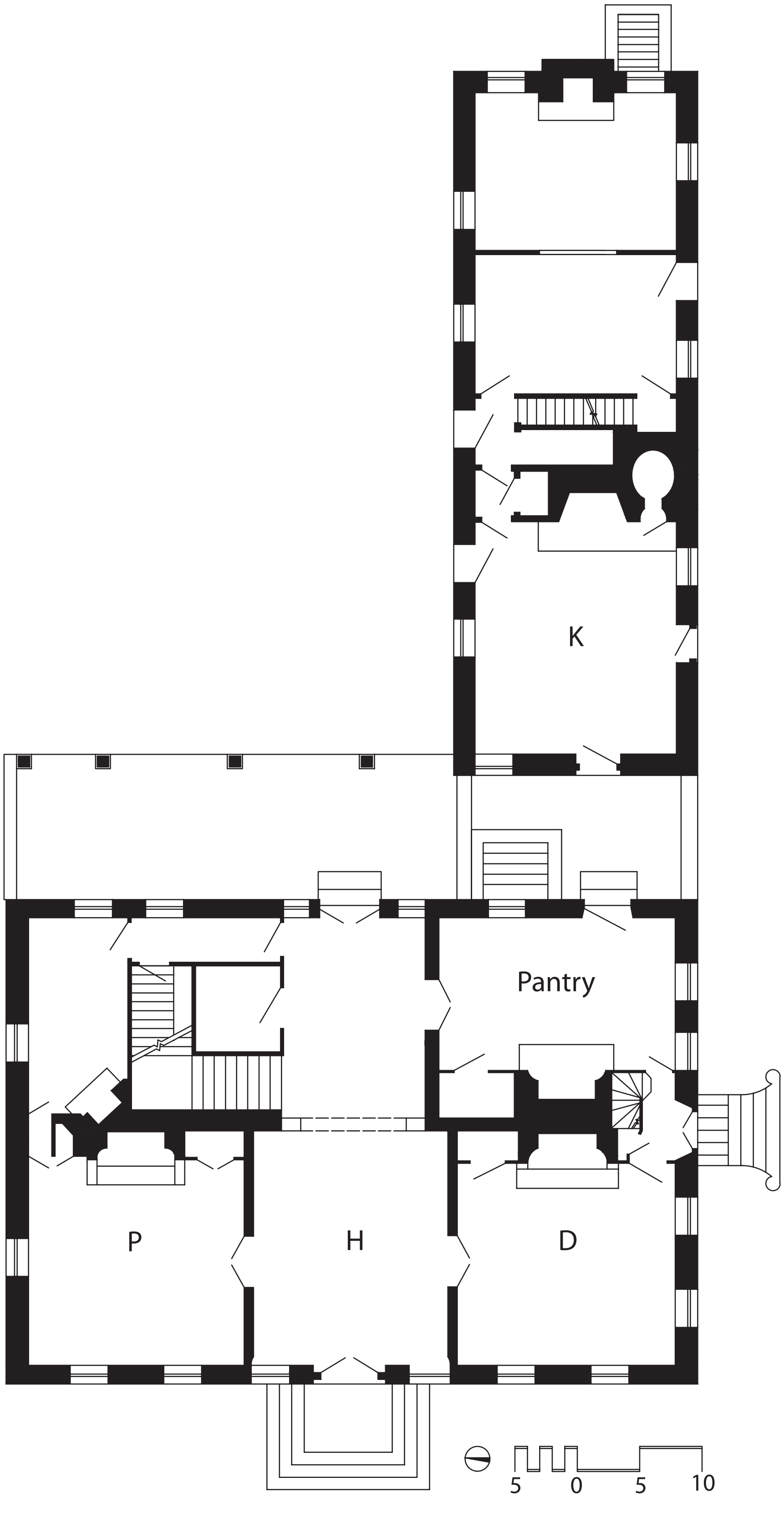
That Hope Lodge derives from Stenton almost goes without saying. Nearly identical in scale—Hope Lodge measures 56 feet by 40 feet, Stenton 51 by 40 feet—both rise two stories above low cellars and have hipped roofs. The fronts of both are brick and self-consciously symmetrical and classical, with the sides and rear less so. Both had service piazzas across the rear and back buildings that housed kitchen and wash functions. Finally, both have double-pile, central-hall plans with a similar arrangement of rooms.

Hope Lodge's facade represents a correction of Stenton's unclassical six bays and awkward smaller first-floor windows (p. 125). The facade at Whitemarsh suggests that a sophisticated builder was involved in the design. On each side three windows flank an extraordinarily tall doorway. (The State House had the only comparably sized door in Philadelphia at this date.) The door needed no transom, because large windows adequately lighted the hall. A pedimented hood and cornice top the door and flanking hall windows, uniting the three openings and accentuating the center. The stone steps, originally pyramidal, also drew attention to the door.[79] This focus on the center—Stenton's great failing—received further emphasis from the blind-arched niche above, Hope Lodge's most distinguishing feature. This niche filled a spot where no window was needed inside, but more than that, it dramatically established the front's central axis. Such a niche appears nowhere else in American colonial domestic architecture, though it often appeared in England, for example, at Eltham Lodge (1663). It also appeared in churches in the Philadelphia area, notably St. Michael's Lutheran Church, Philadelphia (1743), and Old Trappe Church in Trappe, Pennsylvania (also 1743, the same year as Hope Lodge).[80] Hope Lodge's niche has fine detailing: rubbed and gauged brick for the impost blocks and archivolt with thin, very white lime putty joints. Wood painted to simulate brick forms the actual keystone cap. Despite its stylish character, the niche would rapidly have seemed dated and indeed belongs to the Queen Anne style, as did the door hood.[81] Brick appears only on the facade of Hope Lodge, whereas Stenton had brick all around.

These features mark Hope Lodge as a sophisticated building for its location and time, outside the normative rural vernacular even as it appeared in large houses. Primitive Hall is a good comparative example, close in date to Hope Lodge and for its milieu a substantial, quite finely finished house. Though Primitive Hall has a central-hall plan, its facade has only four bays and is quite asymmetrical. The builder made no attempt to balance the sides and rear. The roof has a gabled form rather than the more classical hip found at Hope Lodge. A pent roof runs across the front and sides, and a plaster coved cornice rings all four sides, the same type as at Hope Lodge. The windows have arched heads even on the facade.[82]

Stylish features at Hope Lodge are balanced by several important exterior features that mark the house as also belonging to the rural vernacular, not entirely committed to up-to-date urban fashions. In the same way, Samuel Morris belonged to both the city and the country. First, the windows are relatively narrow, nine-over-nine, rather than the wider and more imposing twelve-over-twelve used in almost all other monumental Philadelphia

Hope Lodge, first-floor plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters and Fanglan Chen after *Hope Lodge*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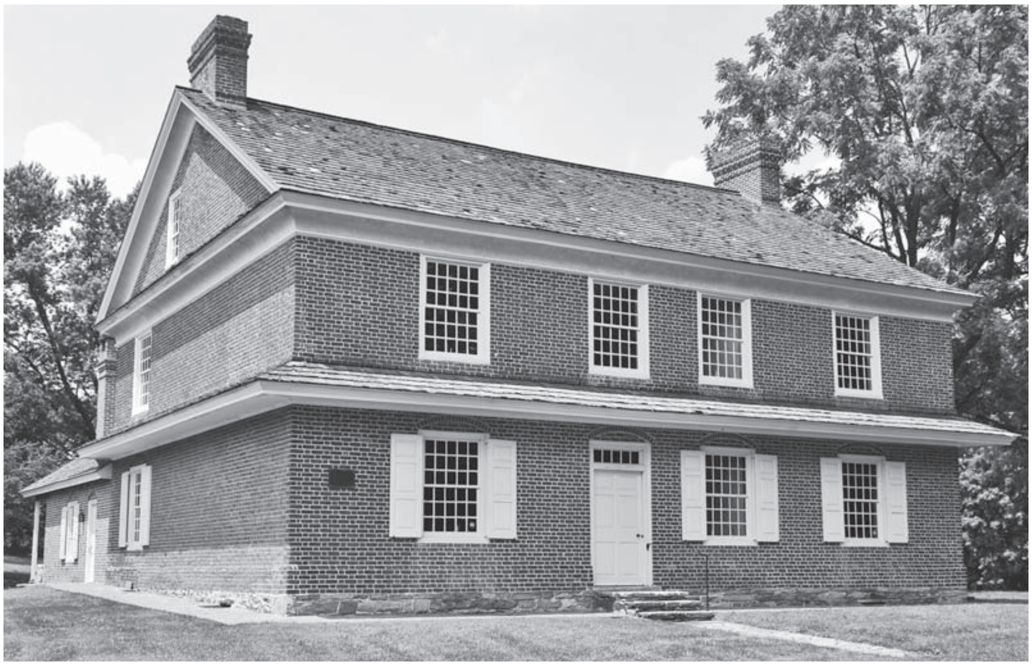
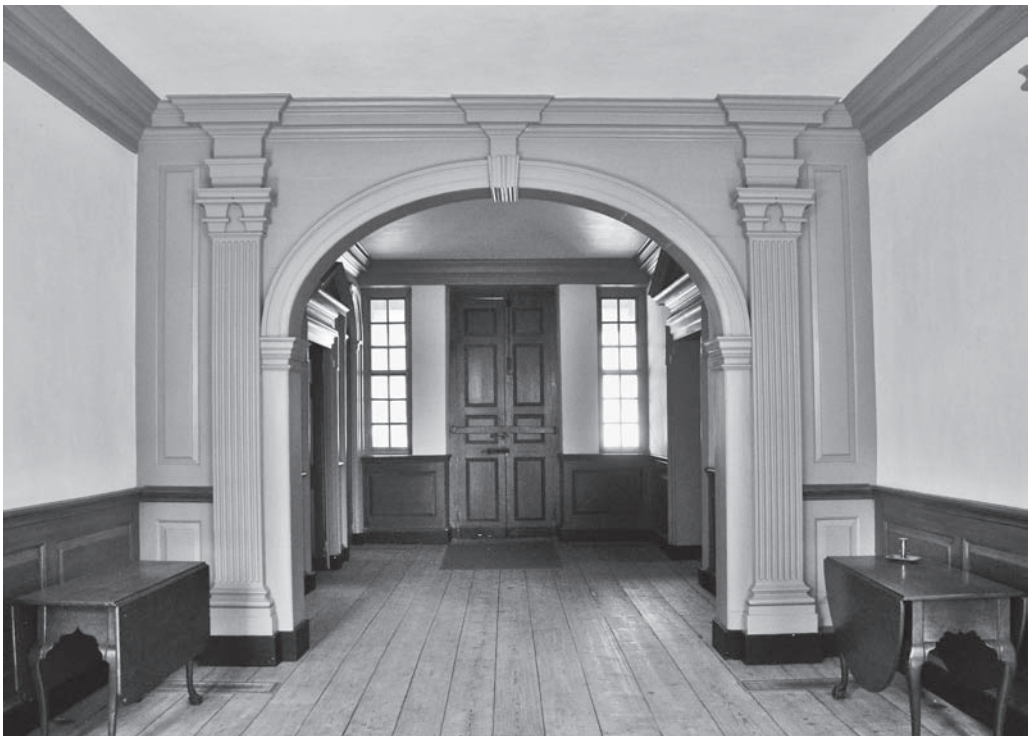


Primitive Hall, Chester County, Pennsylvania (1738), a rural vernacular house that forms a good contrast to Hope Lodge. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

houses. The windows show sophisticated scaling, with the panes of glass on the first story one inch taller (8″ × 11″ panes) than on the second (the standard 8″ × 10″), a difference reflected in the height of the ceilings inside, six inches less on the second story. Second, the roof and cornice seem vernacular and distinctly unacademic. For one thing, the roof is a gable-on-hip—that is, the topmost portion is a gable rather than flat or hipped—more usual in fine houses. The gable-on-hip does not allow for a roof walk and balustrade or a cupola, accouterments of Fairhill and Stenton and marks of gentry country houses. The chimneys are unequal in size and shape, a minor point but uncharacteristic for finer houses. Moreover, the original dormers, on the front and rear only, had a vernacular simplicity, which is not true of the present dormers, dating from the 1820s. Finally, the cornice consists largely of a plastered cove, with a simple crown and fascia above and a bed mold below painted Spanish brown to suggest that it is part of the brickwork. Plastered coved cornices were virtually unknown on finer houses outside the Delaware valley and only appeared there on top-rung houses built early in the century, for example, Belair. By the time Hope Lodge was built, they had been supplanted in the finest houses by the more classical modillioned cornice, such as at Stenton.[83] Coves remained popular through the 1740s for second-tier bourgeois country houses and for houses of rural gentry.[84]

Like the exterior, Hope Lodge's plan derived from Stenton's, correcting some of Stenton's solecisms but introducing some new ones of its own. A grand front hall awaited the visitor, in this case fully open to the rear hall through a broad elliptical arch that takes up nearly the entire wall, suggesting a triumphal arch and masking the narrowing of the hall from front to back. The rear hall itself received an only slightly less formal treatment than the front. The front hall is fully rectangular and fully symmetrical, without the corner fireplace that caused Logan problems in design. As at Stenton, the two best rooms (of equal size) flank the front hall, while a slightly less fine space occupied the right rear quadrant of the double-pile plan. Also as at Stenton, a service stair and passage with an exterior door lies behind the right room, while a connecting passage alone lies behind the left. The



Hope Lodge, hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

deviation from Stenton is most apparent in the left rear quadrant: the stair has moved out of the central hall to one side, as in the Trent House, allowing the rear hall to be unobstructed but resulting also in a small, narrow space behind the stair.

The intent was the same, but Hope Lodge's front hall possesses greater monumentality than Stenton's. Its woodwork suggests that the house had a carpenter with some sophistication and knowledge of pattern books, if a bit of old-fashioned taste. The elliptical arch rises from unfluted pilasters and has a keystone that breaks out into a *ressaut* (projection) that merges with the cornice.

Flanking the arch, fluted pilasters rise from the floor—making them more monumental than Stenton's, which stand on pedestals—and carry *ressauts* of an entire entablature. The capitals of these pilasters recall quite clearly the Queen Anne style; they have been variously called "Corinthian interpretations," "double tulip motif," and "corn flowers."[85] The pilasters are quite stout, eight diameters high and untapered, far beefier than a Corinthian order and even slightly heavier than Palladio's Roman Doric. They recall earlier, more baroque work. An only slightly smaller, circular-headed version of the arch dominates each side wall of the front hall, leading to the important public spaces on each side and establishing a cross axis. As these arches are narrower and thus do not rise as high, their keystones remain below the entablature that runs across the entire composition, the correct classical treatment.

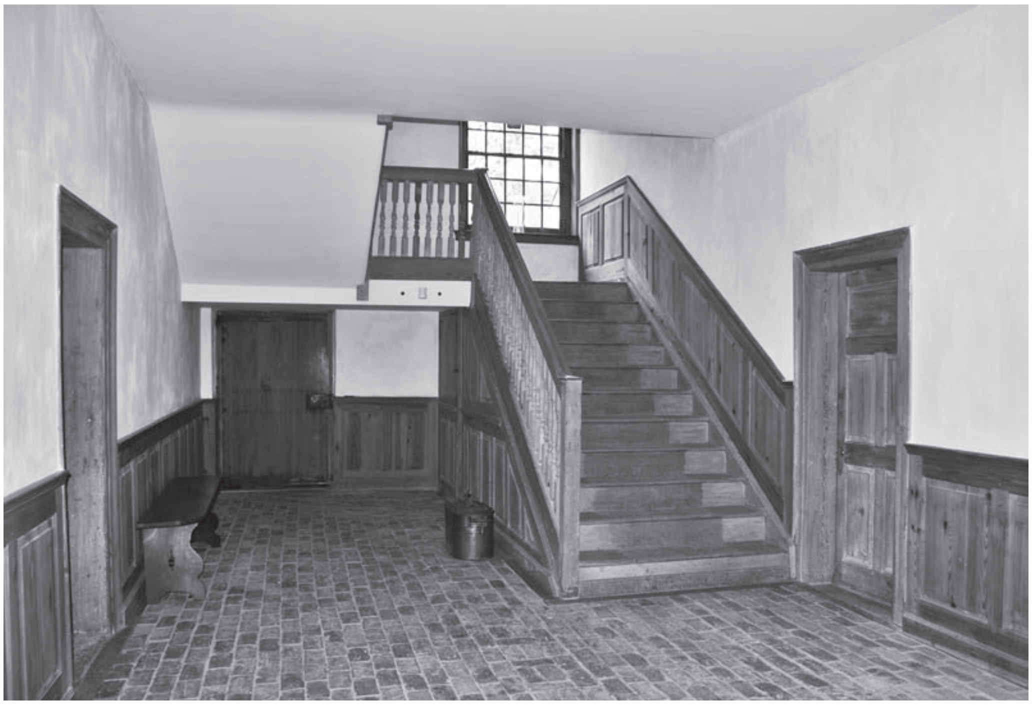
Only the cornice runs around the entire room, though it is not a particularly fancy cornice for a major space; in fact, it is used in all the larger rooms on the first and second stories, an example of an unsophisticated treatment of hierarchy. A chair rail and paneled dado also ring the walls of the front hall. The front wall, like Stenton's relatively plain, has paneled window seats but surprisingly plain door and window surrounds, a treatment seen throughout Hope Lodge, contributing to its somewhat vernacular character. The front hall has very subtly finer woodwork than the rear, but throughout the house Morris seems to have been less concerned with emphasizing hierarchy than builders of other houses of first rank.

Hope Lodge's stair placement comes from the Trent House, but Morris, the rural Quaker, failed to understand or did not care to exploit this placement for the visual display it could afford. Instead of an open and open-stringer stair, Hope Lodge's is crammed into a passage, wrapped around a closet, and dimly lit with "borrowed light" from a back passage on the second floor. This passage contains the only run of balusters, normally a major point of woodwork display. The stairs are nicely treated, with dado and chair rail ramped at landings and fluted pilasters, a graceful transition from one section of stair to the next that would become common in the second half of the eighteenth century. By contrast, Stenton has angular transitions, which are much less elegant.[86] However, the stair enclosure denies any parade to the second floor, an impression confirmed by the narrow and unpretentious second-story passage to which the stair ascends.

A 1770 estate inventory of Samuel Morris's goods lists no room names but can be parsed to make some good guesses about furnishings in particular spaces. Nowhere in the house did Morris have a surfeit of furniture, and the value of the contents was low for a house so large. Stenton, for example, had much more furniture, assigned a much higher valuation. Hope Lodge's hall held several Windsor and leather-bottom chairs, two rectangular tables, and a "servitore," or dumbwaiter. Windsor chairs were the most typical of eighteenth-century chairs for halls, passages, and outdoor spaces, particularly useful in the informal atmosphere of a country house. Leather-bottom chairs were favored for their durability. The tables and the dumbwaiter suggest that the space was used for dining.[87]

Besides the hall, the most impressive rooms in Hope Lodge are the front parlors to each side. These differ significantly in their architectural treatment, but it is difficult to state definitively which is better. Neither room had elaborate furnishings, such as paintings, curtains, upholstery, or carpets, a plainness befitting a rural Quaker.[88] Analyzed and interpreted as the best parlor is the north front room, primarily because of its paint finish, the best-quality Prussian blue with a clear glaze (color plate A).[89] It possesses two major architectural features: a dramatic arched doorway flanked by pilasters on the inside of the hall partition; and paneling on the chimney wall highlighted by arched doors on each side of the fireplace. The paneling in this room has an applied bolection molding, unique in the house and then going out of fashion, but perhaps Morris and his carpenter still considered it the standard of style, as it was used at Stenton.[90] Woodwork around the fireplace is almost nonexistent, but the King of Prussia marble surround makes up for it with a molded edge, carved upper corners, and keystone. Marble surrounds with this degree of enrichment were unusual in the Delaware valley, occurring only around midcentury.[91]

Like the hall, Morris's parlor at Hope Lodge held relatively little furniture, especially for such a large room. The inventory indicates fireplace equipment, an eight-day clock, a looking glass, two tables, a desk, and six rush-bottom chairs. Only the tall-case clock had much value (£15), Philadelphia being famous for such clocks.[92] The mirror probably hung between the two front windows. The furniture would have been kept against the walls to avoid tripping hazards in what was often a dimly lit space, given limited artificial light in the eighteenth century. One of the tables probably served for drinking tea. Stephen Armitt, a Philadelphia cabinetmaker, may have made the relatively simple desk for Morris.[93]



Primitive Hall, hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Across the hall, the other parlor has usually been interpreted as a dining room or dining parlor, although no evidence confirms this appellation. This use makes sense given that the space adjoins the service stair and that the right rear room clearly had some function related to food preparation. The first paint scheme in this space featured verdigris green, often used in the eighteenth century for dining rooms.[94] The space could have served as a multipurpose, general living and eating room, as did the room in this location at Stenton.

The second floor at Hope Lodge follows the layout below, but with the passage shifted left of center, which makes the right rooms larger than below. As mentioned above, the rather mean passage clearly would not have impressed visitors.[95] Three large chambers open off the central passage, the simple architectural treatment identical in all. The only distinguishing characteristics are Delft-tile fireplace surrounds and paint color. Modern scholars have assumed that the right front chamber served as the master chamber because of its size and color, Prussian blue. The small, unheated space in the center of the second-floor front also had blue woodwork and might have functioned as a sleeping chamber for Morris's servant boy.[96] The master chamber held a "feather bed & Furniture," valued second only to the clock. Valued at £13 10s., the bed would have ranked in the top 10 percent of beds in rural Pennsylvania, though it would not have been so special among wealthy Philadelphians. Additionally, the room contained a chest of drawers, a looking glass, a dressing table, and six damask-covered chairs.[97] The relatively simple furniture reflects Samuel Morris's near middling status, only just removed from the yeomanry.

But his house very clearly suggests that Morris had at least pretensions of escaping the yeomanry or the rural gentry, as a comparison with Primitive Hall again illustrates. Primitive Hall's central hall has a simple dado and quite plain door surrounds. Its closed-stringer stair—old-fashioned for fine houses by this date—has only a straight dado and a diminutive newel post. Its best parlor contains no moldings but a simple base and chair rail and a bit of paneling over the unornamented corner fireplace.

Stenton (1720s) and Hope Lodge (1740s) represented the new compact-house type, which rapidly entered the vernacular and could be seen by the 1740s in yeomen's houses such as Primitive Hall. Hope Lodge offers an example between Stenton's urbanity and Primitive Hall's overall vernacular quality. In purpose, both Stenton and Hope Lodge remained primarily agricultural and became their builders' primary residences, as had Fairhill and Belair in the first generation. For these Quakers, retirement to the country became a way of life that had moral implications. Moreover, in style both Stenton and Hope Lodge would have seemed old-fashioned by the time the latter was finished out. A new Palladianism in architecture and a new stylishness in gardens in the next generation rendered outmoded their Queen Anne woodwork and farming landscape.

CHAPTER 11

The New Ideal of the Villa

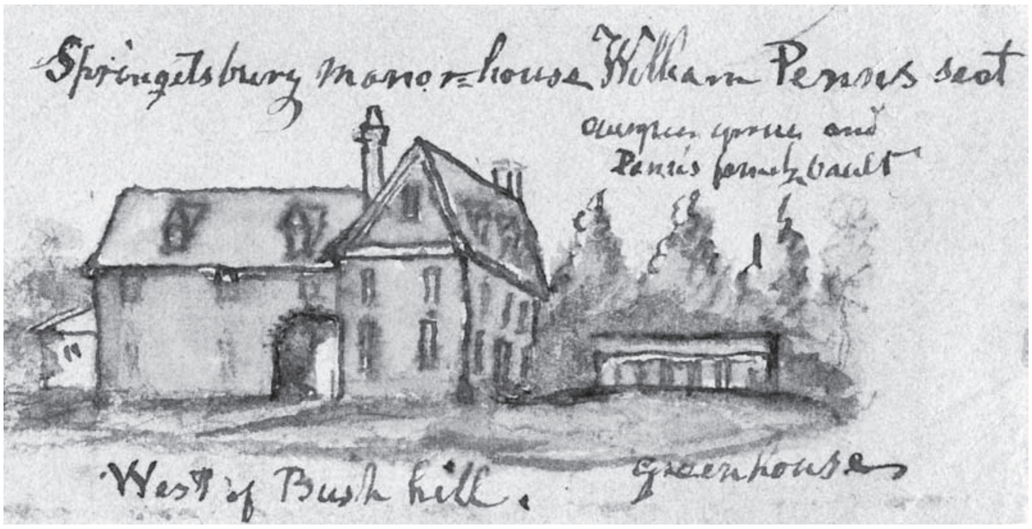
Springettsbury, Bush Hill, and Belmont

Three major country seats, developed in the 1730s and 1740s, inaugurated a new direction in the development of the type in Philadelphia, which could henceforth reasonably be called villas. The barely known Springettsbury, built by the proprietor Thomas Penn, announced in landscape in the Delaware valley what new preoccupations the country estate would assume. Governor James Hamilton's Bush Hill, now long demolished, had both landscape and architectural significance in pointing toward a new manner. A surviving contemporary of these two houses, Belmont, built across the river and just north of Penn's and Hamilton's estates, displayed the new manner in its fullest form. That all three developed along the Schuylkill River was no accident, for that river played the part of London's Thames at Twickenham and Richmond, which sprouted a highly regarded and highly innovative set of villas from the 1720s on.

Springettsbury: Gardens at the Seat of "the First Man in the Place He Resides In"

Thomas Penn intended to have both city and country houses on both sides of the Atlantic. He had these in England, in London and at Feens, near the metropolis. When he arrived in Pennsylvania in 1732, he aimed to build a city house in Philadelphia, a project that never came to fruition, and a suburban villa near Fairmount, the choicest spot in the Manor of Springettsbury. The Springettsbury house stood at the site of what is now Callowhill Street between 20th and 21st Streets. The grounds stretched westward to the Schuylkill River, covering the area now occupied by Franklin Parkway and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The house stood on a slight rise and faced southwest toward the river, with the land rising gently behind it.

Thomas Penn never intended a permanent residence at Springettsbury, nor did he want to farm the land there, as his father had done at Pennsbury. Thomas forsook his fa-

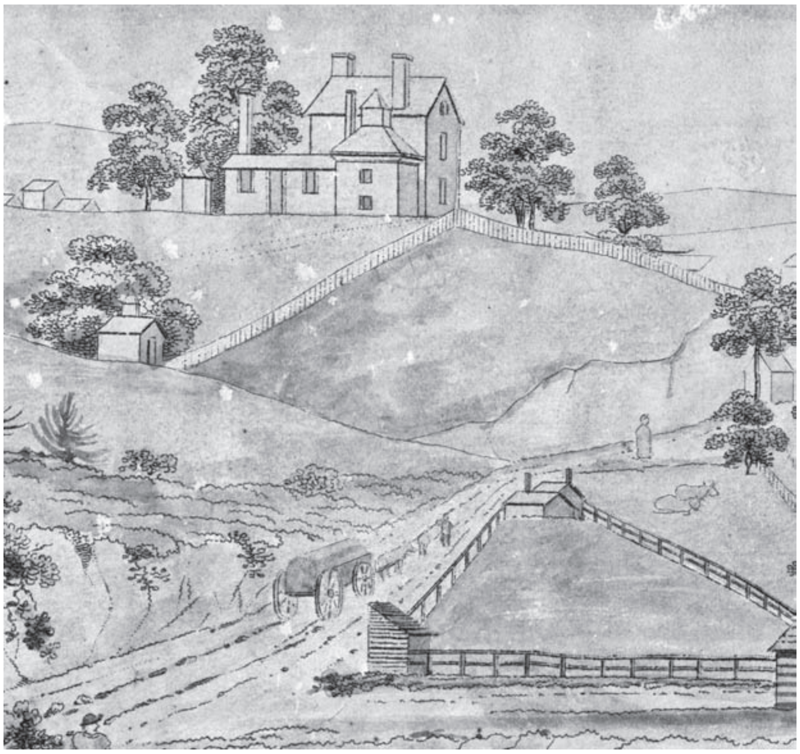


The best surviving image of Thomas Penn's country seat, Springettsbury (1737). From plate also showing Loganian Library, artist unknown, LCP

ther's Quakerism and with it the interest in plainness and a simple country life, embracing Anglicanism and a greater enjoyment of worldly pleasures. He insisted on maintaining houses and a lifestyle appropriate to the "person that must appear as the first man in the place he resides in," a decidedly un-Quakerly attitude.[1] He aimed to create at Springettsbury a weekend and summer villa embellished with pleasure gardens and wilderness groves that would establish a new pattern of landscaping in Pennsylvania.

Little is known about the house that Thomas Penn built at Springettsbury. Partial construction records date it to 1737–40.[2] We also have two images that show a fairly modest, rather old-fashioned dwelling characteristic of Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. The house had a T-plan: the front two and a half stories tall, one room deep, and a steep gable roof with chimneys to the rear (much as at Belair); and a service wing behind, two stories tall and separated from the front by an arched passage.[3] Also to the rear stood a small structure (attached or very close to the house) with a cupola, perhaps a dovecote.[4] Daniel Fisher said of it, "The house, of brick, was but small with a kitchen etc., justly contrived for a small rather than a numerous family . . . a bachelor's establishment, plainly. . . . It is pleasingly situated on an eminence, with a gradual descent—over a small Valley—to a handsome level Road, cut through a wood, affording an agreeable vista of near Two miles."[5] Another source described the house as standing "on a fine commanding situation," the ground sloping down in all directions.[6] In 1742 Penn talked about getting bricks ready for a larger country house at the site, but this project never was realized.[7]

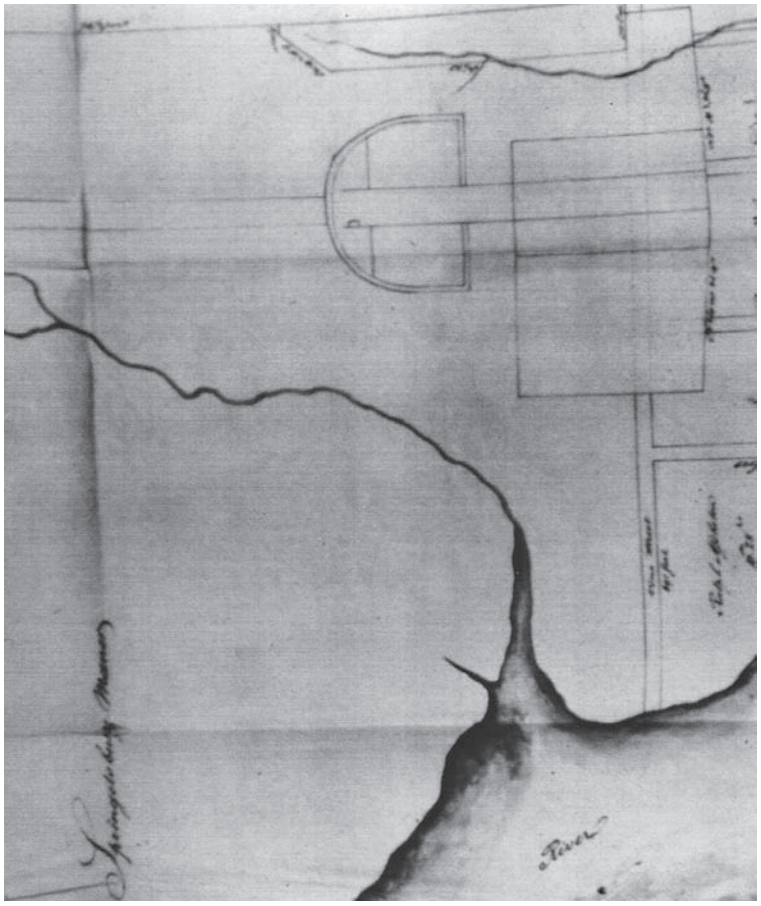
Springettsbury, detail. From Gilbert Fox and John Joseph Holland, "View of the City of Philadelphia," c. 1795, LCP



Springettsbury's real importance lay in its landscape, the first predominantly ornamental pleasure garden in Pennsylvania. Earlier rural gardens in the colony had been primarily concerned with agriculture, and documents concerning them only rarely include references to ornamental English landscape, such as vistas, prospects, groves, parterres, and deer parks. By contrast, for Thomas Penn gardening constituted a pleasurable pastime for the recreation of the man of affairs.[8]

Reconstructing the landscape at Springettsbury is difficult because historical graphic evidence is sparse and the entire estate has long been built over. Letters and contemporary descriptions indicate the following elements: an "avenue" providing a vista; another vista; a "long walk"; a deer park; a formal garden; a greenhouse; a vineyard; and an orchard. Gardeners laid out most of these between 1737 and 1740, when Thomas Penn returned to England, although work continued under Penn's direction by letter after he left. The layout of the landscape is less clear, but some light is shed by a plan of the Springettsbury Manor grounds of c. 1740. The plan fits surviving descriptions, which are otherwise tantalizing pieces of a jigsaw puzzle for which many pieces have been lost. The plan shows a long, north-south axis just west of what would become Philadelphia's 20th Street. This feature probably represents the "avenue," which ran due south "to a handsome level Road cut through a wood, affording an agreeable vista of near Two miles" to the beginning of Grays Ferry Road, on the south edge of the city.[9] Traces of it survived as late as a 1796 map. The house stood just to the west of the avenue, in the gap between the semicircular and rectangular areas on the plan. The semicircular area probably constituted the formal garden, and later maps indicate that it contained the greenhouse. The avenue extended northward into a small valley and terminated at a stream.

Springettsbury, a rare surviving garden plan, c. 1740. HSP



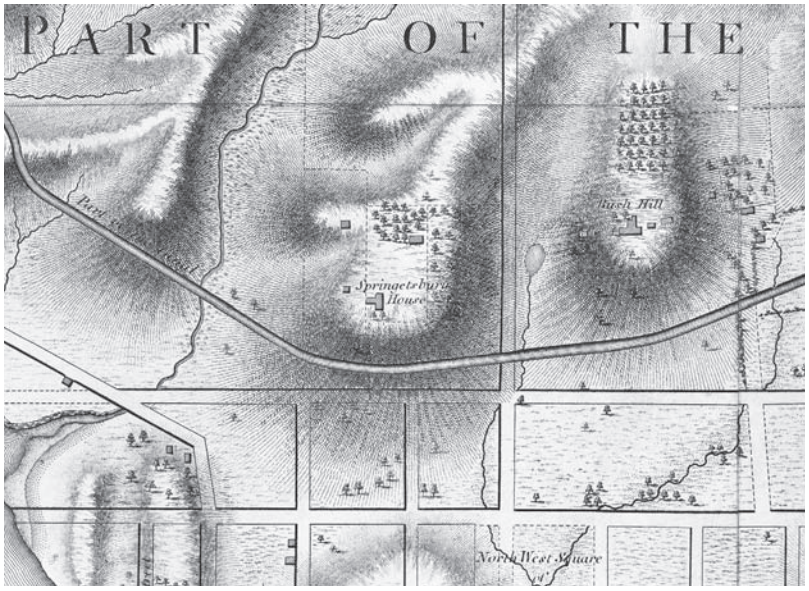
Documents also mention several walks. "A long spacious walk, set on each side with trees," led the visitor to the house, and gravel walks took the visitor into the landscape.[10] Penn lined some of his walks with trees, harking back to an earlier period of garden design. Pine trees lined "the long walk down to the fish pond." On another walk, "quickset" (hawthorn) hedges wound under elm trees. Hawthorn hedges were prone to a host of ills, and this was true of Penn's. Richard Hockley noted that the "quick-set hedge will not answer your expectations,"[11] and later, that it did not grow "so kindly," as it was "impossible to keep it clean from the leaves in the fall."[12]

A later vista ran due west from the house. When completed, it "just [took] in Mr. Asheton's great stone house at the ferry so that it entirely ends the prospect and is very compleat, so that when you are at the ferry house you can only see about a foot of the corner of Springettsbury brew house which I think is much better than if one could see the whole."[13] At Springettsbury, Penn created a framed setting at both ends of his vista, in both cases utilizing the corners of buildings to give a hint of the whole. The use of Asheton's house to complete the view constituted "borrowed scenery," a concept just then entering English landscape design and deriving from Chinese influence. Thomas Penn continued to open up the landscape at Springettsbury. To Hockley's complaints about the quickset, Penn replied that he would tear it up and leave the fields open.[14] Some years later, in 1747, Penn made plans to replace the "palisadoe" (a fence made of stakes) at the end of a walk with a ha-ha, the hallmark of the English landscape, which permitted an unbroken view, with no intervening wall or hedge.[15]

Thomas Penn obviously thought of Springettsbury as an English country estate, not as a farm, as William Penn, Norris, and Logan had regarded their country houses. In keeping with this English model, Thomas Penn created at Springettsbury one of the earliest known deer parks in the colony—Pennsbury had the beginnings of one. Deer were kept in parks both for eating and for hunting, although as the eighteenth century advanced, their picturesque visual qualities and their psychological benefits as pets and a serene part of nature also became important.[16] Colonial portraits, especially of children or adolescents, often showed the subject with a tame deer.[17] The only deer park earlier than Springettsbury's was at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, which existed by 1727. The Beverly Robinson estate on the Hudson River, built in 1750, had one. They had appeared in Maryland by the 1760s, though they were considered by Richard Parkinson "a very rare thing" in that colony. Thomas Penn's deer park constituted one of the most important aspects of the Springettsbury estate, as well as one of the most bothersome. Descriptions and documents locate it to the east of the avenue, in the estate's southeast corner.[18] Penn imported English deer, "the breed of our fallow deer being much to be preferred to the others [i.e., native colonial ones]."[19] They were maintained in a paddock along the east border of Springettsbury, alongside land belonging to the Hamiltons' Bush Hill. Fencing to contain the deer proved a great expense and bother. The hunting dogs that Penn kept at Springettsbury dug under the fence to chase the deer.[20] In later years the paddock was extended into a swampy area by the stream that ran through a small strip of land along Hamilton's line, a move that apparently increased the deer's success owing to the availability of more varied browse.[21] Penn paid for a huntsman and had an inexpensive wooden house built for him.[22] As long as Thomas Penn intended to return to Pennsylvania, he continued to send deer over by ship to replenish the stock. He also kept pheasants and wild turkeys there.[23]

Contemporaries described other parts of the Springettsbury estate as a "wilderness" and a labyrinth. Their locations at Springettsbury cannot be established with any certainty, but a 1797 map and the eighteenth-century view of the house show a dense grove of trees north of the greenhouse. The labyrinth, or maze, had gone in and out of fashion since the earliest times; its most recent popularity had been in the Stuart period. Springettsbury's constitutes the first example in the colonies for which there is any known record.

Springettsbury's formal gardens probably lay in the semicircular area shown on the garden plan. Two gardens were separated by a privet hedge, edged originally with dwarf box, which became a "great box border."[24] Penn planted spruce hedges, which he had clipped into figures in the tradition of topiary, whose popularity had waxed and waned since Roman times but had last gone out with Queen Anne. Many English gardens of the first half of the eighteenth century, particularly small and mid-size ones such as Springettsbury, continued to employ such old-fashioned "formal" features, often in conjunction



Springettsbury and Bush Hill, detail. From Johns Hills, "Map of Philadelphia" (1797), LCP

with new features that anticipated the English picturesque style.[25] Springettsbury's gardens were enclosed with a board fence of vertical pales, an echo of the walled gardens of earlier periods. The gardens also included ornamental gates and seats made of wood. Other observers mentioned parterres, a term that usually implied flower beds.[26]

Penn also grew citrus fruits at Springettsbury, and for this he needed a greenhouse, one of the first in Philadelphia and America. Isaac Norris's greenhouse at Fairhill preceded Penn's by perhaps ten years. At first Penn had "a small room in the garden [with] a German stove that preserves [oranges] through the winter." These trees were imported from England.[27] By 1741 Penn had built a substantial brick greenhouse, used to winter his orange, lemon, and citron trees.[28] This greenhouse appears in the eighteenth-century view. The citrus trees stood in traditional boxes, which were placed outside in the warm weather. The limes were arranged very properly in the formal garden in a quincunx pattern, a design dating from earlier formal gardens and unusual for the colonies.[29] Visitors found this part of the garden especially charming, and many mentioned the fruit. In the winter of 1746 John Smith and John Armitt ran and walked up to Springettsbury on the Schuylkill's ice, stopping to gain a "view of proprietor's green-house. Which at this season is a very agreeable sight; the oranges, lemons, and citrons were, some green, some ripe, and some in blossom."[30] Penn's gardener, James Alexander, maintained the citrus trees, sending oranges and lemons to Penn in England on a regular basis.

There had been nothing like Springettsbury in Pennsylvania, and it had an immediate and direct impact on Philadelphia landscaping, establishing the ornamental pleasure garden in the English mode as a desirable adjunct to a country house. Quickly following Springettsbury's lead were James Hamilton's Bush Hill next door (estate developed 1740–55) and Belmont (house built and landscaping developed 1742–51). The houses on these estates would also establish a new paradigm in architecture in the colony.

Bush Hill: "A Fine House and Gardens" of the Hamiltons (with a Notice of Walnut Grove)

Immediately adjacent to Springettsbury lay Bush Hill, carved out of the proprietors' manor through a grant of 153 acres made in the late 1720s by the grateful Penn family to Andrew Hamilton (1676–1741) for services rendered. Hamilton was the founder of a notable Pennsylvania family and a highly influential attorney and politician.[31] Of obscure Scottish origins, he evidently had a decent education at the University of Edinburgh before arriving in America in 1700.[32] By 1717 he had come to Philadelphia and assumed the post of attorney general, the first of many important posts he held in his lifetime. He also built a real-estate empire in Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties. Hamilton spent the years 1725 and 1726 in England, where he rendered significant help to the Penn family in settling disputes arising from William Penn's will. It was for this work that he was granted part of Springettsbury.[33] His country estate represented a tangible and very public symbol of the favor he enjoyed from his patrons.

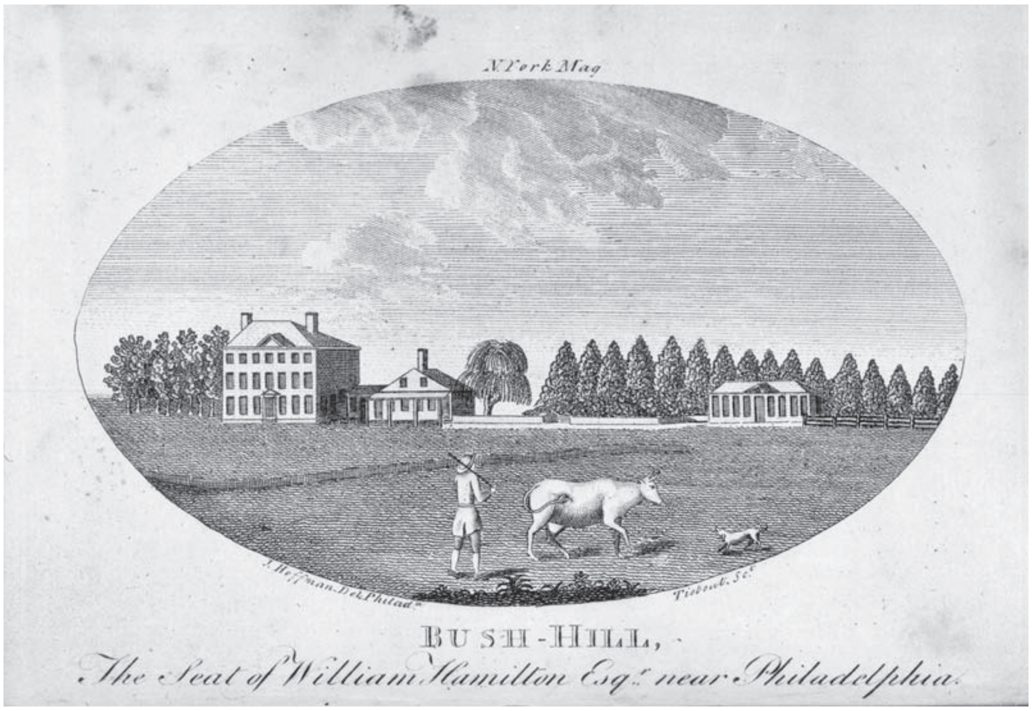
Hamilton named the estate Bush Hill and evidently had a country house there, because he was buried there and because his son and heir James set to altering a house at Bush Hill almost immediately upon Andrew's death in 1741. By a similar logic, it can be concluded that Andrew had formal gardens at Bush Hill, because Thomas Penn noted in 1742 that he wanted "some Laurestunis plants . . . not the evergreen sort such as is in Mr. Hamilton's vista."[34] Since Andrew Hamilton designed, drew, and supervised the construction of the State House in 1732, it may be assumed that he designed whatever house he had at Bush Hill. His son inherited his father's interest in architecture and indeed in all the arts.

James Hamilton was born to wealth and privilege. Besides the high position of his father, he had other important family connections: his sister Margaret married William Allen, chief justice of the Supreme Court; and his niece Anne Allen was the second wife of John Penn, son of Richard Penn and twice a governor of Pennsylvania. Hamilton belonged to many of the Philadelphia gentry's organizations, including the Library Company and the American Philosophical Society. His wealth came mostly from property inherited from his father, but he also held public offices, most importantly that of lieutenant governor from 1748 to 1754 and again from 1759 to 1763. He possessed a thoroughly patrician outlook on society and government, being wary about what he saw as a "Vile levelling Spirit" in the colony.[35]

James Hamilton undertook construction at Bush Hill in the period 1742–45, though the details of what he built are unclear. He wrote to Thomas Penn that he had been "afflicted by a spirit of building," tearing down the back part of his house and rebuilding it. "Altho' it will not be handsome," he told Penn, "yet I think when finished [it] will be tolerably commodius."[36] At this point occurred one of those trips to England and a rise in position and fortune that so often intervened to make old houses seem insufficient and demand new and grander schemes. Hamilton went to England in 1747, was appointed lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania by Thomas Penn, and returned in late 1748. Six months later he wrote that he intended to "alter my house at Bush Hill" and live there,[37] that is, not maintain a town house. This represented a notable break with tradition, for although Philadelphia worthies such as Norris and Logan had retired to the country, never had a prominent sitting official actually lived there permanently. No doubt Bush Hill's location at the edge of the city and just over a mile from the State House allowed such a move. The Bush Hill house was located at what is now Buttonwood Street between 16th and 17th Streets in Philadelphia's Spring Garden neighborhood.

Bush Hill as it was finished and known from engravings dates from 1749–51. Robert Smith carried out the alterations, the first documented commission by this fine and well-known master builder, whose career would include such notable buildings as the Christ Church steeple, Nassau Hall at Princeton, the Pennsylvania Hospital, Carpenters' Hall, and Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia.[38] Work on the governor's house could only have helped the young Smith's reputation. Work began in July 1749, Hamilton referring to Smith as "my carpenter."[39] Smith may have had a hand in designing the new Bush Hill, though Hamilton would also have played a key role, being an acknowledged expert in artistic matters. Although it was not an entirely new house, accounts indicate substantial construction during the second half of 1749, with payments recorded for many bricks, a roof raising and a shingle roof, and 624 pounds of lead for gutters.[40] Hockley recorded that Hamilton added a story, making the house three full stories tall, which was unusual for country houses in America though not so unusual for those in England. He noted that "the Governor is now raising his house at Bushill which will when compleated agreable to the design be very handsome."[41] An even more extensive project is suggested by the Reverend Richard Peters's statement in March 1750 that "the Governor has made a double house of Bush Hill & removes his family into it in October next."[42] During this period accounts list plastering, painting, wallpaper, wood turning, carving, marble work, and eleven iron firebacks (an indication of the size of the completed house), along with more payments to Smith.[43] In the eighteenth century, double house referred to a structure two rooms deep, now called a double-pile house. We might guess that the pile added was to the front, in order to make a grand and uniform facade. Evidently, before 1749 the house was a single-pile structure, two stories tall, perhaps something like Springettsbury. Such drastic aggrandizement recalls other colonial houses, such as Mount Vernon. Interior decoration and landscape work continued even later, with statues erected in September 1753 and the painter John Wollaston paid thirty-six pounds for two half-length pictures in October of that year.[44]

Several late-eighteenth-century engravings and the same drawing that depicts Springettsbury depict the exterior form of Bush Hill. It stood on level ground atop a broad wooded rise—hence the name—separated from Springettsbury's hill to the west by a small stream. The land continued to slope upward behind the house, so that the house was sited at the edge of the hill, where it could be viewed and easily reached from a road that ran toward the river and from where it had a fine view of the city. Late-eighteenth-century maps and prints show the ground in front of the house mostly open, but this resulted from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BUSH-HILL,
The Seat of William Hamilton Esqr. near Philadelphia.

Bush-Hill (c. 1749). Engraving by Cornelius Tiebout after J. Hoffman in *New York Magazine*, February 1793, LCP destruction during the British occupation of Philadelphia. Abigail Adams wrote in 1790 that "the British troops rob'd [Bush Hill] of its principal glory by cutting down all the Trees in front of the House . . . leaving it wholly Naked."[45] Surviving the British were rows of trees in the rear (cedars, according to Watson), particularly an allée that can be seen on John Hills's 1796 map of Philadelphia and the 1802 version of Peter Charles Varle's map. The former, apparently quite accurate, shows a double row of trees on both sides of the allée. Daniel Fisher, writing in 1755, noted a walk of tall trees and a few statues. Hamilton also created what Watson called a "charmingly graceful descending green lawn," a relatively new element in English landscape.[46] The evergreen trees at the rear also appear on late-eighteenth-century views; that they were already tall in 1755, roughly ten years after James Hamilton's activities, suggests that they dated from Andrew's time.

Fisher's mention of statues is the earliest mention of this feature recorded in Philadelphia. Contemporary Belmont and Wilton also had them by the mid-eighteenth century. Only in the mid-eighteenth century did statuary begin to appear in some of the more sophisticated American gardens. Thomas Hancock was satisfied with cherub heads on his gateposts. At Mount Clare, in Baltimore, Charles Carroll had "statues of lions on pedestals on either side of the walkway leading to the central door."[47] Westover, outside Richmond, Virginia, had stone pier ornaments along its fence and a martlet atop one of its main gate piers. A statue of a wood nymph graced Middleton Place, in Charleston.

The surviving views show the house at Bush Hill as seven full bays wide and three stories high, both previously unheard of in a Philadelphia country house, and two rooms deep, with internal chimneys between the piles. The broad hipped roof was graced at the front by a pediment, disconnected and blank in two engravings but growing out of the wall and with a window in an engraving supposedly based on a drawing by Charles Willson Peale. The engraving based on the drawing, probably the most accurate, also shows the middle three bays joined in a projecting central pavilion. All representations show the house as being low to the ground, which was unusual for such a pretentious house of this date, perhaps because it evolved out of an older one. The entrance had a pedimented frontispiece.

Just as striking were the ancillary buildings. Immediately to the right of the main house, and possibly a little behind it, stood a one-and-a-half story structure with a broad gable to the front, a large chimney, and a piazza connecting to the main house, probably a detached kitchen. Farther to the right stood an elegant one-story, nine-bay-wide, pedimented structure with very large windows, presumably Hamilton's greenhouse, perhaps better called an orangerie. Artists took great delight in carefully depicting this structure, perhaps because it was so novel.[48]

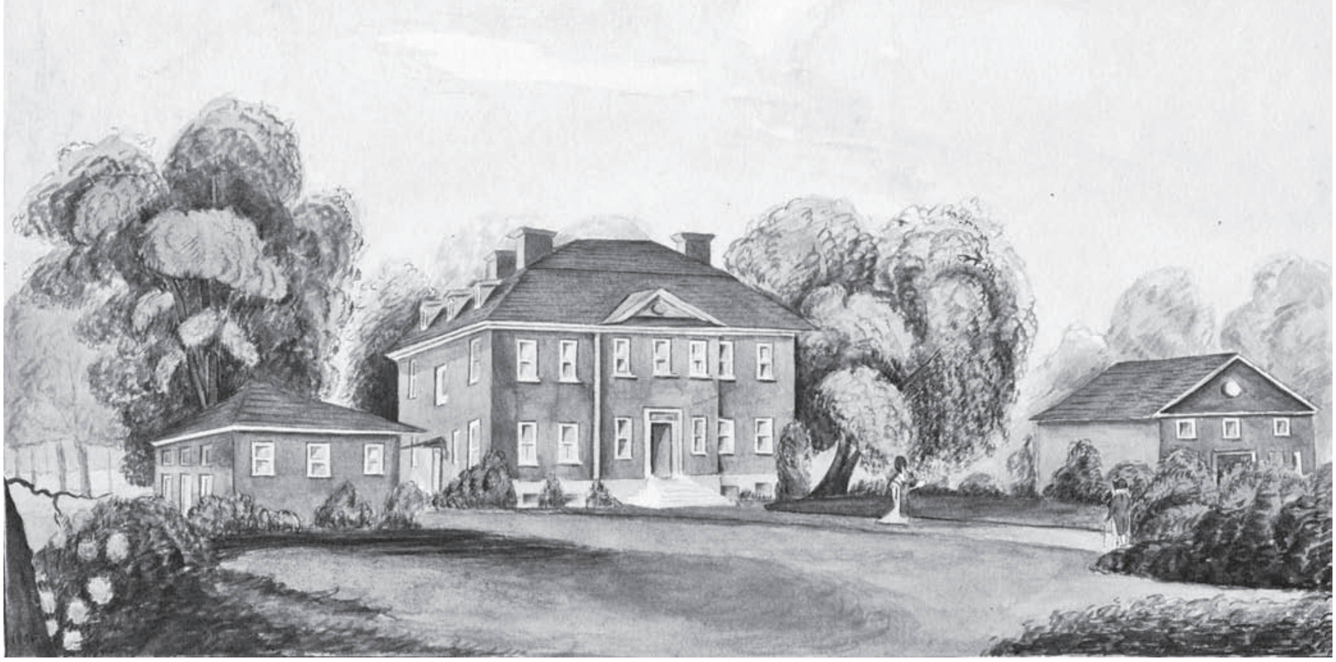
Two of the Bush Hill engravings also show a distinctive landscape feature in front of the house: a low wall or fence standing beyond a ditch, a classic ha-ha separating the fields in the foreground from the lawn that ran to the door. Such a feature kept the animals in the field—one engraving even shows a cow and a herdsman—and away from the house. Board fences separated the kitchen yard from the polite area in front of the main house. Bush Hill also contained an enclosed park for deer, evidently larger than the deer paddock at Springettsbury.[49] Hamilton also added a fruit orchard to Bush Hill.[50]

Of the interiors at Bush Hill a little is known. Most likely the woodwork was in the latest classical style, as Smith's work indicates that he was trained in the new mode. Further, Bush Hill contained ornamental plasterwork (as does Belmont), noted several times in 1749 by Richard Hockley, who mentioned "an Italian thats here and works finely in stucko. He has already done three or four houses and the Governor is going to imploy him at Bushill."[51]

Wallpaper adorned some of Bush Hill's rooms, as Thomas Penn noted that Hamilton, then in London, intended to take some wallpaper home with him for Bush Hill, the first instance of wallpaper encountered in a Philadelphia country house. Wallpaper (called "paper hangings") appears to have been new in Philadelphia in the 1750s, although it was used increasingly in England from the 1730s.[52] During the period of construction at Bush Hill, Hockley's town house also received wallpaper, courtesy of Thomas Penn, who wrote: "I intend to send you some paper to hang two or three of your rooms with, in the manner they do their rooms here, which they do between the base moulding and cornice . . . they now fix it to the wall with a particular sort of paste."[53] A few years later Penn gave orders for rooms in the town house he was fitting out to receive paper.[54] He ordered that the paper not be hung until spring, because the winter damp in the walls could ruin it.[55] The problem of moisture forced John Penn to exclaim: "I don't think paper will do in this country, except care is taken to keep fires in the room in moist weather; the Governor is obliged to do it [at Bush Hill] . . . you must remember that the walls here are very damp in wet weather, so that the surest method to preserve the paper would be to put it upon a frame, thereby to prevent it touching the wall,"[56] that is, to fur out the wall, as was done in Charleston, though not, apparently, in Philadelphia. One solution that seemed to help was backing the wallpaper with brown paper, which also had to be imported from London.[57] The earliest recorded sale of wallpaper in Philadelphia dates from 1752, when it was imported from London.[58] Soon thereafter a newly arrived London upholsterer, James White, announced paper hangings "put up so as not to be affected by the hottest weather," another indication of Philadelphians' hesitation to use the new-fangled invention because of the city's moist climate. By the 1760s, advertisements for paper hangings commonly appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.[59]

Hamilton also furnished Bush Hill in a grand manner, making it probably the most lavishly appointed house in Philadelphia at the time. Ezra Stiles, a New England preacher and future president of Yale University, wrote of visiting Hamilton in 1754: "Took a walk in his very elegant garden, in which are 7 statues in fine Italian marble curiously wrot; invited into his house; viewed the very splendid & grand apartments magnificently decorated & adorned with curious paintings, hangings & statuary & marble tables, etc."[60]

Hamilton welcomed visitors, so that Bush Hill became a kind of art museum for Philadelphia's gentry. For a diversion, Hannah Callender and friends "concluded upon a party to Bush Hill in the afternoon. A fine house and gardens with statues and fine paintings, particularly a picture of St. Ignatius at his devotions, exceedingly well done."[61] Hamilton probably bought some paintings while in England; Thomas Penn sent over some of them; others were painted in America. Hockley wrote to Thomas Penn, "The Governor is so much pleased with your History Pieces & his own that Mons. Bequard [Requard?] who now lives at New York is to do two more at least for him. To be sure he has seen very fine ones whilst in England, yet he imagines these would sell if there for 50 or 60 guineas a piece."[62] In England, along with gardens, pictures were one of the chief attractions of country houses for visitors,[63] although there were probably few collections in Philadelphia, and fewer still in country houses. It must be remembered that though Bush Hill was a country house, it functioned as Hamilton's primary residence. Bush Hill demonstrates the rise of picture collecting among the English gentry as the eighteenth century progressed.[64]



Walnut Grove (c. 1747). Watercolor by Charles A. Poulson, Jr., 1856, LCP

In Philadelphia, the earlier Quaker country houses, such as Stenton, had not displayed pictures to any great extent.

Bush Hill seems to have directly inspired another close-in country seat in Philadelphia, namely, Walnut Grove, Joseph Wharton's seat, famous as the site of the Meschianza fête put on by British officers just before leaving the city in 1778.[65] The date of this house is highly problematic, various authors giving it as anywhere from 1735 to 1760. The most likely date seems to be 1747–50, that is, when Bush Hill was rising in its final form.[66] At this time Wharton changed his appellation from "Joseph Wharton, cooper of Philadelphia," to "Joseph Wharton, gentleman," with his main residence in Wicaco or Southwark.[67]

As depicted in nineteenth-century views, Walnut Grove appeared very similar to Bush Hill, except that it was only two and a half stories tall. It was brick, and the front was seven bays wide, with the central three bays projecting in a pavilion topped by a pediment. The facade composition presumably indicated a central-hall plan. The left side elevation suggests that the house was two full rooms deep (i.e., a double pile). Two flanking, asymmetrical outbuildings stood in front of the house.

Belmont: The Palladian Villa and Its Landscape Come to Philadelphia

As discussed in chapter 5, Belmont was designed and built by a hitherto unappreciated colonial exponent of English Palladianism, William Peters, an attorney from Lancashire, England, and a close retainer to the Penn family. The land that would become Belmont was previously farmed by Swedish, German, and Welsh yeomen, and an older stone house, probably built c. 1700 and today known as "the cottage," was incorporated into the back buildings of Belmont, which Peters began soon after buying the land in 1742.[68] This structure stood near the center of the property, the location intended for Peters's villa.

The Peters family moved to Lancashire from Cornwall c. 1600 and settled at Platbridge, near Wigan, some eighteen miles northeast of Liverpool.[69] The family had a town home in Liverpool and a country seat at Platbridge. William had a fairly extensive legal practice in Liverpool and also owned considerable rental property.[70] A younger brother, Richard (1708–1776), an Anglican priest, arrived first in Pennsylvania, where he became the proprietary secretary of Pennsylvania.[71] Through Richard, William came to the notice of the Penn family. William uprooted himself, abandoning his wife and son, and embarked for Philadelphia in late 1739. Thomas Penn, then in Philadelphia, encouraged William, who quickly moved into the inner circle of the ruling elite of Pennsylvania.[72] Most of his work for the Penns had to do with the Land Office, work in which the Penns respected William's opinions on matters of real estate and lease arrangements.[73] Both Richard and William Peters, along with other Penn officials such as Lynford Lardner, were newcomers to Pennsylvania. Penn turned to such "Anglican outsiders" for the management of his colony. He mistrusted former local leaders, such as James Logan, believing that they had hurt his family's interests. The result was a sharp alienation between the proprietary party and established political forces, particularly the Quakers.[74]

William Peters had clear intentions for the land that became Belmont. Thomas Penn replied to an early letter from Peters: "I hope to have the pleasure ere long of visiting your Country Retirement and gaining something by your experience."[75] For the socially conscious and ambitious Peters, a country retreat was an essential part of a gentleman's equipage and one that reflected his personality and his intellectual interests. Penn's statement, combined with other evidence, suggests that Peters began the villa at Belmont soon after buying the land, a surmise also suggested by a surviving date stone marked "W.P. 1745." Moreover, during a visit to Belmont in 1819 Deborah Logan was told that the villa was nearly eighty years old, which would put its construction in the early 1740s. Certainly Peters had a house there by 1744, when he reported that a horse had strayed.[76]

Peters had a more immediate need for Belmont than as a country retreat. Just as he moved quickly to establish himself publicly and financially, he also laid a quick foundation for an American family. Even before his English wife conveniently died in 1743, Peters had taken up with Mary Breintnall, a member of a large Philadelphia family.[77] Hockley wrote to Thomas Penn in March 1744 that William Peters "is married to a girl that he kept in the country [i.e., at Belmont] and had two children by to the no small uneasiness of his brother,"[78] the clergyman. Until the marriage, retreat to the country would have hidden the illegitimate offspring. On the same day as the marriage, Mary, formerly a Quaker, and the two infant sons were baptized as Anglicans.[79] Just after his marriage, Peters purchased property at the southeast corner of Front and Pine Streets for a town house, since his new family could then live publicly in Philadelphia society.

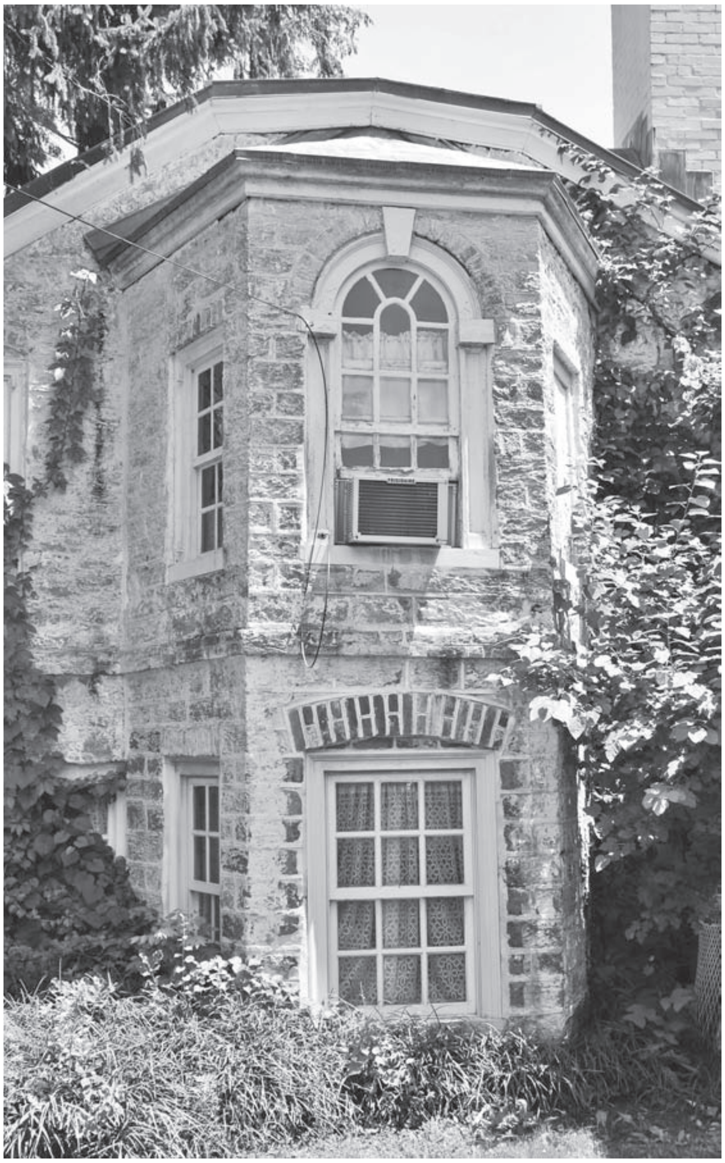
To accommodate Mary and the children, Peters renovated and enlarged the cottage. He gave the rear a symmetrical facade overlooking what would become the formal garden. The facade's new centerpiece, a semihexagonal bay—constructed of squared stone, which contrasts with the original rubble—sported windows on all sides, most notably an arched window in the center on the second floor. Flanking the bay on the second floor were a large, segmentally arched window on the left and a matching blind niche on the right. On this facade and the sides, the rubble stone masonry received galleting.[80] This bay represents an extremely precocious example of a feature not generally seen in colonial architecture until the 1770s. Belmont's bay is earlier than the feature's first appearance in a pattern book, Robert Morris's *Rural Architecture* (1750), which showed projecting polygonal bays on country houses. Vanbrugh had used bow windows on Blenheim (1705) and other country houses, probably borrowing them from houses in France.[81] The Bristol "House for a Merchant," of 1724, had one. Fairly prevalent by midcentury, the fashion was called by the Palladian purist Isaac Ware "an absurdity that reigns at present," but a bay delightfully expands a house into the landscape. A strong parallel to the bay window at Belmont is the bow window in Hogarth's suburban house in Chiswick, which the painter called "his little country box."[82]

We can glimpse Peters's life at this time from surviving letters. He had a taste for good food, as he ordered beer and cheese from England even though these cost much more than colonial varieties. His love of gardening is demonstrated by his continued interest in Platbridge's garden and orders for tulip seeds.[83] He also ordered substantial numbers of books from England. He kept up with events in England by purchasing the *London Magazine and Appendix*,[84] and he belonged to the Library Company of Philadelphia.[85] He had a bathing tub, a novelty for the period, although by the mid-eighteenth century a few English physicians were recommending cleanliness as a means of preventing disease.[86] He also traveled to the coast of southern New Jersey for bathing in sea water, another activity that was increasingly fashionable among the English gentry.[87] Finally, Peters owned slaves and horses and most likely a carriage.[88]

Peters also had an artistic bent for both music and the visual arts. As early as 1742 Thomas Penn noted in a letter to Peters: "I have desired my brother Richard to enquire for a violin [player] for you and as he is acquainted with all the musical people of any note and believe he will get me one that will play also upon a harpsichord."[89] Peters also imported music books.[90] Certainly the ceiling of the first-floor hall at Belmont (discussed below) testifies to a great love for music, and one should perhaps envision this room as the scene of musicales by and for the Peters family. Eighteenth-century English society had a passion for music, and in the Anglo-Germanic world both aristocratic and bourgeois households often contained talented amateur musicians, who would play for the family and for guests.[91] In a larger sense, the creation of music formed part of the idealized life in the villa from the Renaissance on, a dramatic example of the country house facilitating what John Archer calls the creation of the self.[92]

However, architecture and landscape occupied the greatest amount of Peters's time and so obsessed him that his work at Belmont threatened

Belmont (c. 1742), bay window, one of William Peters's earliest improvements to an older house. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



his standing with Penn, his financial stability, and possibly his sanity. By 1750 Belmont appears to have become nearly ruinous for Peters, a danger about which many English writers had long warned. Peters spent long periods of time at Belmont supervising the construction of house and landscape and thus neglecting Penn family business in town. Richard Peters wrote to Penn: "His [William's] country schemes had well nigh ruined him; & hurt done to his circumstances by their expense was not half so great as that done by a dissipation of his mind."[93] "Country schemes" referred to developments at Belmont. William Peters himself acknowledged that his brother had loaned him money several times "when my plantation & building schemes threw me into some difficulties."[94] However, William promised Penn that he would attend to business in Philadelphia, and tension between the two evaporated.[95]

In 1760 William was officially appointed to head the Land Office and acquired more land in both city and country.[96] A 1767 tax assessment for Belmont gives a general picture of William Peters's estate in this period. The assessment lists income, not property values, so that rents, as well as income-producing assets such as livestock, are listed.[97] At this date Peters was the wealthiest man in Blockley Township, with an annual income of almost £600.[98] By comparison, among the entire gentry of Philadelphia County, former governor James Hamilton was assessed at £800, and Thomas and Richard Penn topped everyone with a combined assessed income of £3,200 per year.[99] Peters's assessed income came mostly from rents on property, evidently the fruit of speculative building and purchases and the main source of wealth in England. The list indicates that Peters kept Belmont villa and 64 acres of nearby land and woods for himself. The rest of the 251 acres he leased to tenants. He also had four horses, one cow, and two slaves for his own use.

By the early 1760s, complaints came regularly to the Penns about malfeasance on Peters's part in operating the Land Office, and in 1766 Peters was asked to resign.[100] Thomas Penn acted graciously, not only allowing Peters to resign rather than be dismissed but also continuing to employ him for private land transactions. Peters retired in disgrace with his family to Belmont, where he carried out further improvements. For example, Penn shipped him a pump, with engine and pipes, for a water system.[101]

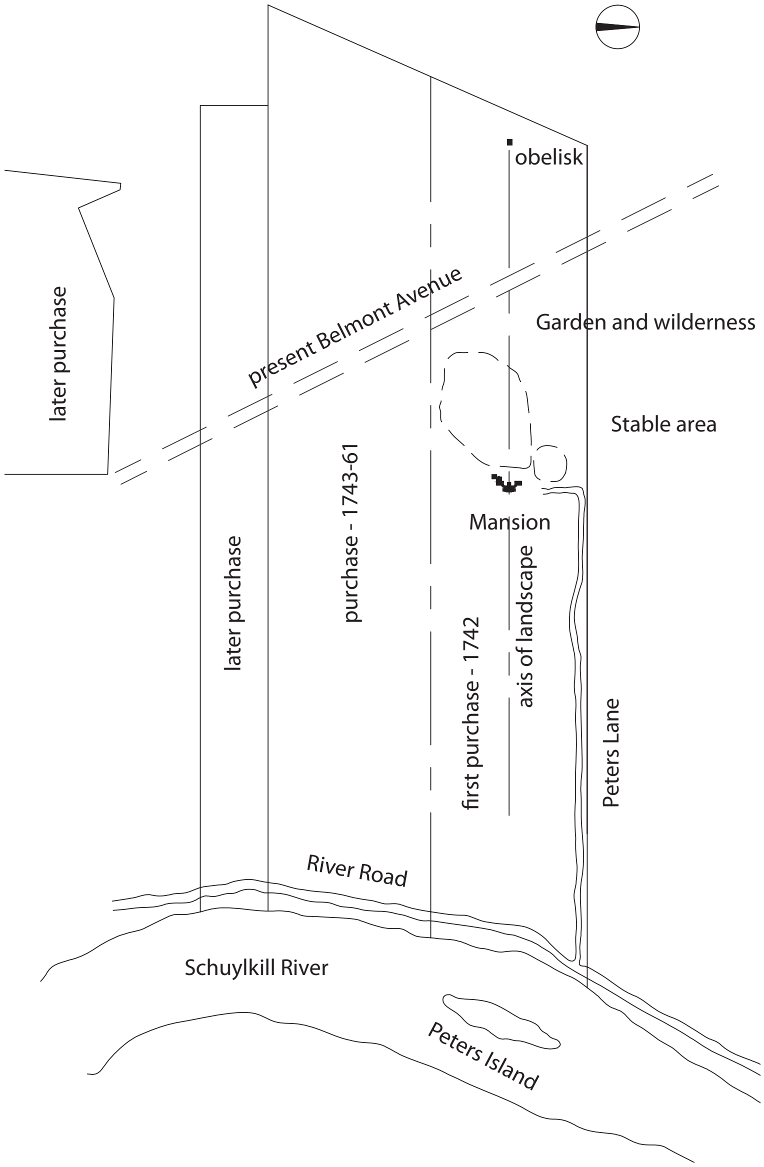
As the winter of 1766–67 wore on, Peters sank into a depression stemming from "grief and anxiety." For relief he turned to travel, visiting first the Lehigh valley of Pennsylvania, then New York, New England, and finally Bermuda.[102] He never returned to Philadelphia, going instead to Liverpool. He left the care of his American estate to his brother, his son Richard, and his wife Mary, they being the second family William abandoned. He returned to his English son's family in Liverpool and mingled with "good company," taking the waters at fashionable English spas and touring houses such as Chatsworth and Kedleston (then undergoing Robert Adam's improvements). Later, however, a dearth of remittances from his American lands forced him into a more modest lifestyle in Nottinghamshire, where he died. He was buried in Knutsford, Cheshire, in 1786.[103]

Belmont reveals Peters as both an architect and a landscape designer. Indeed, Belmont's landscape probably cost Peters more than the house itself and would have constituted a large part of his "country schemes." Peters evidently tried to equal and even surpass Thomas Penn's Springettsbury in the scale and complexity of Belmont's landscape. Like Penn, Peters had professional gardeners, although we know the name of only one of them, George Severitt, recorded in a 1767 tax return. Severitt clearly did not belong to the same social class as the Penn's gardener, James Alexander, as he was taxed at the level of a landless laborer.[104] Nothing of Belmont's garden remains, and later construction destroyed archaeological evidence, but a clear description of Belmont's landscape appears in Hannah Callender's description of a visit to the Peters estate in June 1762, a description that presents a striking portrait of this genteel estate at the height of its glory. She wrote that after crossing the Schuylkill River some distance below Belmont,

> then went to William Peters's house having some acquaintance with his wife. She was at home and with her daughter Polly received us kindly in one wing of the house. After a while passed through a covered passage to the large hall well furnished, the top adorned with instruments of music, coats of arms, crests and other ornaments in stucco, its sides by paintings and statues in bronze. From the front of this hall you have a prospect bounded by the Jerseys like a blue ridge. A broad walk of English Cherry trees leads down to the river. The doors of the house opening opposite admit a prospect of the length of the garden over a broad gravel walk to a large handsome summer house on a green. From the windows a vista is terminated by an obelisk. On the right you enter a labyrinth of hedge of low cedar and spruce. In the middle stands a statue of Apollo. In the garden are statues of Diana, Fame and Mercury with urns. We left the garden for a wood cut into vistas. In the midst is a Chinese temple for a summer house. One avenue gives a fine prospect of the City. With a spy glass you discern the houses and hospital distinctly. Another avenue looks to the obelisk. Returned to the house and rested agreeably and departed.[105]

Callender described the present Belmont with its ornamental hall ceiling, and the paintings and statues in the villa's hall fit clearly with Peters's interest in the visual arts. The "wing" and "covered passage" that Callender mentioned belonged to one of two symmetrical flanking dependencies connected to the main house by curving colonnades that appear in a watercolor of 1771 made by the naturalist and artist Pierre Eugène du Simitière (1737–1784; color plate B). The connectors, probably called piazzas, were treated quite finely with columns, possibly arches, and roof ornaments, probably wooden urns, suggesting that the outbuildings to which they connected had more than service functions. Indeed, guests were received in one of them, and they became part of the house's parade. Perhaps most important in her description is the centrality of the villa in what was probably the grandest landscape composition in America up to that time: an ornamental landscape nearly a mile long and stretching due east-west, with the villa in the center; an allée of cherry trees stretching toward the river; and an obelisk near the rear line of the Belmont property, a half mile from the villa. Although the obelisk has long disappeared, it appears on several nineteenth-century maps, and the present Monument Avenue memorializes its location.

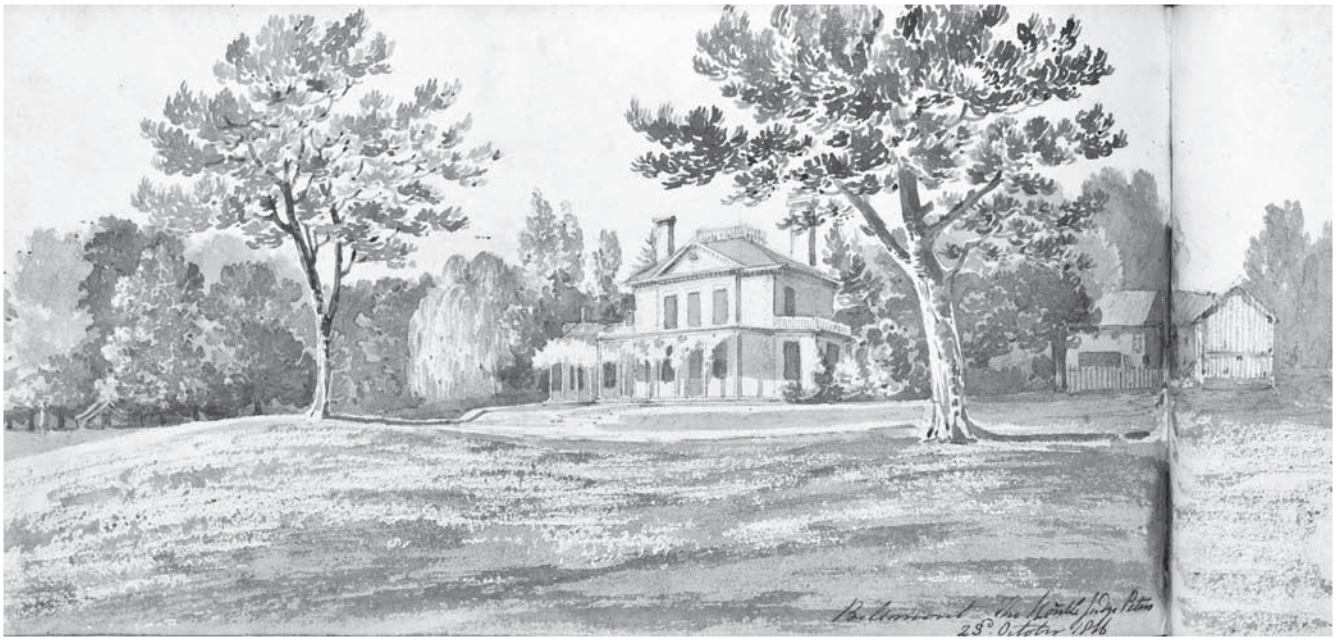
Then, as now, the front doors of the villa opened to the grandest prospect in the Philadelphia area, facing southeast toward Philadelphia and beyond (color plate B). The view, together with the allée of cherry trees, make it almost certain that the land to the south and east of the villa was cleared. The allée did not form an approach drive, as it had earlier at Fairhill. Like the main vista at Springettsbury, it formed a broad walk that could be seen and strolled along from the house outward. Much of the land in the prospect was made up of fields and meadows farmed by William Peters's tenants, creating a pastoral scene with animals, husbandmen, and their cottages in the process of becoming the scene portrayed in an 1816 drawing and watercolor.



Belmont, site plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after *Belmont*

The house stood at the top of a slope, two hundred feet above and a mile back from the Schuylkill River. The land behind the house continued to slope upward, but with a much gentler slope, to the obelisk at the highest spot. The 1771 watercolor by du Simitière reveals the area immediately in front of the house fenced into a geometric lawn, shaped with repeated curves in the line of the picket fence, a gravel area immediately before the door, and the connecting colonnades behind the house. Statues, standing more or less in alignment with the front corners of the villa's main block, adorned the grass plots. By this time one-story wings, nicely detailed with pilasters and a roof railing, graced each side of the main block, but physical evidence suggests that these were not original.

In back of the house an axial gravel path led from the villa to a summerhouse some distance away, located at the highest point on the property. The quadrant colonnades and dependencies would have embraced this path to the garden, another reason for their stylishness. From the summerhouse in the garden it was possible to see the obelisk to the west or to enter a labyrinth to the north or the formal garden to the south, with its classical statues.[106] The wood cut into vistas was called the "wilderness," which lay to the south and west of the formal garden. Within this a Chinese temple in a clearing formed a vista point, from which allées stretched southeast toward Philadelphia and west-northwest toward the obelisk. English gardens commonly possessed an element of chinoiserie, but Belmont's is fairly early, as the Chinese style did not really take hold until William Chambers's *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* of 1757. The earliest designs for Chinese garden buildings in England, in the late 1730s, were produced by William Kent and Sanderson Miller.[107] The way Callender describes the sequence through the gardens recalls English landscapes such as that at Stowe, in which from a certain point (the house) the next destination (the summerhouse) is revealed; that point having been reached, the next object (the obelisk) appears, and so on. Behind such a landscape lies an aesthetic that favored, in the words of Hogarth, "a wanton kind of chase." The memory of gardens such as Belmont's undoubtedly lay behind Callender's observation during a trip northward that "they have no gardens in or about New York which come up to ours of Philadelphia."[108] In 1819 Deborah Logan said of Belmont's gardens that they exhibited "a most perfect sample of the old taste of parterres and arbours made of yew clipped into forms."[109]

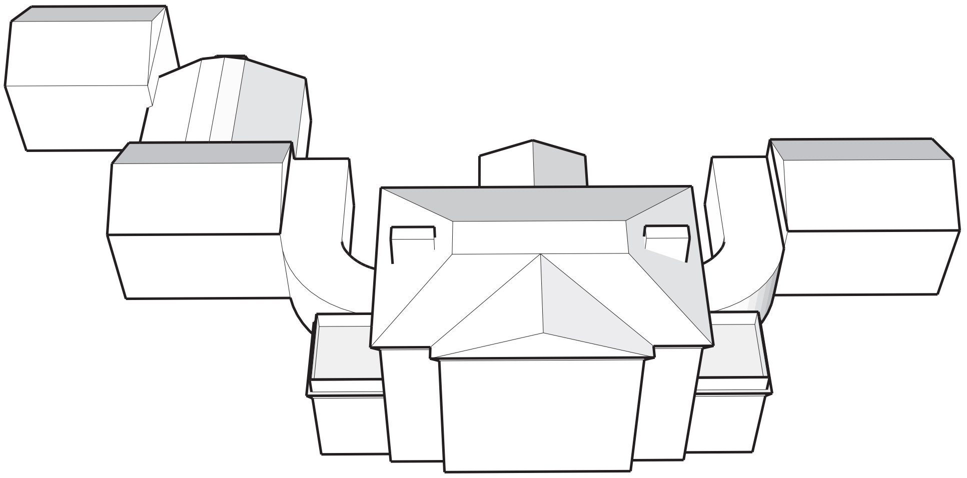

Belmont – The Honble Judge Peters
23d October 1816

Drawing of Belmont made after the grade was raised around the house and a front porch was added, in line with the landscape style of the Federal period. From the sketchbook of Joshua Rowley Watson (1816), Philadelphia Museum of Art

Belmont's landscape belongs to the new landscaping mode favored by the Palladians in England, a mode referred to as a transitional style, a mixture of the older strict formality and the new picturesque informality that would come to dominate by the century's end.[110] The transitional nature was evident in the mix of axial allées and open parterres near the house with a more densely planted wood cut by serpentine and straight paths and ornamented with topiary some distance behind, a variety of scenery favored by the Palladians.[111] Such a mixture sometimes appeared serially in English gardens, such as at Stowe, where an older, formal garden gave way in the eighteenth century to a softer, more open landscape.

The villa at Belmont differed strikingly in form from earlier Philadelphia country houses and marked the beginning of a new generation of Philadelphia country seats, houses that responded to the influence of English Palladianism and possessed a more correct classicism. For one thing, Belmont was smaller than most earlier Philadelphia country houses. Fairhill, Stenton, and Hope Lodge (all two stories) had approximately 2,200, 2,100, and 2,240 square feet per floor, respectively. By contrast, Belmont as originally built had only 960 square feet per floor in the main villa and two stories.[112]

Belmont's plan also differed from those of previous Philadelphia country houses (p. 147). The creators of Italian Renaissance villas exhibited a self-consciousness about plan that resulted in the creation of nontraditional floor plans. Thus was inaugurated a tradition of individualized house plans that carried into the early republic, a tradition that ran parallel to the use of the normative Georgian plan. Further, the most up-to-date and self-consciously designed exteriors and interior schemes often accompanied these nontraditional plans.[113] Unlike the double-pile, central-hall plan, Belmont had a large, heated hall that dominated the plan, with very small rooms to each side; a stairhall and front wings to each side were later additions. The hall occupied well over half of the villa's first-floor space and would have served nearly all public functions—dining, entertainment, and day-to-day living. In colonial America the central hall or passage usually served the function of social screening expected in an eighteenth-century house. It also provided a means for servants to circulate through the house without disturbing their "betters" in the more private rooms.



Belmont in 1771, axonometric drawing reconstructing the house complex. Drawing by Fanglan Chen

At Belmont, however, one of the dependencies, its colonnade, and an anteroom—all described by Callender—constituted a ceremonial entrance sequence that provided Belmont with social screening. Visitors were received in this dependency, perhaps a variant on reception into a side door for family members and intimates.[114] The main house's placement on the site, the approach from the side, and the immediacy of the landscape and view, beginning right outside the front and back doors, perhaps militated against entrance through the formal front. Equally important, this sequence also controlled the aesthetic experience with regard to both the landscape and the architecture. Not until she described the sequence's climax at the hall did Callender mention the landscape. In other words, the sequence of spaces worked to screen the view of the landscape, revealing it only when a visitor was in the hall of the villa. Such a sequence suggests the English picturesque landscape's fondness for hiding and revelation, rather than the French Grand Style's instant revelation and predictable order.

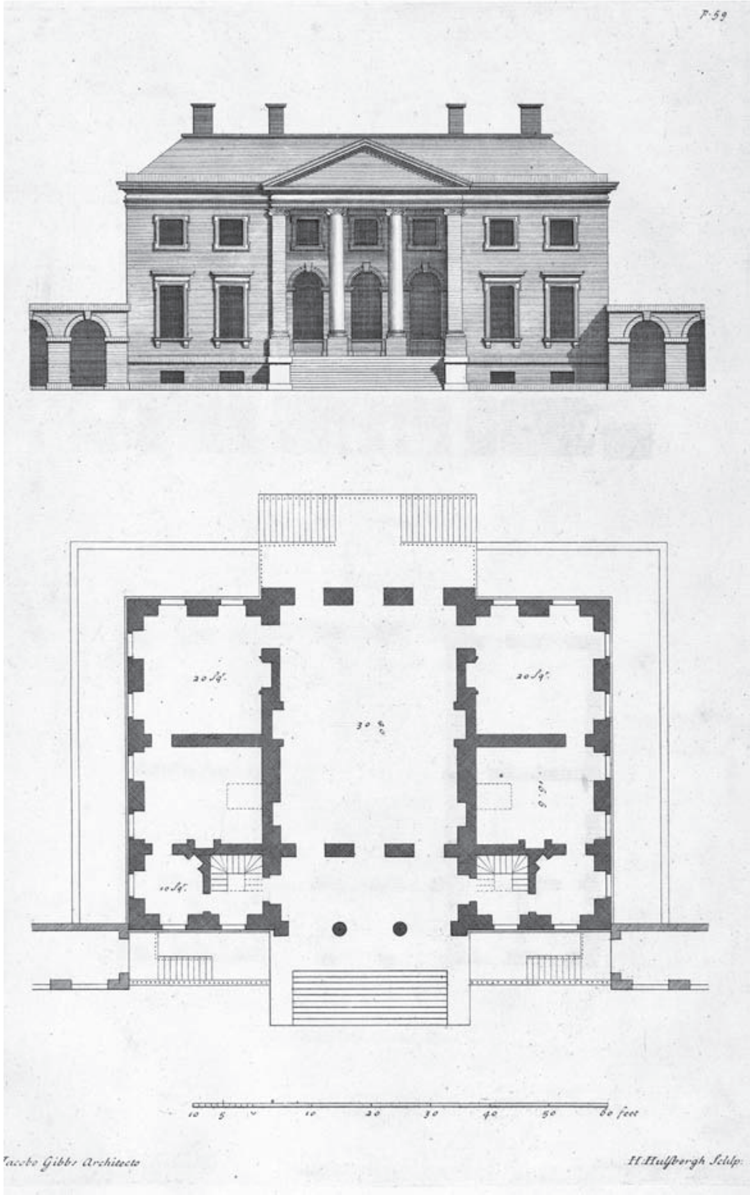
The approach from the side, through what had to feel like family spaces, also speaks to a degree of informality that increasingly characterized English country houses as the eighteenth century advanced and that accompanied the adoption of the villa rather the larger, grander houses of an earlier era.[115] The use of Belmont's hall for virtually all social functions also testifies to a degree of social indiscrimination. No doubt, the informality of life in the country made such an arrangement acceptable. Such informality has been linked to women's increasing role in the family—suggested by Callender's account of visiting Belmont—and was paralleled by increasing informality of dress as the century wore on.[116]

Belmont's plan also accorded with its exterior in a sophisticated manner. The central pavilion of the facade indicated the extent of the primary interior space, the hall. The blind bays to each side on the facade denoted small rooms in the corners, lower in the plan's hierarchy. The front corner rooms received their light from windows on the sides. This articulation of plan on the facade is a noted part of Palladian design.[117]

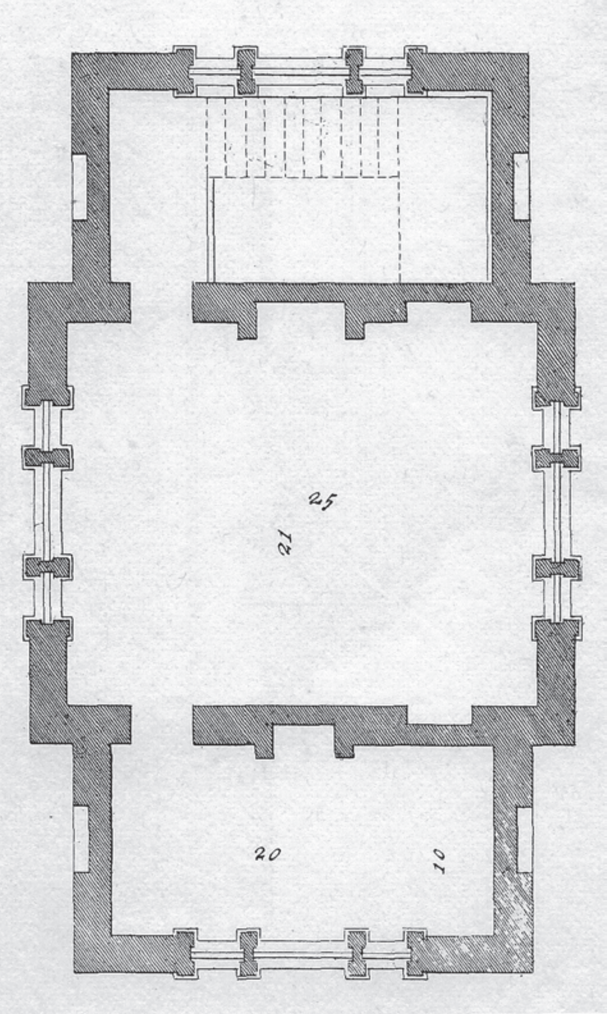
Belmont's plan belongs to a significant minority of late colonial American house plans in which a central space, usually heated, dominates. Drayton Hall, in Charleston, has a comparable plan. There the largest room is a heated central hall, although the flanking spaces are much larger than Belmont's. Drayton Hall's date (1748) is close to Belmont's (1745), making both precocious in the colonial period. Shirley Place, in Roxbury, Massachusetts (c. 1747), also had a similar plan, with one dominant room in the center, albeit unheated.[118] Blandfield, in Essex County, Virginia (c. 1765), had a pair of rooms, both heated, in the central pile. By late in the eighteenth century the two central rooms were sometimes called the *hall* and the *saloon*.[119] Another type of late colonial villa plan owes its character to the English architect Robert Morris, the foremost theoretician among the English Palladians. In this model, rooms symmetrically line up in single file, side to side, sometimes with a central hall that serves as a standard passage but sometimes with a central heated space—again often referred to as a *saloon*—that constitutes the grandest room in the house. Examples include Brandon (c. 1765), Tazewell (c. 1758–62), and the early Monticello (1770), all in Virginia.

The plans of Belmont, Drayton, and a few other country houses derive, not from the Georgian double-pile house, which by the mid-eighteenth century had entered the vernacular,[120] but from English Palladian villas or suburban retreats. For example, Belmont's plan closely resembles that for a retreat within an English country estate designed by Robert Morris, shown in a plate in Morris's *Lectures on Architecture*.[121] The adjoining plate, of the facade, showed a pedimented center of three bays with single-bay wings to each side, again as at Belmont. James Gibbs's popular *Book of Architecture* also contained plans having affinities with Belmont's. His design for a villa for the Earl of Ely at Whitton, near Hampton Court, had a large, heated central hall with four moderately sized flanking rooms and several small closets. Even closer to Belmont's plan was a design for a structure to be erected on the Earl of Oxford's bowling green at Down-hill, in Essex. This had a heated central hall, 21 by 25 feet (matching the proportions of Belmont's hall), with flanking "closets or little withdrawing rooms." Peters probably used similar terms for his side rooms at Belmont.[122] Constructed examples include Marble Hill and Alexander Pope's villa, both built in the 1720s at Twickenham, England.[123]

At Belmont the original stairway, so prominent in most Georgian houses, was tucked into the left rear corner of the house. Although stairs were often placed to the side of the hall, as at Hope Lodge, they were usually quite ample and gracious. Belmont's is a tight winder stairway that is not particularly easy to climb. In scale it is much like a service stair of the period. However, large windows lighted it at both stories; it possessed fine detailing, very unlike that of a service stair—open stringers with bracket stair ends, nicely turned balusters and newels, drops



Design for a villa for the Earl of Ely at Whitton. From James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London, 1739), LCP



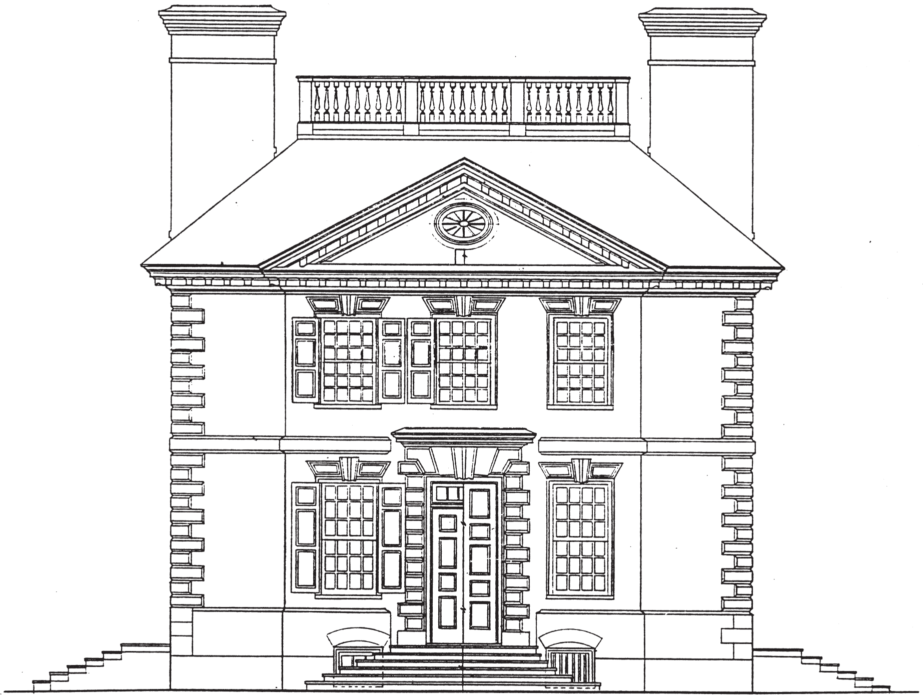
Plan for a structure to be erected on the Earl of Oxford's bowling green at Down-hill, in Essex. From James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1739), LCP

on the newels, bed moldings on each step—and was constructed entirely of naturally finished mahogany, an unusual, if not previously unknown, stair treatment.[124] The stairwell space was also treated fairly nicely, having a ceiling cornice. Originally, these stairs ran from the cellar to an open roof deck, now the third floor. Perhaps Peters believed, as Palladio and some other architects had, that stairways should be pushed into side spaces and not made grand, formal features. Some mid-eighteenth-century architectural writers felt that stairways were more a nuisance than an asset.[125] In Peters's first plan for Cliveden, the stair occupied a heated side space so as not to clutter the central hall's uninterrupted sweep through the house. The most famous comparable example in colonial America was Monticello, where Thomas Jefferson's stairs were very small and confined to side hallways.

Belmont also introduced a new facade composition to Philadelphia, a composition in which the east front demonstrated its Palladianism, which was perhaps to be expected in a house designed by a gentleman–amateur architect fresh from England. Belmont was the first house in the Delaware valley—and one of the first in the colonies—to have a pedimented central pavilion, an echo of the temple front, Palladio's most enduring legacy to the domestic architecture of Europe and America. Other early ones in the colonies were at Drayton Hall (begun 1748) and the long-unfinished Governor Bladen House in Annapolis (also begun 1740s). The 1771 watercolor of Belmont shows the roof cornice continuing across the central pavilion, thus forming a true pediment, complete with an oval window at the center, the earliest such feature in the colonies. The watercolor and archaeological investigation revealed that the original grade was three feet lower than at present, making the villa stand up with more formality and requiring a flight of steps to the central doorway.

The east front also exhibited a level of detail, particularly rustication, unmatched in sophistication in the Delaware valley. Conspicuous gray limestone, beveled quoins trim the doorway and corners in a robust display uncommon on colonial buildings of so early a date, Independence Hall (begun 1732) being the only other known example.[126] The windows and doors have gray limestone jack arches with keystones. The doorway was originally surmounted by a limestone cornice, later removed to facilitate the installation of a porch. This quite academic doorway composition compares closely to one in James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728), a volume crucial for Belmont and its generation of country houses.[127]

Belmont's interior detailing also shows a sophistication and fashionability new among Philadelphia country houses of its period. The hall's woodwork was more classically correct than that of previous houses and marked, at least in Delaware valley country houses, an end to a carpentry tradition that had clung to older, Queen Anne forms. In the academic correctness of its woodwork, Belmont compared more closely to that major public

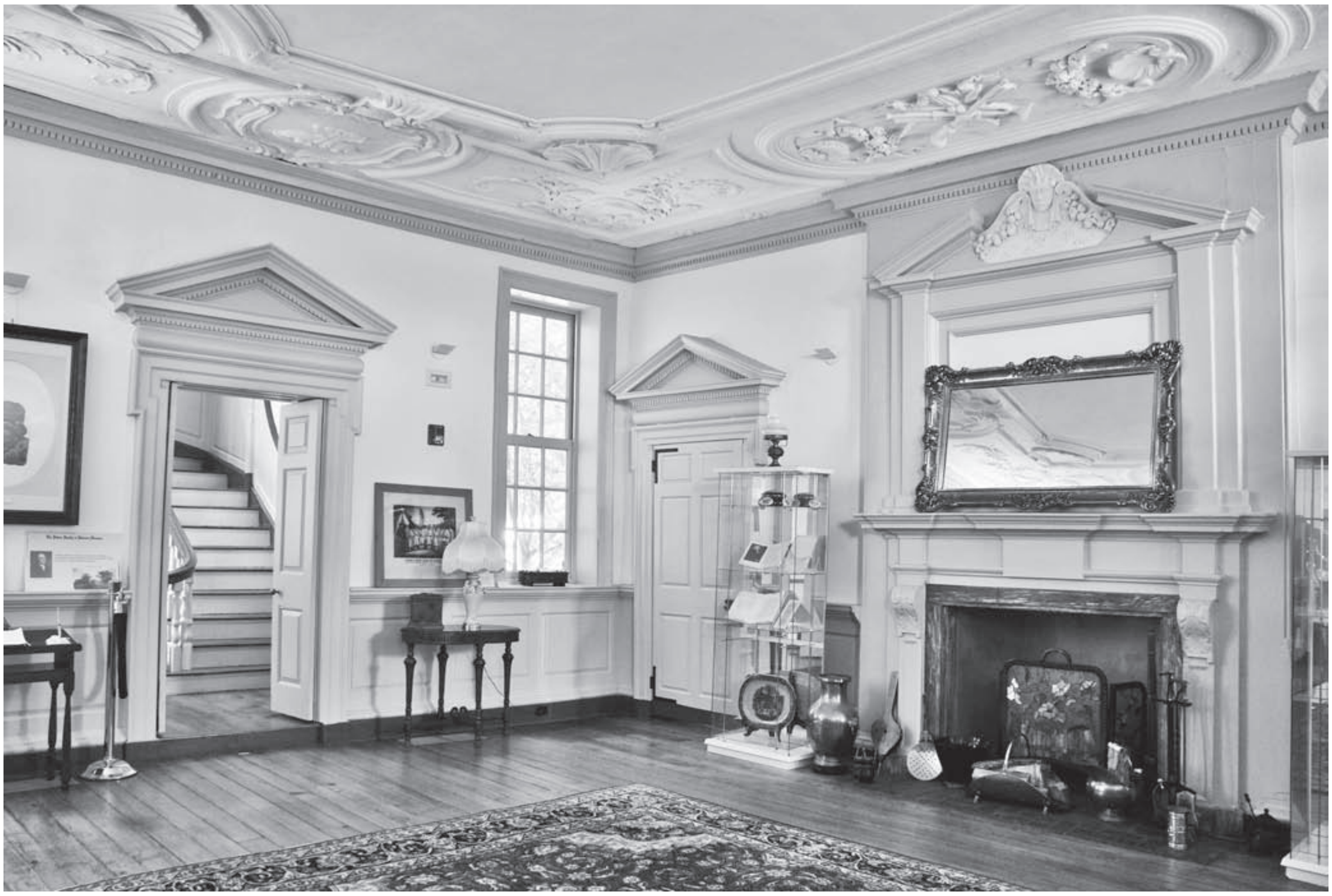


Belmont, facade, showing two possible variants of the front doorway. Drawing by Peter A. Copp from *Belmont*

building project of the 1730s and 1740s, Independence Hall. Again, among houses of similar date, Drayton Hall had comparable woodwork.

Belmont's hall is one of the major surviving rooms of American colonial architecture, comparable to many in more famous houses in the Philadelphia region and elsewhere. The English often called such a room a *saloon* or *great room*,[128] although there is no evidence that Belmont's had such a moniker until the mid-nineteenth century. Marble Hill, for example, had a room similar to Belmont's hall that was referred to as a great room.[129] All four walls of Belmont's hall have symmetrical compositions, an acknowledged goal of Georgian designers but one rarely achieved. The hall has plaster on all the walls above the dado; not even the fireplace wall had full wainscoting, the first occurrence of this treatment in Philadelphia and a sign of the general reaction against wainscoting, as wallpaper and the display of pictures became more important.[130] In Belmont's case the last was probably the crucial factor, and Peters even went beyond pictures in having statues in bronze. Sculpture often appeared in English Palladian houses.[131]

Belmont, keystone over front window. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

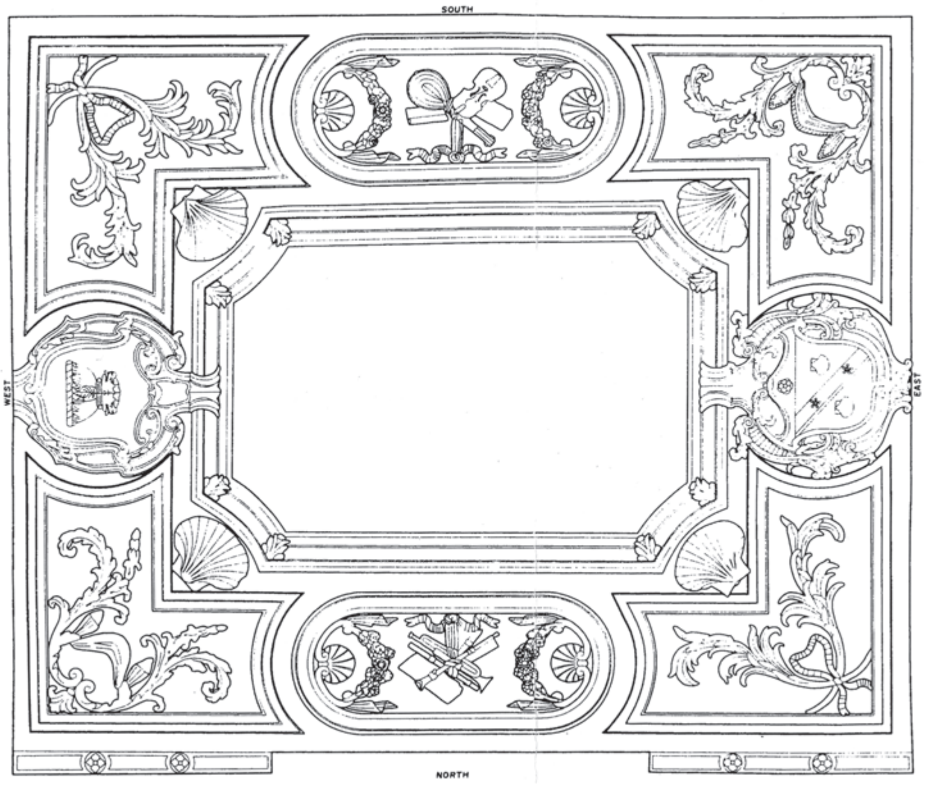


Belmont, hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

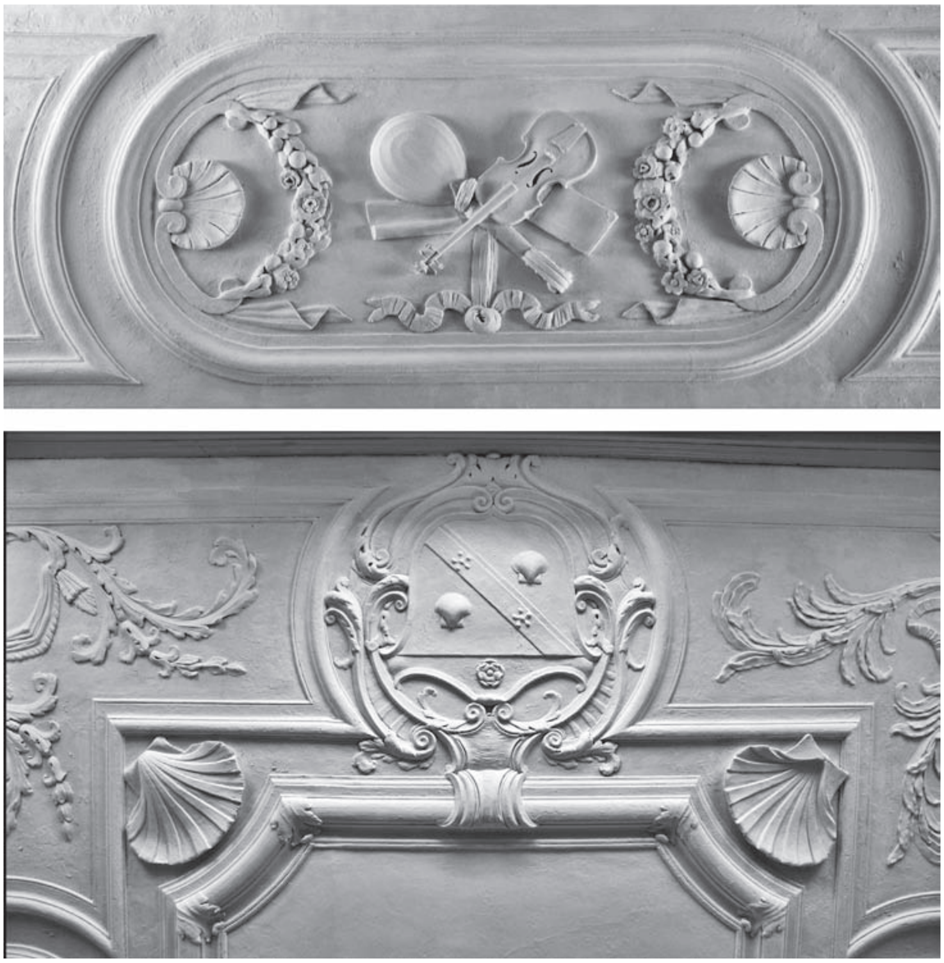
The hall's fireplace and pedimented doorways compared favorably with the designs in the most up-to-date English pattern books. The fireplace has features that appear in plates from William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1743) and Batty Langley's *Treasury of Designs* (1739), both important books of the Palladian dispersion. The influence of Langley's *Treasury* and Abraham Swan's *British Architect* (1745) is also apparent in the fine mantelpiece in the main chamber on the second floor. The hall's mantelpiece possesses special magnificence. The boldness of its pilasters and their lack of ornament give the composition a masculine, somewhat severe character, with an architectonic quality quite different from that of the more usual later mantelpiece form in which the entablature over the fireplace is omitted and the overmantel frame loosely floats on the wall and carries rococo-inspired carving. Belmont's mantel composition owes more to first-generation Palladian work, such as that of William Kent and John Vardy. A very similar overmantel appears in Farnborough Hall, Warwickshire (before 1750).[132] No other house in the Philadelphia region combined these motifs in a similar fashion to form a correct but original and aesthetically pleasing mantelpiece composition. Such a design indicates that Belmont's designer and craftsmen fully understood the new Palladian vocabulary, the true classicism.

As to the plaster head over Belmont's mantel, these appeared often in Inigo Jones's work and so in eighteenth-century Palladian work as well.[133] Batty Langley's *Treasury of Designs* shows quite similar ones that could have served as models for Belmont's. Indeed, such heads over mantels are fairly common in colonial architecture. They appear at Philipse Manor House, Yonkers, New York (c. 1745), and Drayton Hall. One of the two china closets with arched heads in the parlor at Whitby Hall, in the Kingsessing neighborhood of Philadelphia, has a somewhat similar head, although it is more cherublike and appears at the center of a sunburst.

The plasterwork of Belmont's hall ceiling also stands unmatched in American architecture of the time. Its style, like that of the rest of the villa, resembles that of English work of the 1730s and is far in advance of most colonial work. At the center of the ceiling is a blank, elongated octagonal field with curved corners. It is framed by a heavy bolection molding with acanthus leaves wrapping over the corners, one of several instances on the ceiling where naturalistic forms overlap more architectonic elements, giving the ceiling an increased sense of depth. The carving is very robust, with boldly modeled elements, quite distinct from the more delicate rococo ceilings of later colonial work, such as those at Drayton Hall and Philipse Manor. Enframed panels around the central field contain various ornaments. In the corners, paired sprays of foliage and either ribbons or drapes, of two types, oppose each other across the diagonals of the room. Between these panels and the central field, scallop shells, two convexly and two concavely modeled and again paired across the diagonals, create a strong composition that injects another direction of movement into the hall. The shell formed part of the Peters coat of arms and was one of William Kent's favorite motifs.[134] At the center of the east and west sides of the ceiling, along the axis of entry, are displayed the arms of the Peters family, half on each side. Over the entrance door hangs a cartouche containing a shield with a diagonal bar and two scallop shells. Family crests are displayed on plaster ceilings in the halls of country houses in England, as at Houghton Hall and Raynham.[135] Over the stairway door a pair of opposing lions fills a cartouche. Displays of musical instruments form the motifs in the center of the ceiling's north and south sides. These are augmented by floral garlands and more scallop shells. A delicate border with small, four-petal lead rosettes and stippling fills in the area of the ceiling to each side of the fireplace projection.



Belmont, hall-ceiling plan. Drawing by Martin Jay Rosenblum and Associates, from *Belmont*



Belmont, hall-ceiling details. Photographs by Mark Reinberger

Fiske Kimball, in his 1927 article on Belmont, presented a plate from William Jones's *The Gentlemen's or Builders' Companion* (1739) as a possible inspiration for the hall ceiling. There are some obvious similarities between the plate and the extant ceiling, such as the overall composition and the bolder molding for the central field. A later author stated that the ceiling was similar to one at Clandon Park, Surrey, England, attributed to the Italian *stuccatore* Artari, one of the most famous plasterworkers in England.[136] We can be fairly sure that Belmont's ceiling was executed by the Italian stuccoworker whom Hockley mentioned to Thomas Penn in April 1749, the one he said James Hamilton was going to use at Bush Hill.[137]

Clear affinities in the moldings and some of the decorative motifs link Belmont's plasterwork to that in the Music Pavilion, Sun Street, Lancaster, England (c. 1730), indirectly attributed to the Franchini family, who worked all over England and Ireland (and perhaps America).[138] This example is particularly intriguing as it lies in William Peters's part of England, as was a ceiling in Alkrington Hall (begun 1735), in Lancashire, whose moldings and some other motifs have similarities with Belmont's.[139] Another room from the west of England that has significant similarities with Belmont is the hall of Farnborough Hall, Warwickshire, completed in the 1730s, although with a slightly later ceiling by William Perritt.[140] However, there were many plasterworkers in England in this period, and attribution in the absence of documentation is virtually impossible.[141] Displays of musical instruments were fairly common on English ceilings in this era, and Peters was a great lover of music. If some of the motifs of Belmont's hall ceiling were known in England, it must also be said that representational ornamentation of any kind is rare in American colonial architecture, especially residential. Representational ornamentation provided the designer and the owner with a means of self-expression and a means of distinguishing character and purpose in architecture. At Belmont it is another element that proclaims that house's sophistication and prescient status in colonial design.

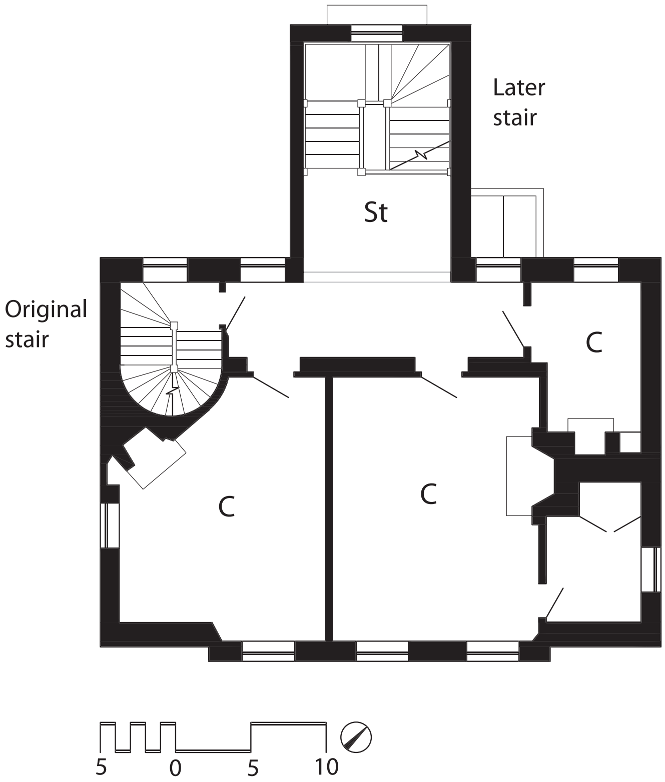
The only really comparable American colonial ceiling is in the withdrawing room at Drayton Hall. That ceiling has similar heavy bolection moldings, but otherwise the ornamentation is more delicate, more comparable to work of the 1760s, suggesting that it is transitional in style and date. If the ceilings of Drayton were later than the house itself—as is likely given their style—Belmont's hall ceiling becomes without exception the earliest surviving modeled plaster ceiling in America.[142]

The original color scheme of Belmont had only two tones. The trim of the hall was partially painted with a red primer and partially left unpainted for a time, which was not unusual in the colonial period. The first finish color was a dark yellow ochre, a color soon followed by a lighter tone of the same shade. These colors stood near the top of the eighteenth-century hierarchy of colors and were newly fashionable in the 1740s. The trim of all the other rooms in the house was painted a light bluish gray, which was lower in the hierarchy because less expensive.[143]

Belmont's second-floor plan is as unusual as its first-floor plan, primarily because it had to offer a functional accommodation of bedchambers in the space provided. A passage stretching from the stairway along the rear of the house was nicely treated with a cornice and three large windows overlooking the garden. However, the tightness of the stair and the narrowness of this passage suggest that a parade was not uppermost in Peters's mind when he first designed Belmont. The passage gave access to three chambers: the north, or primary, chamber, which had its own dressing closet; a good-sized but irregular south chamber, with a corner fireplace; and a small but still heated chamber in the northwest corner. The wings of the house contained at least three more chambers. The small northeast-corner room, unheated and with a humble level of finish, served as a closet for the master chamber and probably functioned as a dressing and toilet room, much like a room at Hope Lodge.

Apparently, William Peters came to feel that the small corner stairway did not provide a grand enough parade to the upstairs chambers, so he added an axial stair tower to the rear, providing a stair of the size and prominence normally expected in a Georgian house. Such stair towers were conspicuous features of colonial architecture in the Delaware valley, so much so that they almost seem to have had a kind of association with official life in the colony. Pennsbury, the country seat of William Penn, may have had the earliest stair tower (1683). Independence Hall also had one (added 1750–53), as did several later country houses. Peters added his in the 1760s, probably after 1762, as Callender makes no mention of it. The single-story wings to each side of the front elevation were probably also added at this time (by 1771), creating larger rooms on each side of the hall.

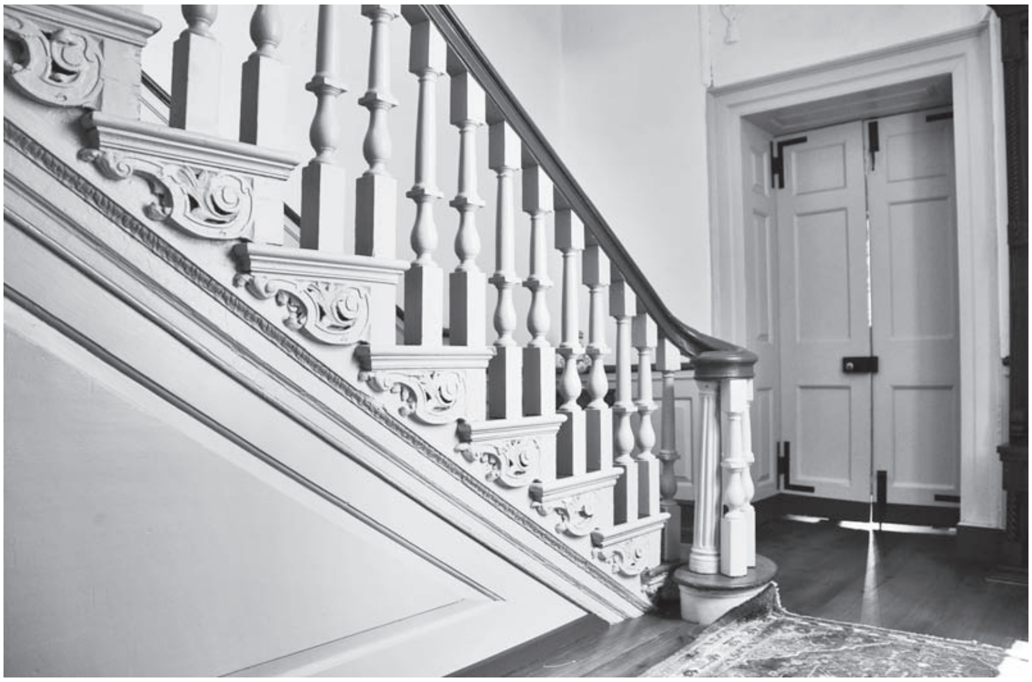
The new stair would also have played a role in enforcing the social hierarchy of the newly enlarged villa. The old stair could have been used primarily for servants, with the new one reserved for the master and mistress of the house and their invited guests. That the stair tower also had a modeled ceiling, in a style similar to the hall's, further under-



Belmont, second-floor plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Belmont*

scored the ceremonial nature of the new space. Belmont's grand stairway is quite different from the original winder stairs, but the differences are in scale and design rather than in style. The fifteen carved brackets at the ends of the steps are of the "broken scroll" type, a type that Fiske Kimball said only appeared in America after its publication in William Pain's 1758 *Builder's Companion*.[144]

Belmont, stair. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



The New Ideal of Retirement

Belmont represented a new form of country house in the Philadelphia area, the suburban retirement or villa. In size and form it accorded with a new ideal of retirement, meant as a temporary retreat from business for leisure and intellectual recreation. Thomas Penn referred to Belmont as a "retirement" in a letter to William Peters. At another time Penn noted about Peters: "He may, I think fix some office hours, so as to have time for his Air, Exercise and Retirement," a reference to William's attachment to Belmont that also reflected Penn's apprehension that William's love of leisure was interfering with business.[145] Penn was very interested in what Peters had done because he had begun a retirement himself at Springettsbury.

The concept of retirement had undergone a change from the generation of William Penn, Norris, and Logan to that of Thomas Penn and William Peters. For the older generation, retirement was religious and involved a fairly complete detachment from the world of business and a closer contact with God through living in the country and farming. But Thomas Penn, William Peters, and others of their generation had no thought of giving up their town houses or commercial enterprises. For them, retirement represented a temporary retreat for personal relaxation and improvement during a busy life, a place where the owner could be, as Robert Morris put it, "divested from Care, and the agonizing Pains of Gout, and of all other real and imaginary Maladies."[146]

Artistic, intellectual, and epicurean pleasures defined this new form of villa, which was located at the edge of the city so as to be within easy reach of the man of affairs and preferably upon an eminence "for the more easily obtaining a Variety of Views."[147] A major part of the new ideal of country retirement was the predominance of pleasure gardening over farming.[148] Springettsbury's or Belmont's "beautiful figures . . . all forming the most agreeable variety" replaced Fairhill's "nature in its rough dress." A carefully planned but artfully "natural" landscape, preferably with a variety of scenery, such as grand views, deep woods, gardens, and so on, was an important part of the ideal, an ideal that was the backbone of William Peters's initial conception of Belmont. Villas like Belmont also celebrated fine and polite arts, such as landscape painting and music.

Indeed, to the religiously inclined mind of the Reverend Richard Peters, Belmont demonstrated a "dissipation of mind" on the part of his brother William. Surely the villa and extensive landscaped gardens at Belmont, complete with statues, parterres, and summerhouses, must have seemed extravagant to many Philadelphians in the 1740s. That they were begun for a mistress and children could only add to the association of dissipation that would have surrounded the place. Many in mid-eighteenth-century Britain worried about high living and its potentially detrimental effect on the empire.[149] Similarly, many of the English country-house poets had long before condemned architecturally stylish new seats in favor of the older houses, which they considered virtuous because they were productive, useful, and homey. The newer ones were concerned too much with art, "curious skill," and artificiality. The architectural orders, for example, were sometimes noted as a source of unwonted pride.[150] Quakerism in Philadelphia added further fuel to this angst about the new style. In 1749 the Philadelphia quarterly meeting noted that "it is obvious that Pride and Superfluity too much Prevails both in Apparel and Furniture," and in the 1760s a visiting Quaker minister bemoaned even "Friends in this City in their endeavoring to outdo each other in the Grandeur of their Houses, Tables, Entertainments etc."[151]

Pennsylvania's first generation of Quakers had built such early country houses as Pennsbury, Thomas Fairman's house, Fairhill, Belair, Stenton, and Hope Lodge. The new houses, such as Belmont and Bush Hill, with their self-conscious Palladianism, were the work of "Anglican outsiders." William Peters fit perfectly into this new class. He supported Whig principles, since they coincided with the ambitions of the upper middle class, to which he belonged, and also accorded with the property rights of the Penn family. He was a staunch Anglican, with an Anglican priest for a brother, and he quite vehemently opposed Quaker interests in Philadelphia.[152] Peters was a lawyer who used his skill for the benefit of his patron, Thomas Penn, who followed his advice in extracting rents from the inhabitants of the colony.[153] He also had pretensions to high social status, especially through his close relations with the Penn family. He was wealthy and consumed conspicuously, in stark contrast to the conscious restraint and avoidance of at least the appearance of luxury practiced by Philadelphia's Quakers. Both groups used the bourgeois country house to reinforce their membership in their respective sets and their position with regard to current fashion and ideology, but the aims of the two groups varied greatly.[154]

CHAPTER 12

An Explosion and Variety of Country Houses at Midcentury

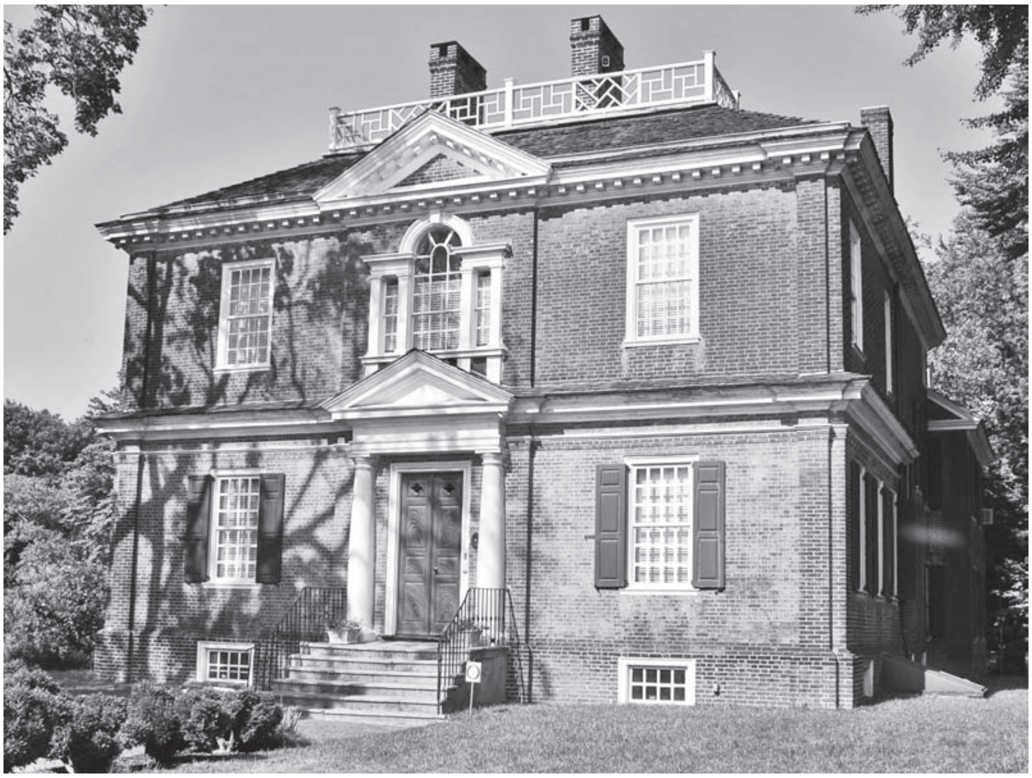
The change from the country seat as plantation or permanent retirement to the country seat as villa or occasional retirement led around midcentury to a generation of more modest houses intended only for short-term seasonal use. As at Bush Hill, Springettsbury, and Belmont, agriculture was not a major part of life at many of them, and often their sites had room for only modest pleasure or kitchen gardens. Formally diverse, some represent new design models, and some evolved out of older vernacular country dwellings. We look first at two new modes of smaller villas that, like their probable inspiration, Belmont, possessed architectural pretension, if modest size. The first type had a single story with a hipped roof, known from a survivor, Woodford, and illustrations of a few others. The second possessed an unusual form in the colonies: two stories with a large gable forming the entrance facade. None survive, but several appear in older illustrations. Other country houses from this era arose from vernacular roots, with distinctly nonacademic forms and details. These include the very small and unpretentious Cedar Grove and The Cliffs, several houses in Germantown that display German influence, and the highly idiosyncratic Bartram House. Finally, Graeme Park emerged from William Keith's homely Fountain Low (chapter 9), much like a butterfly from a chrysalis, possessing some of the finest surviving interiors in the American colonies.

Woodford: An Elegant Small Retirement in the Northern Liberties

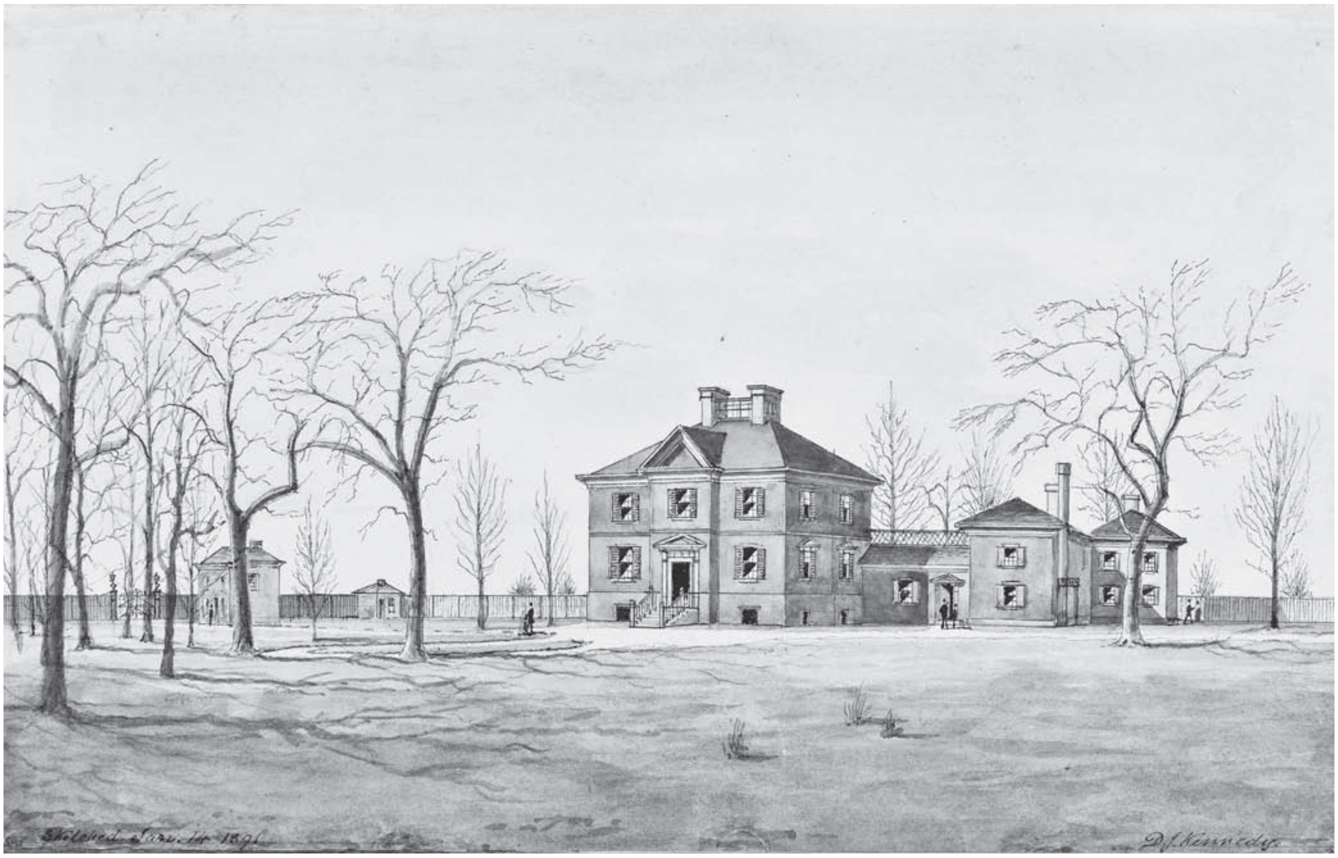
Woodford was one of several pretentious but fairly small midcentury country seats that followed the lead of Belmont. Originally very modest in the scale of both its house and land, Woodford illustrates the new mode of country seat as a place of short-term retirement. Now in Fairmount Park, its site in the Northern Liberties placed it in the best company. The house was built by William Coleman (1704–1769), a merchant and judge, on a twelve-acre parcel purchased in 1756 from the estate of Thomas Shute.[1] The small size of Coleman's parcel implies that he intended no extensive agricultural enterprise at Woodford. The land stood high and relatively flat, not close to the river but very convenient to the road to the falls (now Ridge Avenue). Today, because of woods along the bluff overlooking the Schuylkill, one is not even aware that the river is close by. However, in the eighteenth century the open land would have afforded a view of the river from the rear of the house down the swale of a small stream that today is just below Strawberry Bridge.

Coleman represents the upward social mobility that Philadelphia offered in the eighteenth century. His Quaker father practiced house carpentry, but William apprenticed with a merchant and succeeded in trade. In 1751 he became a justice of the peace, an appointment that began a long rise through the colony's judiciary. He also engaged in intellectual activities, and Benjamin Franklin called him one of Philadelphia's "ingenious men." He belonged to Franklin's "club of mutual improvement," the Junto, which evolved into the Library Company of Philadelphia, of which Coleman was the first treasurer. He also helped found the American Philosophical Society.[2] Coleman's obituary in 1768 noted his love of "study and retirement,"[3] a trait no doubt specifically emphasized by his construction of Woodford.

Within a year of buying the land, Coleman began to build a house. Fragments of his accounts for 1757 and 1758 mention payments on account for the twelve acres of land and expenses for "house building" and "building in the No. Liberties."[4] The accounts indicate only a few of the trades involved, such as hardware and painting. Since these appear late in the construction of a house, by the end of 1757 Woodford in its original form must have been fairly well along. It is possible to confidently date Woodford's construction to 1756–58,



Woodford (1756). Two stories tall since the later colonial period, it originally had only one story. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

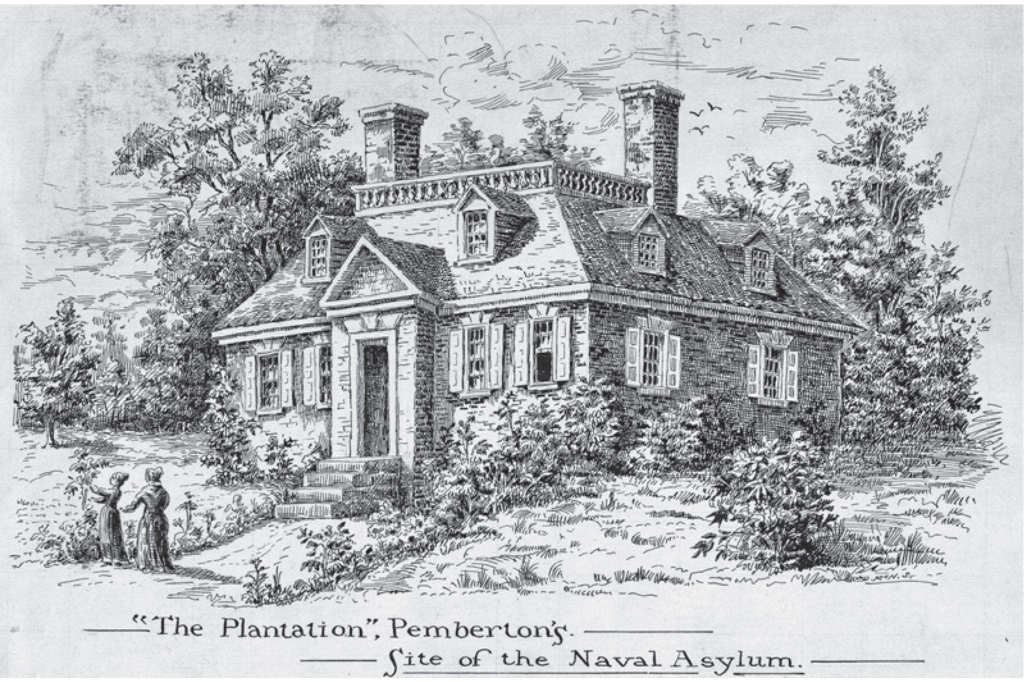


Wilton. Watercolor by David J. Kennedy, HSP

an unusual time to be building a house, since Pennsylvania's frontiers were then engulfed in the French and Indian War. Coleman was a brother-in-law of the carpenter Edward Warner, so perhaps Warner was involved in the construction.

Today Woodford stands two full stories tall—it looks very much as Wilton did—and has a rear brick wing, but originally it was one and a half stories tall and there was only the front block. A 1769 Philadelphia Contributionship insurance survey describes this first house as approximately 45 feet long by 25 feet deep with two symmetrically disposed flanking stone buildings.[5] Symmetrical outbuildings suggest a formal landscaping scheme. An advertisement for Woodford in 1769 mentioned "12 acres . . . a handsome garden, a thriving orchard of good apple trees, and other fruit, and a well of excellent water. The whole place being under good post and rail and pallisadoe fence."[6] The mention of good fencing, an orchard, and good water is typical for real-estate advertisements for rural properties of the period. "Handsome" implies more than simply the kitchen garden expected as part of a country-house property. It probably had an embellished kitchen garden with flowers interspersed with the vegetables and the whole laid out in an attractive manner.

Woodford's second owner, Alexander Barclay, a member of the famous Barclay family of financiers, acted as the king's comptroller in Philadelphia. Although he owned the place only three years before he died in 1771, he did add the piazza mentioned in the insurance survey as "quite new" and described as "a piazza back [at the rear] extending 10 feet from the house at the whole length of the house." The ten-foot depth made it similar to others advertised.[7]


"The Plantation", Pemberton's.
Site of the Naval Asylum.

Pemberton country seat, very similar to Woodford as first built. Society Print, HSP

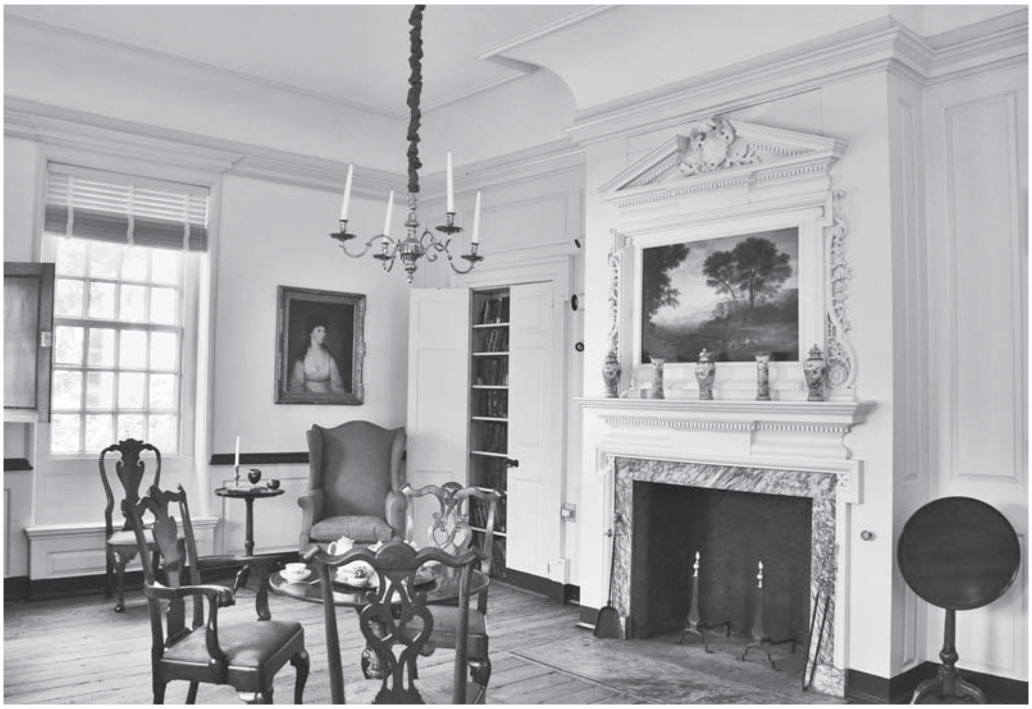
From the 1769 insurance survey and surviving evidence in the house, we can confidently reconstruct Woodford's original form. It comprised the front block of the present house, one story high, with a probably fairly tall hipped roof. It would have looked much like the long-destroyed, so-called Pemberton Mansion (also called the Kinsey-Pemberton House or "The Plantation"), on the Schuylkill River in Passyunk Township. John Kinsey (1693–1750), another judge, built this house and later sold it to James Pemberton (1723–1809). It lay just south of the city, below Cedar (now South) Street, and had extensive views up and down the river. Kinsey began it in 1743, just after he was appointed chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.[8] As a judge, William Coleman would have known Kinsey's country house. Both would have been acquainted with the attorney William Peters's grander Belmont. The Kinsey-Pemberton House survived until 1829, when it was demolished to make way for the Naval Asylum.[9] Views show it as a single-story rectangular structure with proportions similar to Woodford's.

The Kinsey-Pemberton House and Woodford represented an elegant solution to the design problem of the small villa. At Woodford a bold Tuscan frontispiece on the projecting central bay effectively gave a pedimented central pavilion. Tuscan was an appropriate order for a country house. The very tall front doors—correctly proportioned, with the height twice the width—precluded a transom window, so the carpenters cut quatrefoil lights into the top panels to give light to an otherwise dark entry. Brick piers at the corners recall Stenton, but here they appeared as actual pilasters because set in from the corner. These elements suggest the greater architectural sophistication and classical correctness permeating architectural design at the time.

Woodford's plan does not produce quite as elegant a design solution as the exterior, but the entry passage and the parlor are two fine spaces (p. 160). The entry passage, expressed front and rear by the projecting central pavilions, ran uninterrupted through the house, recalling Belmont's hall and anticipating later villas, such as Mount Pleasant. The stair was pushed to the side, although this made for some awkwardness in the right rear space and forced the introduction of an outside corner fireplace away from the two main stacks that symmetrically flanked the center.[10] Additionally, the desire for symmetry demanded some gimmicks but was achieved completely in the most important two spaces, the parlor and the entry passage. The plaster walls of the passage were whitewashed, which was universal in Woodford and most Philadelphia colonial houses. The trim received a pale orange yellow paint—yellow being a common color for halls—except for a dark brown chair-rail cap and a continuous black base.[11] In a nice touch, a Doric screen defined the slightly wider front entry, creating a spatial division between front and back, public and private, spaces. Woodford's is the earliest surviving Doric screen in a Philadelphia colonial country house, but in later years they would become de rigueur in important area houses. The very smallness of Woodford's Doric screen suggests that such an element operated as a code for formal entry. The element appeared earlier in the State House (and possibly in town houses), and its use by the gentry in houses may represent a borrowing from that public building.

The large south room, the parlor, also remains as it always was, brightly lit by five windows, a brightness that would have contrasted with the dark passage. The parlor woodwork was painted a light bluish green.[12] The chimney piece and overmantel constituted the architectural high point of the house and one of the finer examples of the joiner's and carver's arts in the Delaware valley. Apparently, Georgian gentry kept their heads erect and their eyes aimed upward, so that the greatest elaboration of architecture was toward the top of walls.[13] The crossetted architrave frame surrounded a panel that now holds, and probably always did, a landscape scene. Obviously recalling the hall overmantel at Belmont, Woodford's is less severe and more playful, suggesting the influence of the rococo after midcentury.[14]

Besides the stair, the north side of the first floor contained two bedchambers. The front, northeast room was called the chamber and served as the master bedroom since it con-

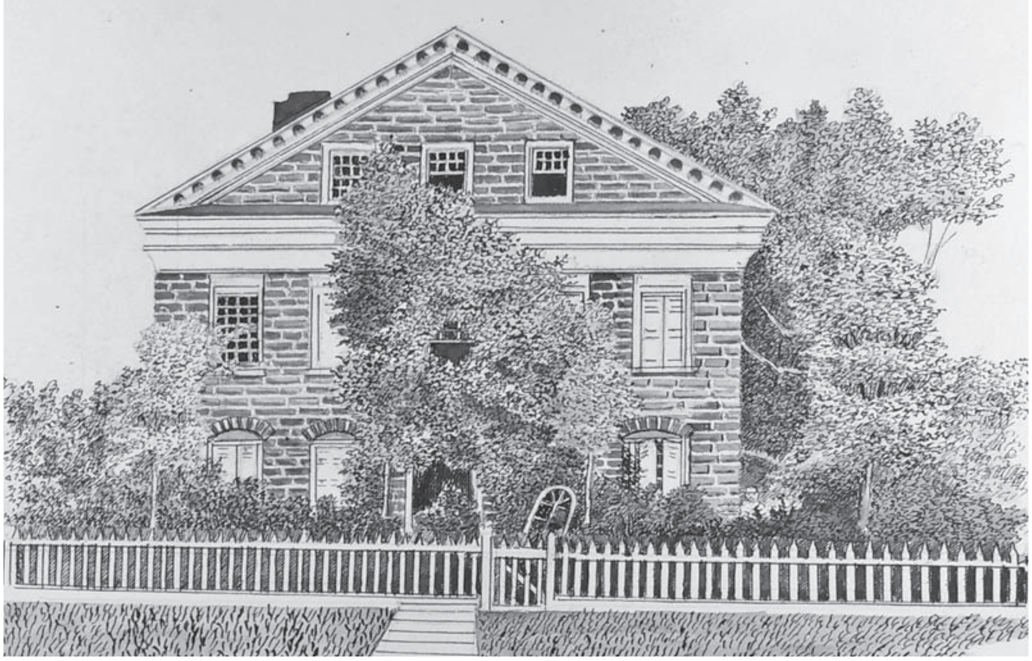


Woodford, parlor. Photograph by Mark Reinberger tained the best sleeping furniture in the house: a mahogany bedstead with a red bolster and counterpane and blue-and-white bed curtains, a dressing table, and a bookcase. The woodwork in this room was painted gray. The northwest room, in the rear, was called "the little Back Room" and held a more modest pine bedstead and walnut couch. This space also held the original stair, which ran to both the garret chambers and the cellar kitchen, which stretched under both north rooms and had a large cooking fireplace, still there. The stair stood open—the insurance survey described it as "newel stairs." As at Belmont, this stair later proved inadequate, and when the house was raised a story, a new, grander open stair was added at the rear. Rooms upstairs in the original garret contained simple bedroom furniture.

The Jacob Marks House and Whitby Hall: The Classical Gable Entry

Just before midcentury the Philadelphia merchant Jacob Marks bought land north of the core of Germantown. German-speaking, Marks probably felt comfortable in the community where a majority still spoke his native language. However, he broke with Germantown tradition in erecting a classically fashionable house, freestanding on a parcel separate from the community. Such settings would subsequently become the norm for country houses in Germantown, as newcomers distanced themselves from the older town and its inhabitants by building on "suburban" parcels. Marks's house was the earliest piece of architecture in the community that self-consciously differed from the Germantown vernacular. To judge from old photographs, the Marks House formed a substantial and fashionable pile with a form unusual in Philadelphia and colonial architecture.

The Marks House had a plan similar to Belair's: single-pile with a central hall and a substantial room to each side, the chimneys located centrally on each room's rear wall. Its dimensions, 41 feet across the front by 24 feet deep, also matched Belair's. However, it

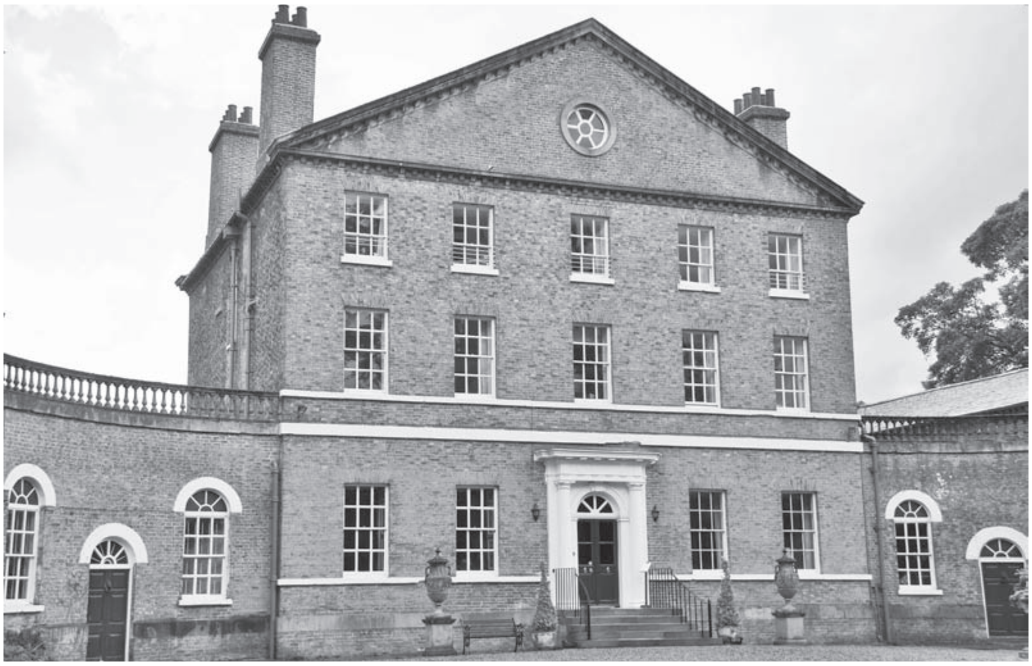


Jacob Marks House (c. 1750), the earliest known gable-front country house in Philadelphia. Drawing by John Richards, Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia differed radically in the orientation of the roof: the ridge ran the short way, front to back, giving a large gable toward the front, meant to suggest a classical pediment. This form resulted in an inefficient roof frame with extremely long rafters, undoubtedly supported midspan by knee walls. But it did produce a grand classical front and a large, habitable garret prominently lit by three large windows in the front gable.

The house had the exterior vocabulary of finer Germantown buildings: dressed ashlar on the front; segmentally arched windows on the first story, then passing out of favor in the most up-to-date architecture; and a plaster cove under the cornice fascia, by this time a feature descending into the vernacular and found on many Germantown structures. However, the modillioned cornice that ran up the rakes of the front gable would have been decidedly new in the community. This feature was used incorrectly here, because the rakes of a pediment should match the horizontal cornice, which here has only a plain fascia and crown molding, modillions being precluded by the cove. It would seem that the carpenter, possibly a local Germantown craftsman, retained old ways but was also learning the newer classical manners.

The gable, or pedimented, front entry appeared rarely in the colonial era. Robert Morris, one of the chief theorists of English Palladianism, presented designs in which a central gable dominated lower wings to each side,[15] designs echoed in William Halfpenny's books.[16] An English example is Sutton Park, in Yorkshire (1750), and the architect James Paine used this form elsewhere. From these emerged the temple-and-wings form of house popular in Virginia and North Carolina during the late colonial and Federal eras.[17] The Morris and Halfpenny books came too late to have inspired the Marks House, though the builders may have been familiar with other English examples.[18]

The giant front gable provided an architectural means of aggrandizing the single-pile, central-hall house plan, the traditional form of which—with gabled roof ridge parallel with the front facade—might have seemed out-of-date and diminutive in the face of pedimented country houses such as Belmont and Bush Hill. The Marks House presented



Sutton Park, Yorkshire (1750), an English example of the gable-front type. Photograph by Mark Reinberger itself as much grander than Belair and had the now-popular front pediment, a virtual aesthetic necessity in Philadelphia country houses with any pretension from this time forward, even in small ones such as Woodford.

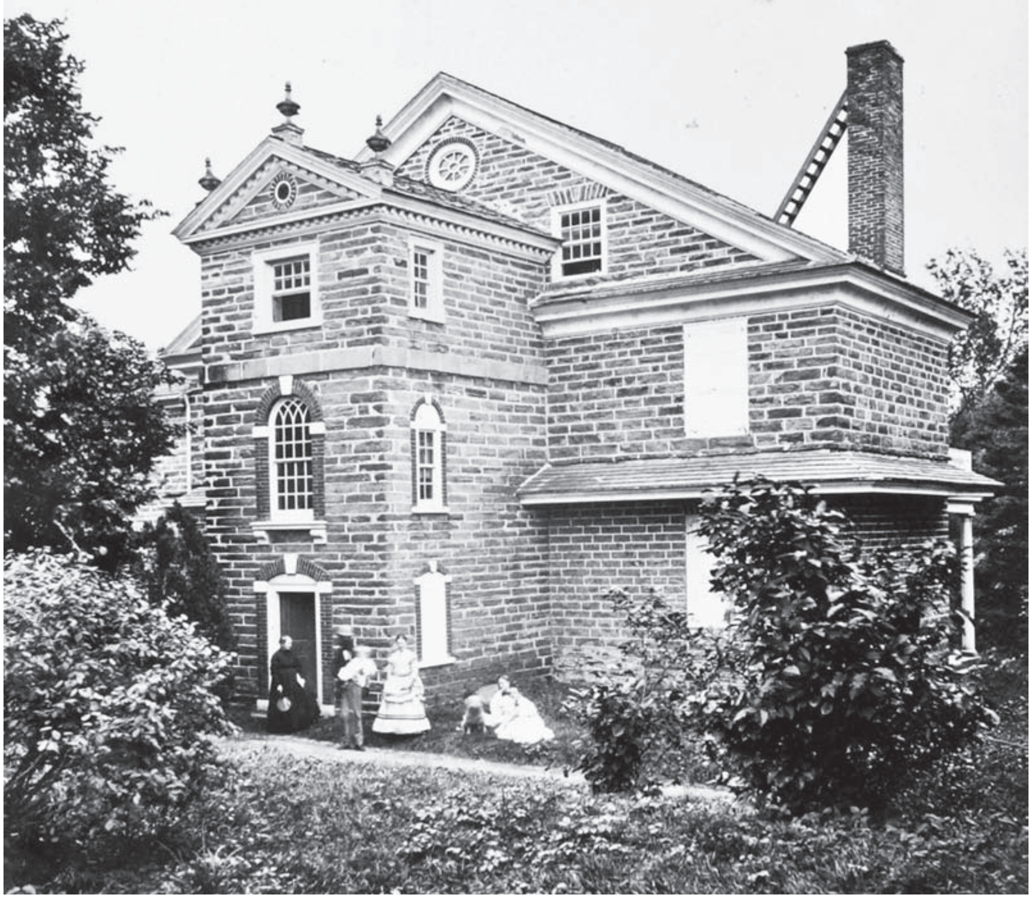
Only a few years after the house's construction Marks tried unsuccessfully to sell the place, which was not uncommon with country seats; there was never any shortage on the market, perhaps because they often proved a greater drain on finances than expected. Marks tried to sell the place for more than a decade, all the while making substantial improvements to the landscape around the house, including significant ornamental features: "two Rows of black Cherry Trees for an Avenue, together with a great many fine Cherry Trees, Plum Trees and Pear Trees, and a Parcel of fine Filbert Trees . . . a Court Yard in the Front of the House, a Piazza joining the House, a good kitchen Garden of about Half an Acre, one Half of it walled round, and the other Half paled." The allée of cherry trees recalls Belmont; the courtyard, Fairhill and Stenton; and the piazza, Woodford.

A better-known Philadelphia country house with the gable-front form was Whitby Hall, originally in Kingsessing Township, Philadelphia, but moved in 1923 to Haverford and drastically reconfigured.[19] The house originally stood at what is now 58th and Florence Streets,[20] close to and overlooking Cobbs Creek, not far from the road between Gray's Ferry and Derby (now Woodland Avenue). Country seats built after 1740 almost always overlooked streams or rivers for the view, a requirement not so important in earlier generations. Kingssessing Township, a vicinity of yeomen and mills, possessed relatively few bourgeois country seats, although John Bartram's interesting house and garden (discussed below) lay not far away on the Schuylkill.

Whitby began life in 1741 as a vernacular, central-hall, single-pile, wood-framed yeoman's farmhouse. Built by Thomas Paschall Jr. on a 296-acre plantation that had long been in his family, the house faced south on a picturesque spot on the banks of Ameasaka Creek, a tributary of Cobbs Creek. In 1748 Paschall sold the property to James Coultas (d. 1768) and his wife, Elizabeth (1712–1770), who in 1754 attached to the farmhouse a new main block, still single-pile and with a central hall but larger and with large gables to front and rear. The original date stone, inscribed with James's and Elizabeth's initials and "1754," survives in the relocated house. The farmhouse became the service wing for the enlarged structure. Even later a stair tower—unusually elaborate inside and out—was added to the new block, as at Belmont.

Coultas worked the plantation with slaves, but his primary sources of wealth were business and public office. His town house, at a good address on Chestnut Street, stood near the State House,[21] and he owned ships and a merchant's countinghouse.[22] In later years he held important public offices, most importantly that of high sheriff of Philadelphia, a post to which he was elected in 1755 for a three-year term. He engaged in such typical rural gentry sports as fox hunting with hounds, apparently on his own land,[23] and was also a charter member of the Colony in Schuylkill, a gentlemen's fishing and social club.[24] Coultas initially bought the Kingsessing property as a speculative venture. However, after his term as sheriff expired, Coultas looked to Whitby as a retirement: he put his town house up for lease and moved permanently to the country.

The new main wing that Coultas added to Whitby in 1754 was strikingly similar to the Jacobs Marks House. Fifty feet broad by twenty deep, it rose two and a half stories, far out-topping the older structure. Its walls were ashlar stone all around, and the brick chimneys on the end walls, with no fenestration, recalled Belair and anticipated Mount Pleas-

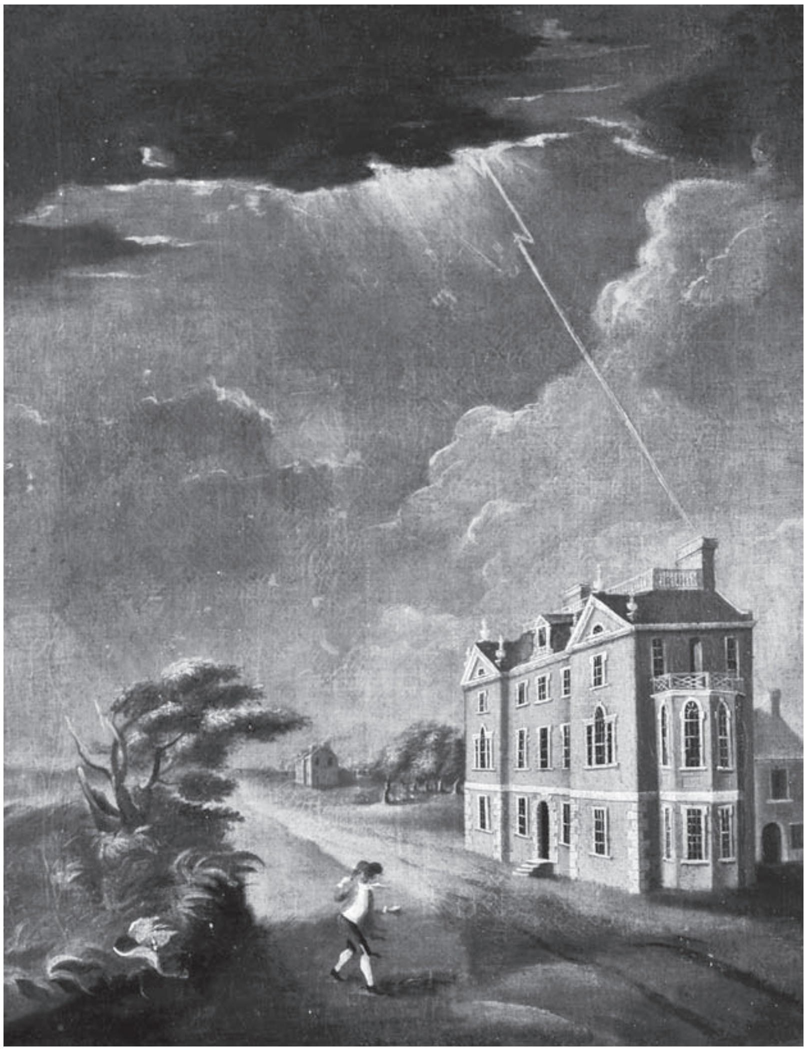


Whitby Hall, showing the rear of the main house (1754) and the later stair tower. Photograph by Robert Newell, c. 1870, LCP

ant. A pent roof at the second-floor level and a coved cornice at the square, both old-fashioned features by this date, ringed the structure. The five-bay front faced south toward the creek, and a central door on the second floor may have opened to a small balcony, as at Belair, although this feature would have been very much out-of-date by then.[25]

It has previously been assumed that the stair tower, like the rest of the new wing, dates from 1754, but marked differences in architectural style and materials suggest that the stair tower should be given a later date, perhaps after 1758, when Coultas moved permanently to Whitby. This dating conforms to entries in the master carpenter Thomas Nevell's account book for work for Coultas in the period around 1762, about the time work was starting on Mount Pleasant.[26] This would make the stair tower of roughly the same date as that of neighboring Belmont, although the architectural style of Whitby's indicates overwhelming influence from the State House's stair tower.

The differences between the new wing and the rest of the house at Whitby are dramatic. The stair tower's door and windows on the first and second stories have brick surrounds with stone impost blocks and keystones. On the third story, the surrounds are wood but crosseted. Those on the first and second stories of the wing are even arched, segmentally on the first story and fully rounded above, a sophisticated instance of stacking that fits the lower openings into a restricted space and suggests the greater weight of the wall below, as the arch is "squashed." The window over the door is especially grand: fully rounded—the side windows have spandrel panels that fill out the arch over typical double-hung windows—and with a stone sill carried on console brackets. Such a window is otherwise unknown on a colonial



Jacob Duché House (1767), an example of a Philadelphia house with urns. Oil painting, artist unknown, LCP

Philadelphia house. Finally, and strikingly, three urns stand on the rooftop, a rare feature in domestic architecture in the Delaware valley.

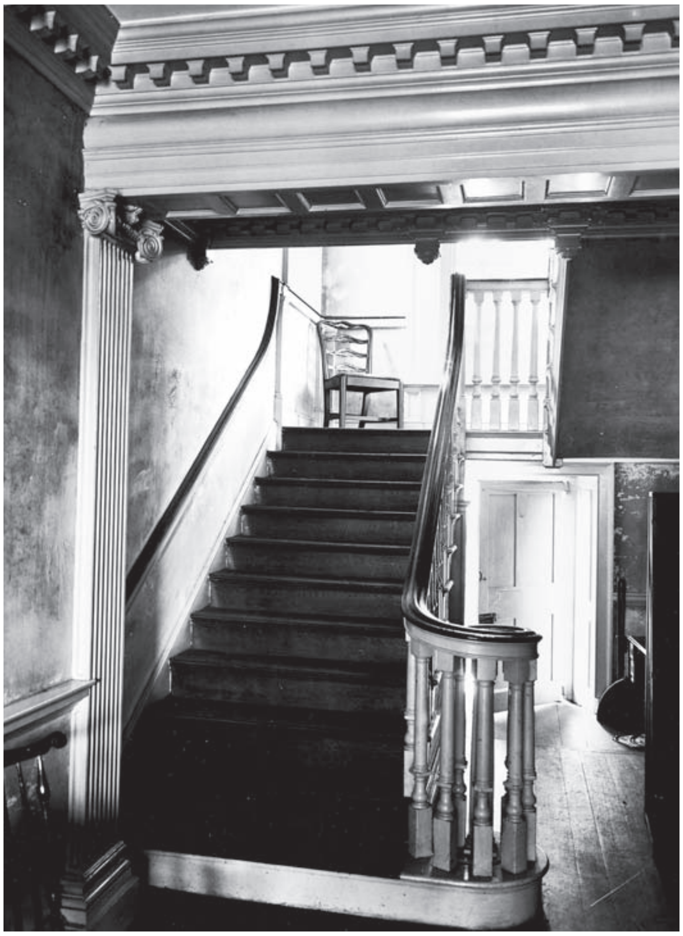
In English eighteenth-century architecture urns appeared earliest and most prominently in the work of James Gibbs, although Inigo Jones used them in the design for Old Somerset House, in London, which was published in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1716. In Palladian pattern books, such as those of Abraham Swan, which circulated freely in Philadelphia, they often appear on houses. Roof urns were not at all common in American colonial architecture, especially residences, and indeed, Philadelphia seems to have the majority of examples among several building types. The vast majority in the colonies decorate churches, where urns appear on the corners of towers, in apparent imitation of Wren's and Nicholas Hawksmoor's churches. Urns appeared on Christ Church (1727–44, steeple 1751–54), the State House (1732–53), Zion Lutheran Church (1766–69), and Carpenters' Hall (1770–73). None have been found on domestic buildings outside Philadelphia. Besides at Whitby, they appear on the piazzas of Belmont (c. 1750s), Cliveden (1763–67), and the Jacob Duché House (1767).[27] They were originally intended for Mount Pleasant but were not executed.[28] In the Federal period, they became fairly common throughout the colonies for both public and domestic architecture.

Firmer knowledge of the later date of Whitby's stair tower calls into question the dating of its extremely fine interiors, because the woodwork of the hall and stair must have been of a piece. The millwork in the parlor seems equally sophisticated, so that we are left with the supposition that the inside of the house was redecorated by Thomas Nevell when Coultas decided to retire permanently. Questions will forever remain, because the millwork has been scattered.[29]

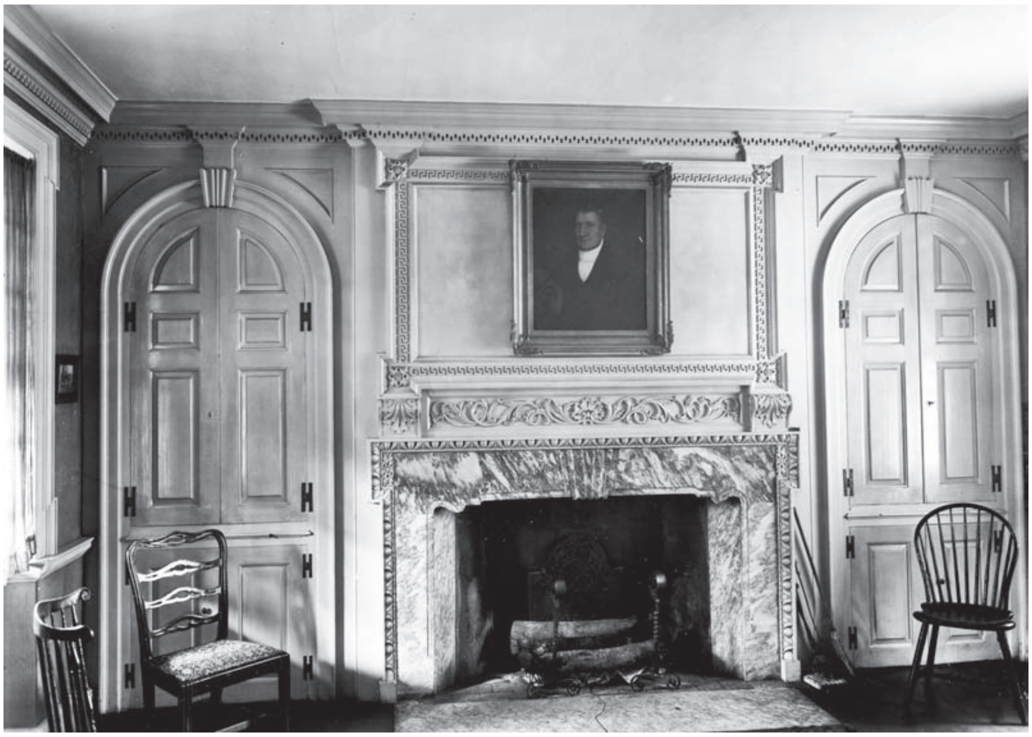
In the hall or passage the treatment was fully up-to-date: the walls of plaster above and below the chair rail and the doors crossetted at the top corners. Strikingly, the order was Palladio's Ionic with pulvinated frieze and modillion cornice, not the usual Doric. The full order and entablature only appear on the screen dividing the hall and the stair tower. The stair, more than four feet wide, had an especially fine spiral newel, centered on a fluted column and with more than a 360-degree twist, a composition declared second in Philadelphia only to that at the State House.[30] After this beginning, the brackets on the open-stringer stair ends seem unexpectedly simple, sawn but with no carving, unlike those at the

State House or Belmont. Grandeur returns at the landing between the first and second floors, where an arched window with a seat nearly fills the wall and looks out at the gardens.

The main parlor must have been a strikingly beautiful room, with a fine display of Palladian woodwork accented by delicate carving at the mantelpiece. The arched china closets flanking the mantelpiece contained semicircular interiors and had plaster semidomes modeled with different patterns of rays and ornamented, one with a carved head, the hair of leaves, and the other with a basket of plentiful fruits, both symbols of agricultural fertility and abundance, appropriate to a country house and suggesting that the space was used for polite dining. A bold architrave has ears filled with a whimsical square flower, a compressed version of that in the corner of the overmantel. Again, carving makes the room special. Consoles with acanthus leaves rest on the architrave and carry the crossetted overmantel, enriched with a running fret. Between the consoles runs a frieze of twining tendrils. The fireplace and overmantel do not have normative proportions, having been forced into a space with a relatively low ceiling, another indication of the earlier date and more vernacular character of the 1754 structure.



Whitby Hall, passage and stair. Photograph by Phillip B. Wallace, c. 1920, HSP

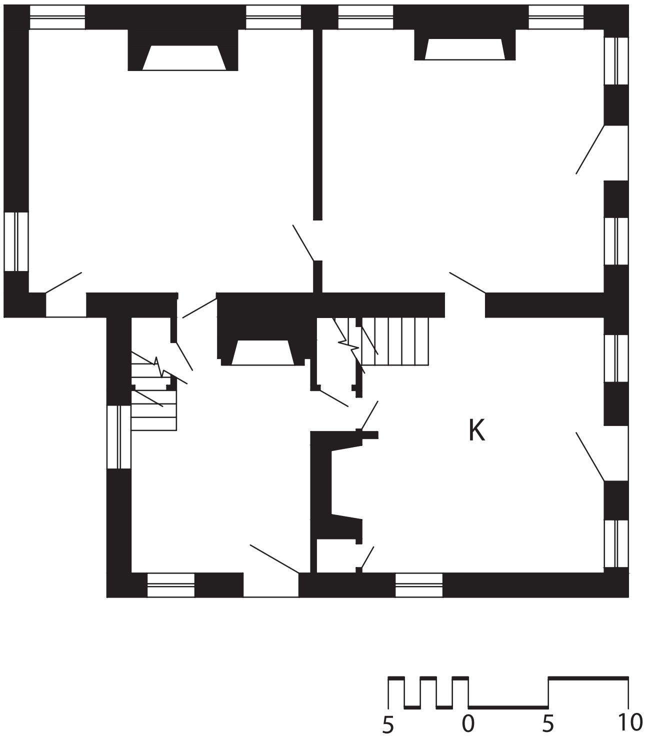


Whitby Hall, parlor. Photograph by Phillip B. Wallace, c. 1920, HSP

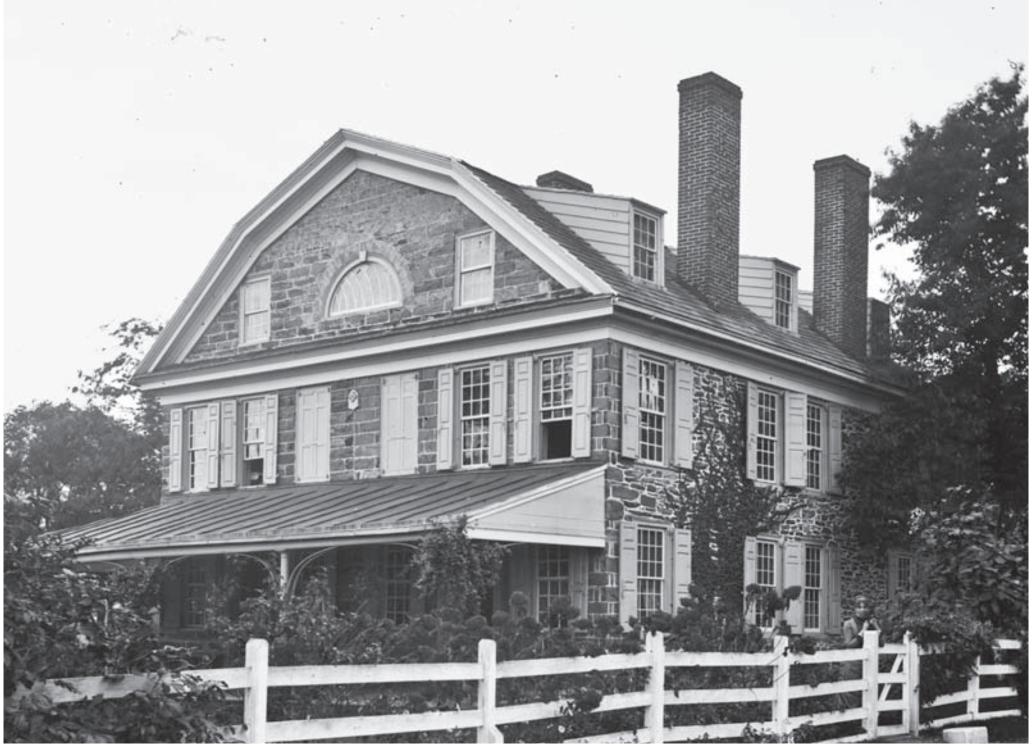
Cedar Grove, The Cliffs, Grumblethorpe, Mount Airy, Bartram's House and Garden: Accommodation of the Vernacular

Other houses from around midcentury testify to the modest character of many country seats. For example, Cedar Grove originated as the summer home of the Quaker widow Elizabeth Coates Paschall (1702–1768) and her three children, located on sixteen acres of land in Frankford. This is the earliest known Philadelphia country seat established by a woman, a phenomenon that was becoming more common in England.[31] The Scull and Heap map shows it on the upper reaches of Gunner's Run, generally in the valley of Frankford Creek, in an area known today as Harrowgate. It originally stood near the present intersection of Sedgley and K Streets and Kensington Avenue, the original road to Frankford.[32] Paschall's husband died in 1742, and she bought the land for Cedar Grove in 1746, with the small house rising two years later. In a long tradition of women healers, Paschall became widely known for her medicinal recipes. She kept a receipt book containing 191 such formulas, most employing herbs such as chamomile, pennyroyal, hyssop, wormwood, and mustard. She must have possessed a large herb garden, perhaps one reason for purchasing the property.[33]

The original part of the house contained only three rooms, two downstairs (one of which was the kitchen) and one chamber upstairs, having a total of 800 square feet. Elizabeth added a second chamber and garret over the kitchen in 1752, work completed by rural craftsmen. The original house had plain fieldstone walls except on the front. which had evenly coursed ashlar, indicating a status somewhat higher than that of a farmhouse. The oldest interiors, now called the dining room and Elizabeth Paschall's chamber, were perhaps slightly finer than those of a prosperous yeoman's house; for example, the door architraves were double faced. Accounts indicate that Elizabeth bought fabrics such as linens,



Cedar Grove (1748), first-floor plan. The original house consisted only of the lower two rooms. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after plan in Fairmount Park archives

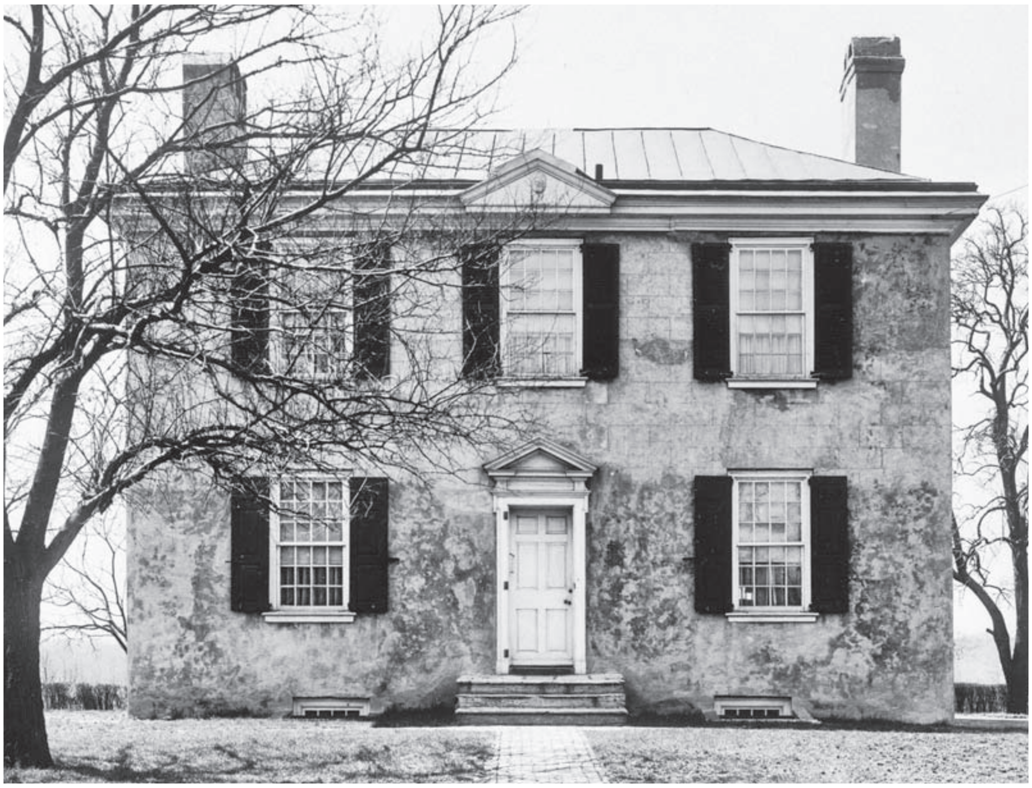


Cedar Grove as it stands today in Fairmount Park. Photograph by Marriott Morris (1885), LCP

Persians, India satins, and fringe, some of which were probably used at her country seat. More than half of the house now seen at the relocated Cedar Grove in Fairmount Park, including the great gambrel gable with lunette window, was added in 1798–99.[34]

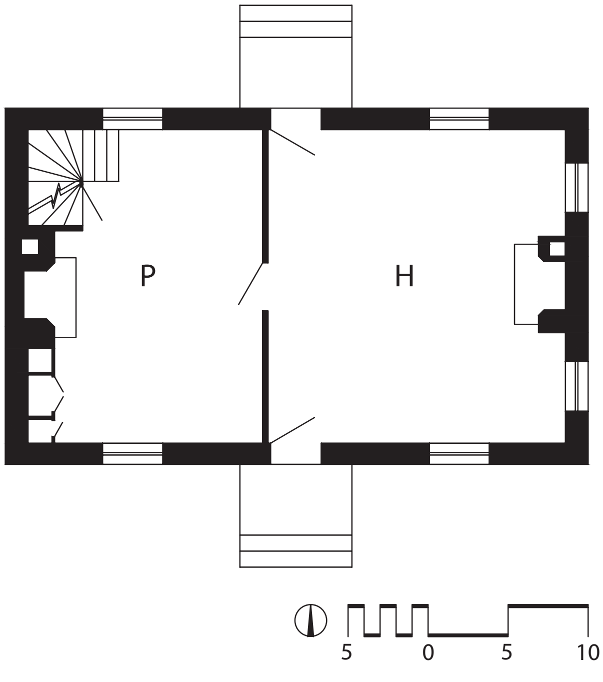
Only somewhat more pretentious was another small midcentury country house that survived in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park until 1992, when it burned. The Cliffs stood on a relatively small plot of land, initially fourteen acres (later expanded to forty) sold out of the extensive Mifflin holdings along the east bank of the Schuylkill River to the Philadelphia Quaker merchant Joshua Fisher (1707–1783) in 1753. The house presumably rose soon after that, named after a country seat of Fisher's maternal uncle near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, England.[35] The house stood on a high bluff almost one hundred feet above the Schuylkill River with extensive views up and down the river. The Cliffs was three bays wide and two stories tall though only one room deep and with end chimneys. Modest in size (36 feet wide by 22 feet deep), it had a traditional hall-parlor plan with only two major rooms per floor, an old vernacular floor plan seen in yeomen's houses such as the Barnes-Brinton House. Its total interior floor area was about 1,300 square feet, not counting a kitchen in the partially buried basement. Additionally, the house was built of coursed rubble stone, not a fashionable material.[36]

The importance of The Cliffs lies precisely in its modesty even though built along one of the choicest stretches of the Schuylkill, within sight of Belmont and close to Springettsbury and Bush Hill. Family and visitors entered immediately into the hall, the finest room in the house. The lack of an entry, passage, or other buffer space suggests the allowable informality of occasional life in the country. Throughout the house, the end (fireplace) walls had simple paneling; the rest of the walls and the ceilings were plastered, and the millwork had middling fineness, with the only elaboration a simple overmantel in the best room. For a well-to-do Philadelphia family with many children, used to a Philadelphia



The Cliffs (1753). HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 274, Library of Congress

The Cliffs, plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 274, Library of Congress



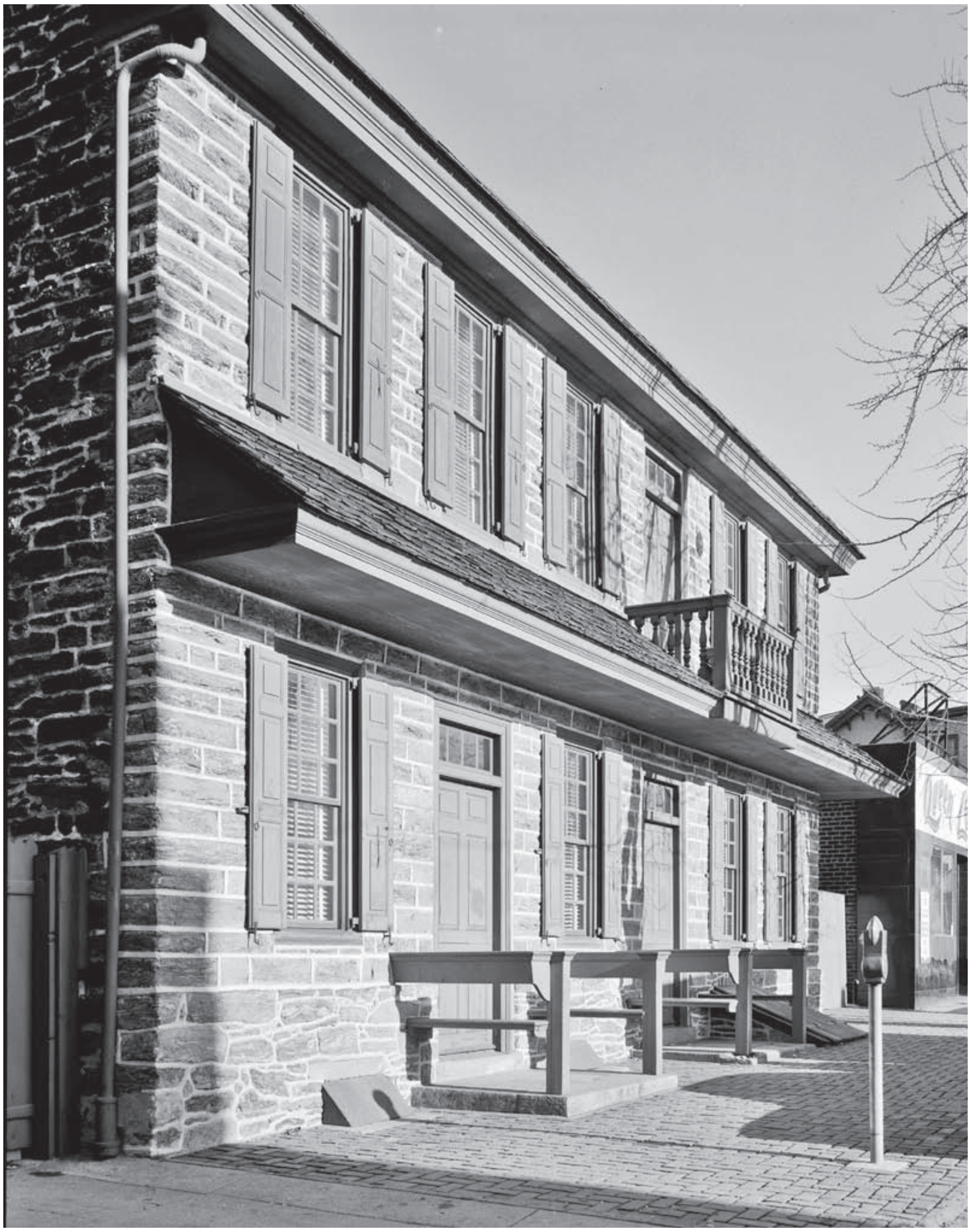
town house of eight rooms or more, living in a house of the size and character of The Cliffs must have been a little like "roughing it," which may have been part of its appeal. Cedar Grove and The Cliffs belie the assumption that display and conspicuous consumption by a privileged class was always the primary motivator in establishing a retreat. Undoubtedly, social competition motivated the builders of some of the better-known and grander houses. But other, much humbler ones served adequately as retreats for leisure and to escape heat and disease.

Although the Marks House was an exception, early builders of country houses in Germantown often accommodated the vernacular. During the period from its founding through the 1740s, when country-house building began, vernacular Germanic house forms dominated the community. These included houses of one, one and a half, and two stories with one, two, or perhaps three rooms per floor.[37] Roofs were gambrel or gable, some with German "kicked" eaves. Houses typically stood near the street, which their gables sometimes faced. Central chimneys rose through the roof ridge or along the rear wall.[38]

Many of the early bourgeois country seats in Germantown also had strongly vernacular forms, and indeed local building traditions exerted a strong influence on country houses throughout the colonial era. Others began life as members of the Germantown vernacular but later were enlarged and improved into fashionable estates and houses by Philadelphia standards. We have already mentioned the unprepossessing Joseph Shippen house of 1716. In 1744 John Wister (originally Wüster), a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, established his summer residence in Germantown. It was referred to in the eighteenth century as "Wister's big house" but named Grumblethorpe by the family in the nineteenth century.[39] Grumblethorpe, which still stands, was probably the largest house in Germantown at the time of its construction.[40] Wister always referred to the property as a plantation rather than a country seat and maintained a large farm, an orchard, and a garden there. As Wister was German and had close relatives in Germantown, he would have felt comfortable with its many German-speaking inhabitants. Wister owned considerable acreage, a block-wide frontage on Germantown Road that stretched back a long way toward the east. The front of the site would have had a view to the west, down Bowman's (now Queen) Lane and out into the country, but the main prospect would have been to the east, across open land into the valley of Wingohocking Creek. According to John Wister's grandson Charles Jones Wister, in addition to a farm Grumblethorpe had "almost a forest of fruit trees except a small plat cultivated for vegetables by Lawrence Smith, the gardener and tenant. Pears and cherries; butter pears, pound pears, sugar & catherine early & late in profusion. . . . Immediately adjoining the garden and back of it where the stables now stand, commenced the orchard."[41] There is no mention of flowers in John Wister's garden. At the end of the colonial period, his son Daniel had an enthusiasm for carnations and bulbs—hyacinths, tulips, narcissus, and snowdrops—all carefully recorded in his diary.[42]

In style Wister's house belonged very much in the Germantown vernacular, standing right on the road and built of the local Wissahickon schist, the "glittering stones" filled with flakes of mica that Kalm mentioned.[43] The front has dressed stone above a water table (below it the wall was rubble); the sides and rear, rubble; and across the front, rear, and right sides runs a pent roof, which, along with balconies at front and rear, would have seemed vernacular and *retardataire* features to the architectural elite with their new Palladian notions.[44] The pent roof crosses only the more important right side and would have been seen as one climbed Germantown Avenue. This gable also has a pent eave at the square to protect the wall and give a more formal appearance. Symmetry does not appear to have been particularly important on any of the elevations, the fenestration responding instead to the needs of interior spaces. The asymmetry of the front results mostly from the two front doors, the right being the main entrance to the hall and the left giving access to the left front room. The second door can be credited to German heritage,[45] but Fountain Low also had two front doors, and multiple exterior doors characterized many early houses. The primary front door originally had benches built into the wall at either side, a common feature in Germantown.

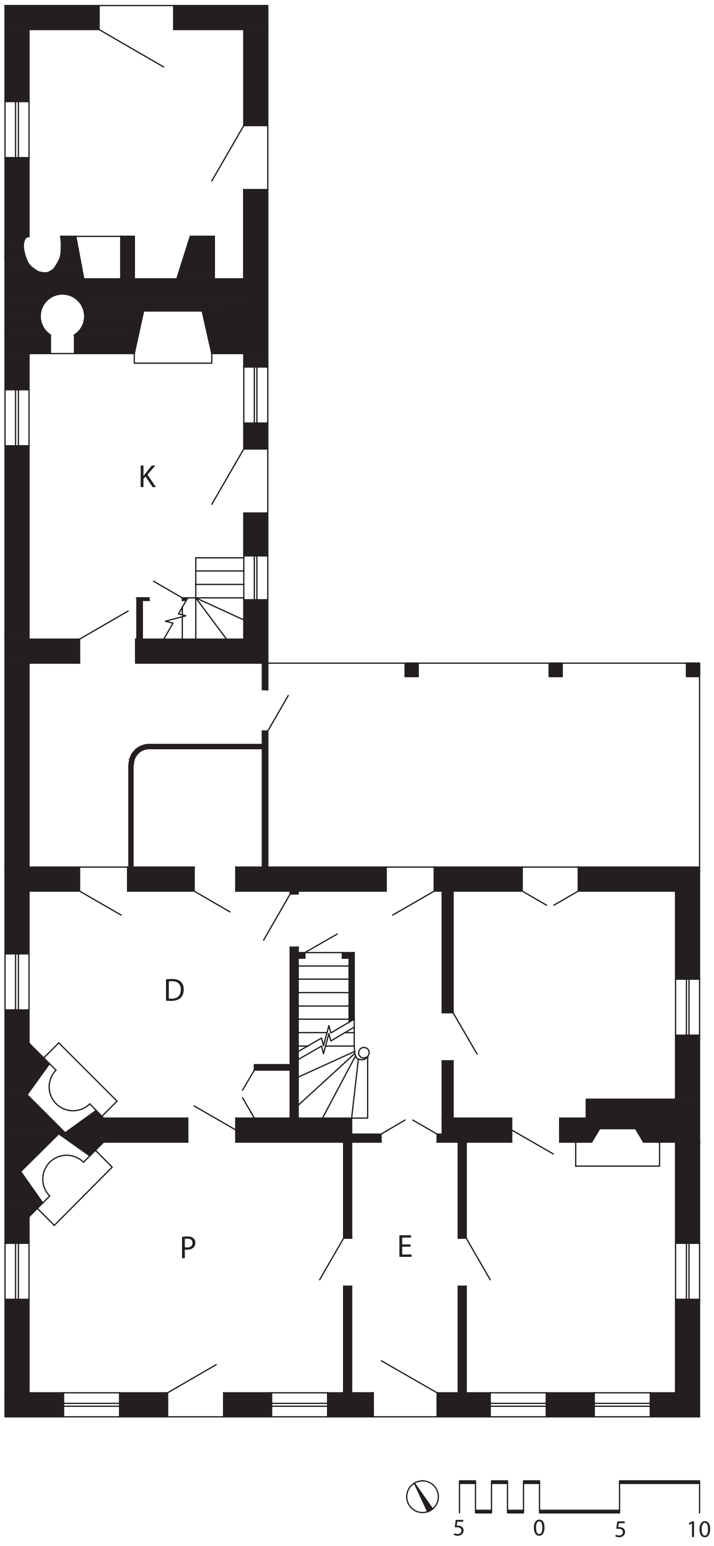
The house also possesses a Germanic plan, a variant of a central-hall plan called *durchgangigen* (through passage): the narrow hall or passage is off-center; the front has six bays; and the fireplaces are somewhat irregularly placed between the left and right halves of the plan. All of these departures from the normative central-hall Georgian plan appear more commonly in German houses than in English ones.[46] The shifting of the hall to the right and the longitudinal stone partition to the rear produced four rooms of different sizes and layouts, evidently desirable at the time but for reasons unclear today. The largest room, the left front, occupies the position of the most formal parlor; the room behind it probably served for dining, as it lies closest to the kitchen in the rear wing.



Grumblethorpe (1744). HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 23, Library of Congress

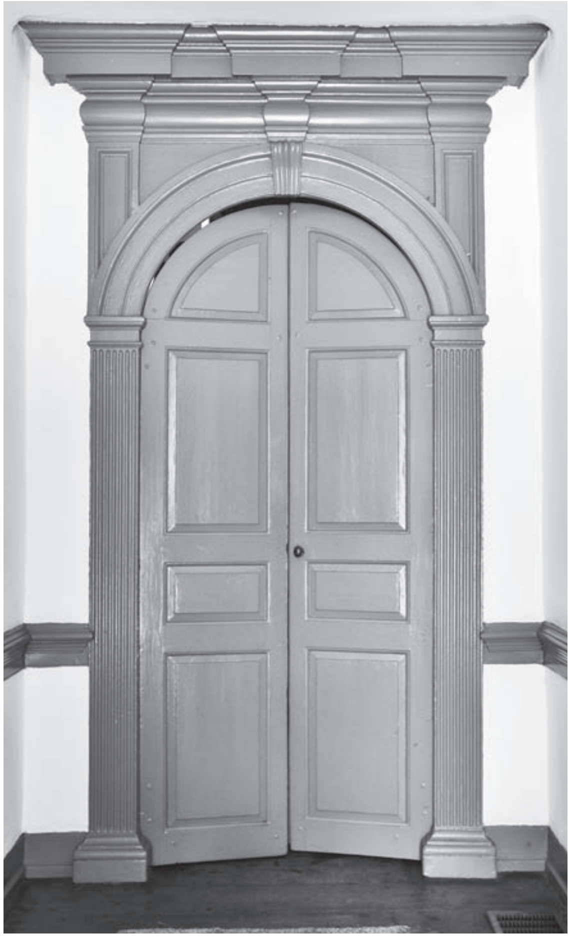
The hall has the only millwork of any distinction in the house, namely, an arched doorway that divides the hall front and back. Only the front side of the doorway possesses architectural finery: fluted Doric pilasters supporting a double-faced archivolt with a fluted console keystone, which in turn supports pilaster strips and a full entablature. The entablature does not have proper classical proportions, belonging rather to the manner of Stenton and Hope Lodge. Its architrave appears too small; the frieze likewise and with naive pulvination; and the cornice is extremely heavy and broken out over the corners and keystone. This doorway also has some of the grandest hinges in colonial America.

William Allen quickly followed Wister, establishing Mount Airy, one of the best-known country houses in the environs of Philadelphia.[47] Allen was the first English



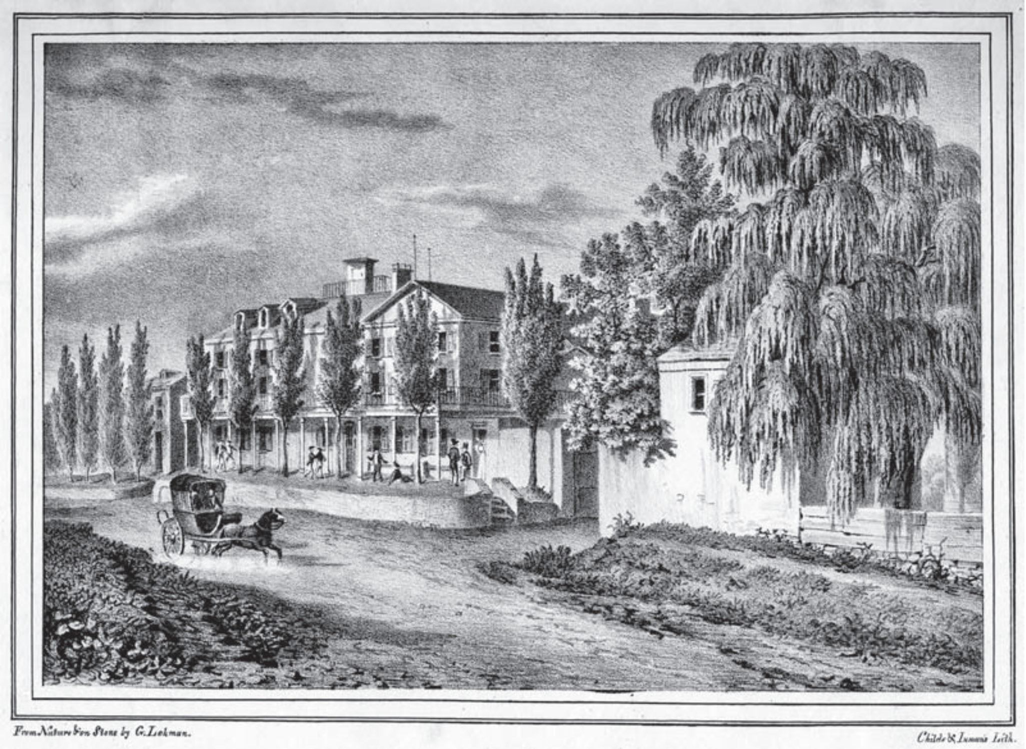
Grumblethorpe, plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955)

Grumblethorpe, hall doorway. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



speaker to establish a country seat in Germantown. Standing at the extreme upper end of Germantown, Mount Airy often formed a point of geographical reference.[48] Allen, who became chief justice of the colony about 1750, was perhaps the wealthiest man in Pennsylvania in his time. His wealth began with his father, a merchant, who sent William to England, where he became close to the Penns, whose proprietary rights he would loyally support in public life back in Pennsylvania. He vastly increased his inheritance through tireless work in many fields. He owned hundreds of properties and was a part owner of twenty-three ships. For the last thirty years of his life he consistently ranked as the highest-rated taxpayer in his home ward, Lower Delaware Ward, and one of the highest rated in the city and colony. He was also a generous philanthropist and at one time or another held dozens of public offices.[49] In some ways Allen retained a proverbial Scottish caution about money and conspicuous consumption. The appearance of too much social arrogance was a concern in the Allen circle, and indeed Allen received the respect of all classes of Pennsylvania citizens. On the other hand, he lived well, being known for setting a well-appointed table and owning a coach and four, something that almost no other Philadelphians possessed.[50] Moreover, the coach was ornamented with Allen's cipher. An order by his wife for furnishings, probably for his town house, mentioned a Wilton carpet for a room 27 by 25 feet, mirrors with papier-mâché frames, silk curtains in crimson—the most exalted color—for windows 4 feet wide and 10 feet tall, and chandeliers.[51]

Mount Airy began life as a two-story stone structure with four fireplaces and a detached kitchen, built by John Rudolph, a Germantown mason, who advertised the place from 1748 to 1750, about when Allen purchased it. The advertisements hedged on potential uses, showing an awareness of both the continuing business character of Germantown Road and also the emerging trend toward country seats, being marketed to a "gentleman, storekeeper, or tradesman."[52] Over time Allen greatly enlarged and improved the early


From Nature & on Stone by G. Lehman.
Childs & Inman's Lith.

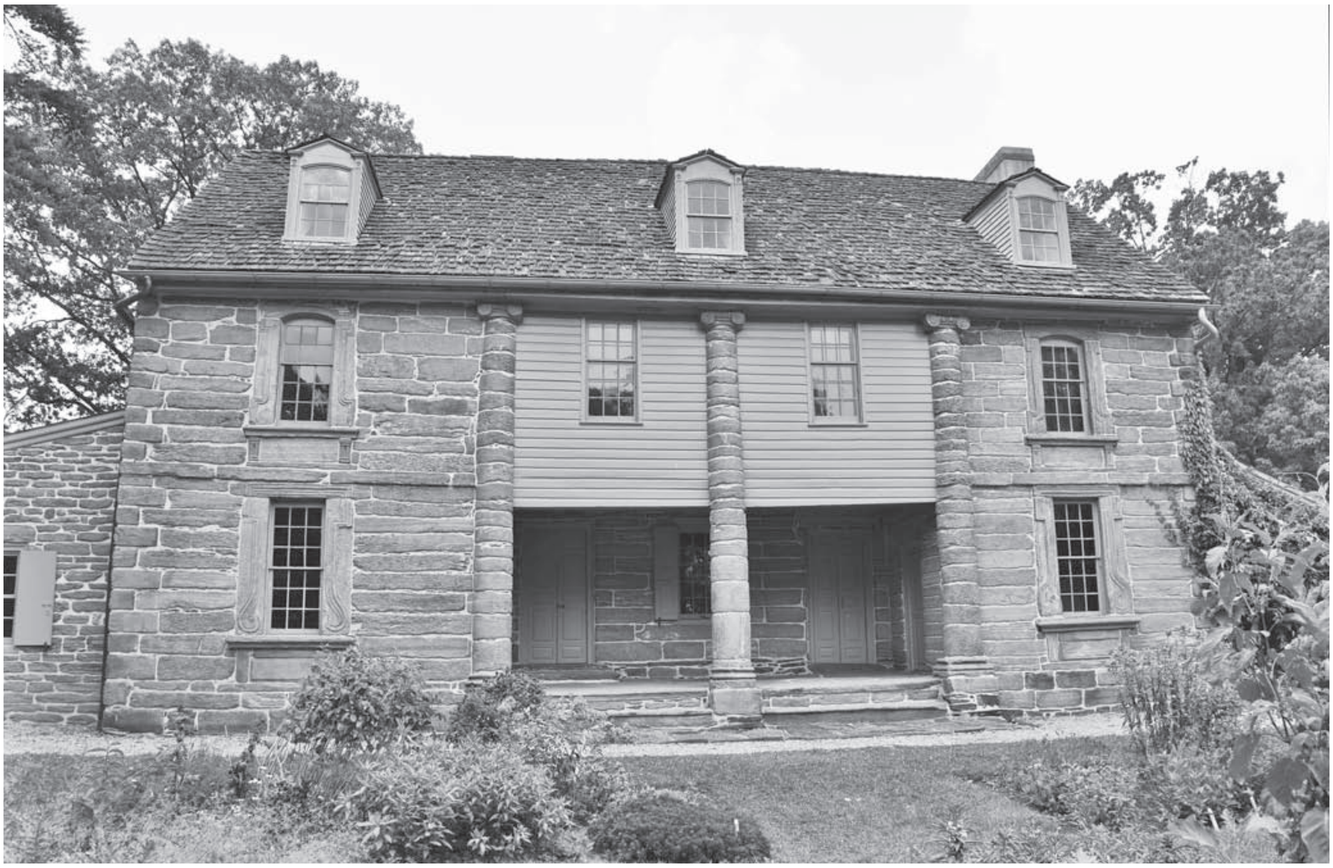
Mount Airy (1748) as enlarged in the early nineteenth century, view from road. The old house is the section to the left. LCP speculatively built structure, although it was long ago destroyed, and all surviving illustrations date from the nineteenth century, by which time it had been greatly altered. A view from the Germantown Road shows a spacious piazza along the front, a feature that might have inspired a similar porch in an unbuilt design for Cliveden, although there the piazza faces to the side rather than to the road.

A visitor to Mount Airy in the eighteenth century noted that noise and dirt plagued the place because of its proximity to the Germantown Road.[53] Later Germantown country seats, such as Cliveden, were built back from the main road, as the Marks House had been. If it began life humbly, Mount Airy did not end up so. In 1785 it was described as "that elegant country seat known by the name of Mount Airy. . . . The dwelling house is large, elegant and commodious, with two gardens well stocked with fruit; also stables, barns, coach-house and other convenient out-house."[54] In the long Philadelphia tradition and looking forward to the emerging scientific agricultural movement, Allen practiced vegetable gardening and farming there. His letters record him ordering seeds and bespeak a fondness for cabbage. In 1770 he asking for a "Drill, Horse-hoe & Horse-plough . . . with some directions how to use them if that should be necessary."[55] ”Very few people in this Country have made more experiments in the farming way than I have," he wrote, "& in this latter Stage of Life, my Books & my little Farm are a great part of my Amusement."[56] Indeed, this sort of pleasurable avocation of eighteenth-century gentlemen had a great effect on the later profession of farming.[57]

A unique Philadelphia house and landscape that also emerged from vernacular roots survive in John Bartram's house and garden. Bartram (1699–1777), a third-generation Pennsylvania Quaker yeoman from nearby Chester County, along with his wife, Mary, bought a 102-acre farm in Kingsessing Township, on the lower Schuylkill, in 1728 and built a stone farmhouse there. Like most of the land in that area, it had originally been farmed for generations by Swedes. Bartram later bought more land, eventually owning 287 acres, with some additional outlying marsh tracts.[58]

Bartram possessed a keen intellect and read widely—Peter Kalm noted his "peculiar genius" for natural philosophy and science—and was not content to remain a farmer. He collaborated with the English merchant, amateur botanist, and Fellow of the Royal Society Peter Collinson in search of plants for study and trade. He turned what presumably had been his kitchen garden into a botanical nursery. Through self-education and connections made through Collinson, Bartram became known throughout the Atlantic world as a natural scientist and became financially successful as a merchant of plants and seeds, with customers including English nobility. Along with Franklin, Bartram founded the American Philosophical Society, and late in life he was granted £50 per year as king's botanist to George III. He thus moved from the yeoman class to the bourgeoisie, which readily absorbed educated folks even if they did not possess substantial wealth.[59]

Bartram's house stood on high ground overlooking the Schuylkill, with the ten-acre garden stretching down to the river by means of a series of terraces. A preexisting Swedish farmhouse may have stood nearby, though Bartram's new house was entirely separate.[60] Bartram's new stone house belonged to the hall-parlor type and was distinguished by a date stone over the south garret window labeled "IOHN ANN:BARTRAM:1731" with the added Greek "ΘΕΟΣ ΣΩΖΩ" (presumably meaning "God saves"), an indication of Bartram's piety and already growing erudition (although the conjugation is not quite correct).[61] Quakers often placed name and date stones on their houses, but Bartram's is the



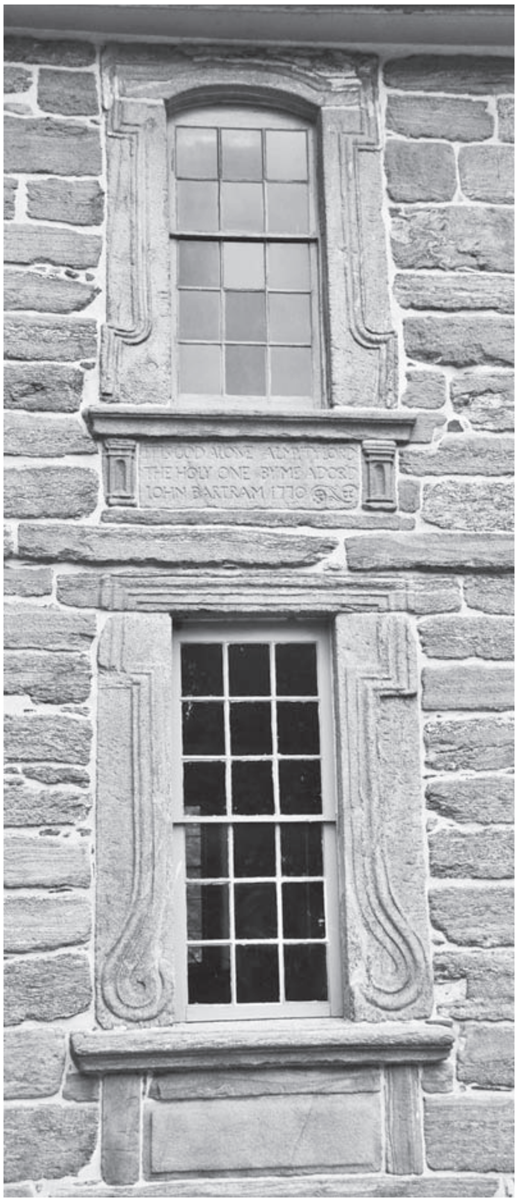
Bartram's house (1731). Photograph by Mark Reinberger

only inscription in a language known only to scholars.[62] The inscription indicates the lifelong piety that lay behind his scientific study, in which he proclaimed the glory of the natural world, the window of creation to the Creator.[63]

Except for the inscription, Bartram's house at this stage belonged to the vernacular tradition in the Delaware valley. The two-over-two-room house, with added cellar and garret, measured 18 by 33 feet and had a gambrel roof. The facade to the east (the river) had coursed masonry, while the other three were rubble and possibly stuccoed, recalling Cedar Grove's construction. Even at this early stage the river facade had enormous ashlar blocks of a stone that came from a quarry of schist belonging to Bartram, up the Schuylkill near Gray's Ferry. The rubble of the other sides came from a quarry nearer the house that had darker, poorer stone. The east front probably also had a balcony on the second story.[64] Notably, Bartram himself served as chief mason, having learned this craft early in life: "I had been used to split rocks to make steps, doresills & large windo cases & stone pig troughs. . . . I have split rocks 17 foot long & built five houses of hewn stones split out of the rock with my own hands & very easy pleasant work it is but the raising them up is very hard & must be done with iron bars and levers."[65] Despite the date of the exterior, Bartram was still finishing out the house as late as 1737.

Bartram significantly enlarged his house several times, but especially in the late 1750s and across the 1760s. A phase early in these enlargments is recorded by a 1758 drawing of the house and garden by his famous son William. Another date stone marks the presumed end of construction: "IT IS GOD ALONE, ALMYTY LORD/THE HOLY ONE BY ME ADOR'D/IOHN BARTRAM 1770." This expansion involved a substantial new room to the north, a kitchen, which allowed the former hall and kitchen to become a dining room, a newly fashionable room type, and an east range consisting of two small rooms to each side and an *in antis* portico of two bays. In addition, the gambrel roof was replaced by a more fashionably correct gable. The east facade was significantly aggrandized, not only with the central portico but with carved stone window surrounds. The house as enlarged and decorated not only fit better Bartram's position in society but made the place more presentable for the many sophisticated visitors he received, more like the many gentry country houses that had sprung up around Philadelphia since Bartram built the original house.

Bartram's enlarged house constituted a glorious tour de force of idiosyncratic construction, both a traditional and a very modern phenomenon, but it also revealed its owner's lack of knowledge about the classical vocabulary of architecture. Most noticeable are the unclassical two bays (three columns) of the portico and the fact that the central column stands in front of a window, but almost as jarring is the nearly total lack of entablature over the columns. Further, the columns vary in detail among themselves, the rightmost one revealing that Bartram originally meant to leave the portico open at both floors but later decided to enclose it, another piece of architectural awkwardness and an indication that Bartram was always willing to sacrifice aesthetics to practicality. The three columns illustrate that Bartram improved at stonework as he progressed. The oldest, that to the right, was awkwardly rounded with crude chisel strokes. The others appear much smoother and better rounded, either turned on a lathe (was there one in the Delaware valley that could turn stone?) or more finely chiseled.

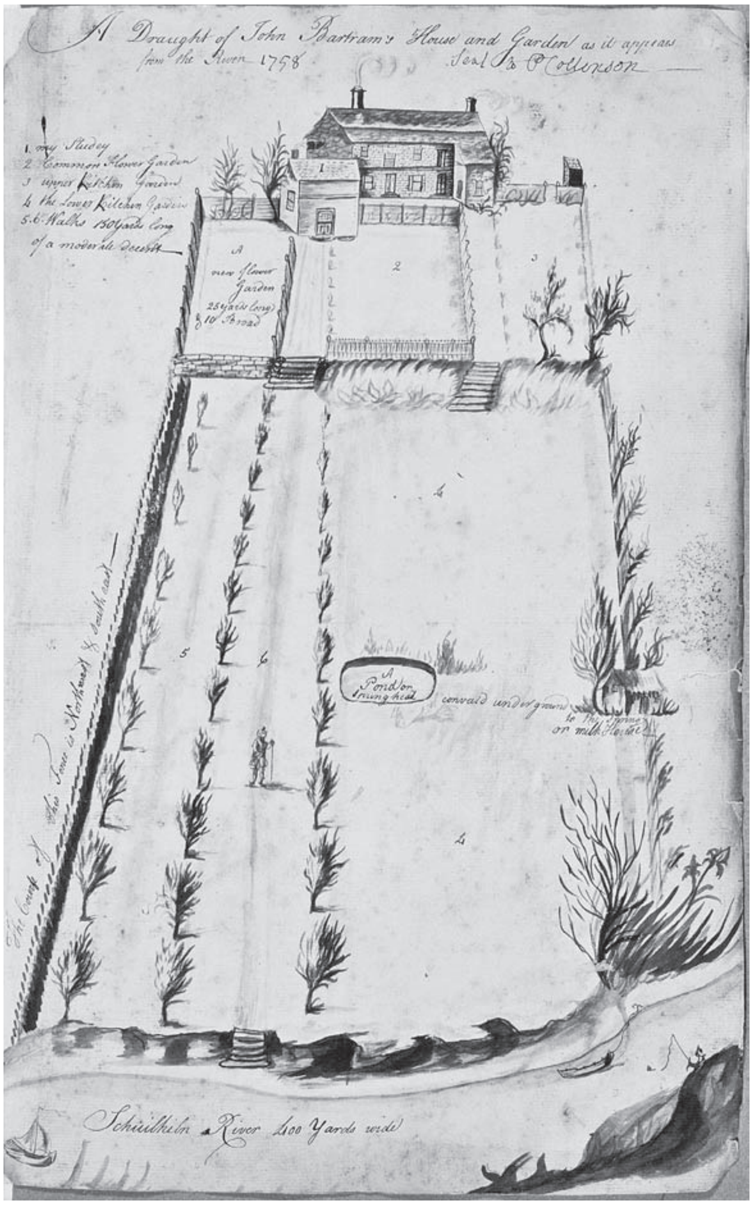


Bartram's house, detail of window frames. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

The window frames to each side of the portico are the most astonishing elements of the facade's composition, containing elements of architectural sophistication, even if Bartram's carving is somewhat crude and the features are exaggerated. They are by far the most elaborate exterior window surrounds in the Delaware valley, indeed in the American colonies, and derive from joinery and woodcarving. Though split by a stringcourse, the two stories form a linked composition. The first-story surrounds, with consoles below and wide ears above, recall fireplace overmantels such as Woodford's. Bartram went far out of his way to make the moldings as authentic to woodwork as possible, even though the nature of his stone might have suggested simplifying these elements. Above the stringcourse, small trusses support the upper-window sills and frame panels, one of which holds the date inscription. The second-story windows have broad flares at the bottom corners, which may derive from dormers and exaggerated ears above, but with nicely proportioned segmental arches that hold the two-story composition together. These arches, along with the eared architraves—unusual on an exterior—may have been suggested by the stair tower at nearby Whitby Hall.

When we think of Bartram's garden, William Bartram's 1758 drawing comes to mind. This shows the original six-to-eight-acre terraced area, originally the kitchen garden. It would become the incubator for Bartram's plant interchange with European botanists and gardeners, a treasury of garden-worthy American native plants, as well as less common European ones.[66] The drawing does not show the context of the garden—the farm, the pasture, the orchard, the "good stone barn"—nor does it show where he might have grown his medicinal plants, for he also had a strong interest in "physic and surgery."[67] Joel Fry has suggested that John Bartram's decision to move from the ancestral farm in Darby to Philadelphia was based on the variety of soils in the latter location.[68] The Philadelphia site contained "eight or more distinct soils."[69] John Bartram evidently took advantage of these, for William described "a happy situation, possessing every soil and exposure adapted to the various nature of vegetables."[70] This sensitivity to the soil was useful in his plant collecting as well; when he sent plants or seeds, he described the conditions in which they should be grown.

A Draught of John Bartram's House and Garden as it appears from the River, by William Bartram, 1758. © The Right Hon. Earl of Derby, Bridgeman Art Library


A Draught of John Bartram's House and Garden as it appears from the River 1758
Sent to P Collinson
1. my Studey
2 Common Flower Garden
3 upper Kitchen Garden
4 the Lower Kitchen Garden
5.6 Walks 150 yards long of a moderate decent
A new flower Garden 25 yards long & 10 broad
1
2
3
4
5
6
A Pond or Spring head
conveyd underground to the Spring or milk House
The Course of this Fence is Northwest & southeast
Schuilkiln River 400 Yards wide

William's 1758 drawing shows Bartram's garden divided by a single terrace and subdivided by fences into the following rectangular areas: the "Common Flower Garden," the "Upper Kitchen Garden," and the "Lower Kitchen Garden." If he used the "Common Flower Garden" for what he transplanted and sent, it would have been very densely planted, although most of his trade was in trees and shrubs. A pond, by which Bartram grew some of his wetland plants, connected to a springhouse or milkhouse by an underground pipe. The drawing does not show the greenhouse, added in 1760, where he could grow some of his more exotic plants, such as the gardenia, named after his correspondent and visitor Dr. Alexander Garden, of Charleston, South Carolina. After his 1754 visit, Garden gave a mixed review of Bartram's cultivation habits. For example, he described "a row of rare plants almost covered all over in weeds, here a Beautiful Shrub, even Luxuriant Amongst Briars, and in another corner an Elegant and Lofty tree lost in common thickets." More positively, Garden wrote about Bartram's "nursi[ng] up his Idol Flowers and cultivat[ing] his darling productions."[71]

Bartram's travels had taken him as far west as Pittsburgh and the Ohio River, as far north as Lake Ontario, and as far south as Saint Augustine, Florida.[72] Peter Collinson credited Bartram with introducing more than one hundred species to cultivation, and besides flowers, Bartram had between two hundred and three hundred species of native trees and shrubs in his own garden.[73] Most of Bartram's shipments to Collinson, eventually for more than one hundred clients and patrons, were boxes of seeds of many different species of hardwoods. His "Common Flower Garden" would have contained a marvelous mix of native and exotic plants. The latter ranged from the China aster (*Callistephus chinensis*), which Bartram obtained from Jesuits in China through Collinson, to oriental poppies (*Papaver orientale*), to the familiar daffodil.[74]

This garden had an impact well beyond its size. Bartram not only supplied seeds and plants for a broad spectrum of people, mostly in England, but made important contributions to natural science. Collinson had introduced him to this world; in a period dominated by Linnaeus and encouraged by scientific societies in many countries, interest increased exponentially. Bartram sent specimens not only to notable scientists such as Gronovius but also to gentlemen collectors, such as his patron, the 8th Baron Petre. Though best known for the *Franklinia alatamaha*, he introduced many other plants new to science that were only identified and published by others, sometimes a generation or more later.[75] Plants grown in English gardens from Bartram's seeds were illustrated by such artists as Mark Catesby and George Ehret, furthering interest in the plants.[76] Just as Bartram's introductions still enrich gardens here and abroad, so scientists still study them.

Bartram was also an excellent farmer. J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur's first impression was that "every disposition of the fields, fences and trees, seemed to bear the marks of perfect order and regularity, which in rural affairs, always indicate a prosperous industry. . . . Right-angular fences, heaps of pitched stones, flourishing clover announce the best husbandry."[77] While for Bartram's contemporaries "five to twelve bushels [an acre] was all that could be expected on old land," Bartram, according to Crevecoeur, reaped twenty-eight to thirty-six bushels an acre.[78] Bartram was especially proud of working with a consortium of proprietors to drain the "putrid swampy soil" on the banks of the Schuylkill.[79] He enriched his soil and claimed "fifty-three hundreds of excellent hay per acre" on ground that had formerly supported a weed: "five-finger," or *Cinquefoil potentilla*. He also used clover in rotation.[80] His cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses were healthy. Crevecoeur also described a healthy orchard, and Bartram named "flax, oats and Indian corn" among his other crops.[81]

Fountain Low to Graeme Park: An Older Seat Reborn

Graeme Park furnishes a dramatic instance of upgrading an older house to make a country seat, a metamorphosis from William Keith's Fountain Low in the 1740s and 1750s. Out of the wreck of a failed governor's pseudo-industrial site and unfinished shell of a house, Thomas Graeme created an elegant retirement and gentleman's park. When Keith fled Pennsylvania for England in 1728, he left his wife and Fountain Low in limbo because of dubious legal transactions. Keith's executors sold the property to support Lady Keith, the mansion house selling in 1737 and, through a series of legal maneuvers, ending in the hands of the Keiths' son-in-law Dr. Thomas Graeme (1688–1772), who had come to America with Keith in 1717. Graeme was born at Balgowan in Perthshire, Scotland, in 1688 and received his medical diploma from Rheims. In 1719 Graeme married Ann Diggs (1700–1765), daughter of Lady Keith and stepdaughter of William. The Graemes had nine children, but only four lived to adulthood and only one, Elizabeth, outlived both parents.

Keith introduced Graeme to political preference, but the protégé avoided the controversy that resulted in the governor's downfall. Throughout his life Graeme was highly respected in Philadelphia as a physician and public official. Most importantly, he served as port physician from 1728 until the late 1740s, a position in which he helped develop the early quarantine system at a time of massive German immigration to Pennsylvania.[82]

Graeme may have bought the Horsham estate as a speculative or commercial venture, because he first tried to rent the place as a farm or industrial establishment, along the lines that Keith had intended. Throughout his life Graeme maintained a farm on the property, worked by slaves, hired laborers, and tenants. No records indicate that Graeme or his family lived at Horsham before 1746, when he wrote to John Penn that, wracked by a cough, he would move to the country in the spring for a "change of air, and to live on Whey and Buttermilk."[83] Giving up his post as port physician, he doubted that he would continue to practice medicine, although he did continue private practice in the city. These comments suggest that moving to Horsham for his health marked a major change in his life and that visits there had not been part of a yearly routine. References to improvements to the estate only began in the 1750s, fifteen years after he bought the property. From 1755 on, many letters to and from the Graeme family record their presence at Horsham. In 1754 Thomas Penn wrote to Graeme from England: "I hear you take frequent journeys to Horsham, which you have made a very fine place, and which will be of great advantage in point of health."[84] Like other physicians, Graeme may have desired a country place remote from the city and its contagion, although Mrs. Graeme occasionally suffered from lesser fevers there.[85] Graeme wrote to John Penn a year later:

> You are pleased to compliment me about Horsham which as you observe, I have Endeavored to make a fine Plantation, in regard to fields meadows and Enclosures, not much yet regarding the House and Gardens. I have a Park which Encloses 300 acres of land, this park is managed in a manner quite different from any I have seen here or elsewhere, its very good soil, and one half of it lys with an easy descent to the South sun, which besides avenues and Vistas thro' it, there is now but just done 150 acres of it quite clear of Shrubbs Grubbs and Bushes, nothing but the Tall trees and good sapling timber standing, this I harrow sow in it grass seed, then Bush and Roll it, I expect it soon capable of maintaining a large stock of sheep & Black cattle, it would be one of the finest Parks for Deer that well could be imagined, but tho' I have double ditched and doubled hedged it, I'm afraid it is not secure enough against Deers escaping. On the other hand if you consider it as a piece of Beauty and Ornament to a dwelling, I dare venture to say that no nobleman in England but would be proud to have it on his seat or by his house.[86]

Presumably, about this time he started calling the place Graeme Park.

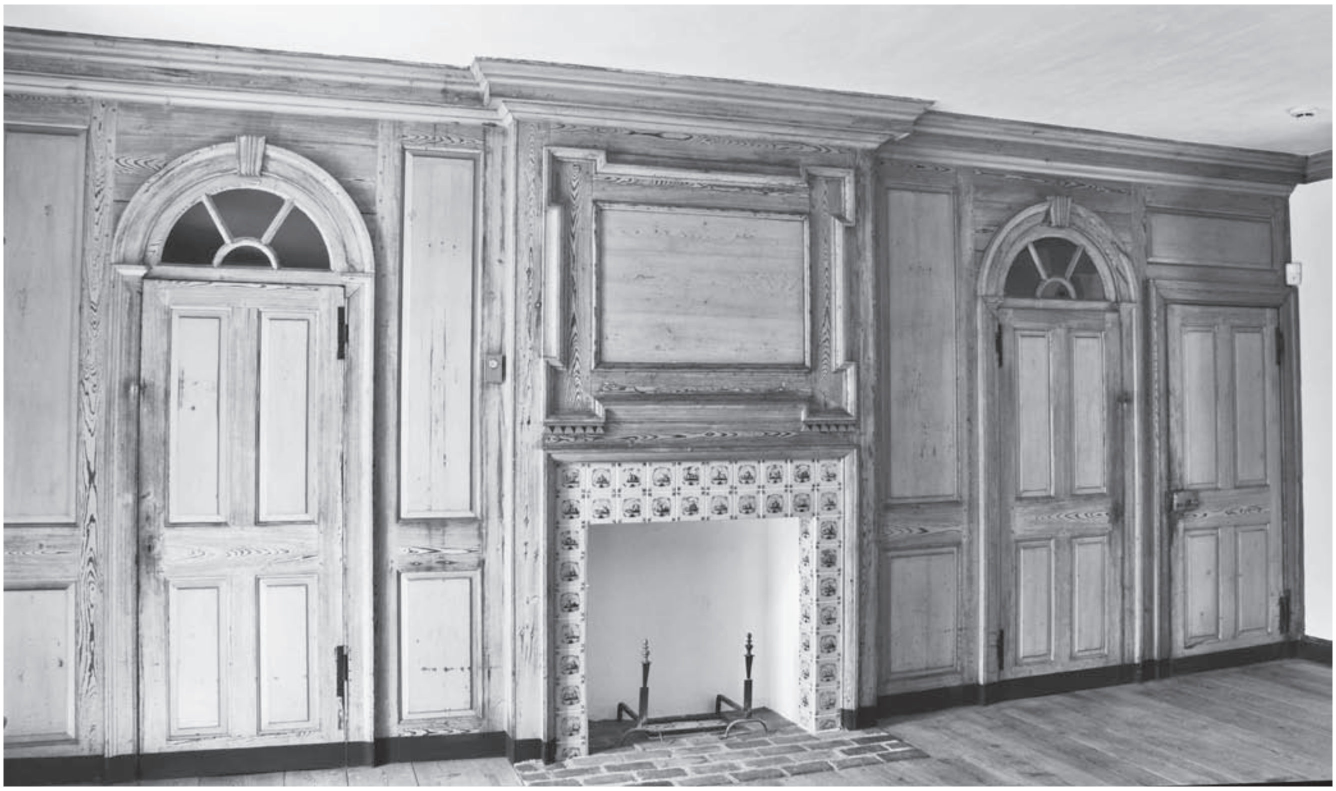
Significantly, Graeme expressed satisfaction with the larger landscape but deprecated the house and gardens, thus establishing a *terminus post quem* for the more elegant improvements to the house and the creation of the formal garden in front of the house. This garden was bordered on the north and west by a high stone wall, whose corner post was topped by a stone ball. On the south side a long pond and berm formed the boundary. The garden had three brick paths perpendicular to the house, one aligned with the front door and the others flanking it on each side.[87]

Graeme made only a few changes to the exterior of the house, mostly to respond to changes inside. He painted the exterior trim left unpainted by Keith, at first with Spanish brown and later with robin's egg blue, a color made with expensive Prussian blue pigment and so expressive of a degree of wealth. So far this color has not been found on the outside of any other Philadelphia country houses. It was never common on exteriors, although it is noted elsewhere in the colonies in the eighteenth century, such as at the Blue House in Newport, Rhode Island.[88]

Inside, Graeme effected more significant alterations, some probably made fairly early in his tenure (c. 1747) so that the house would be habitable. These included the present stair and finishes in the central and west rooms of the house. The finer rooms, the larger rooms on the east end of the house, were finished somewhat later, probably in 1755–60.[89] Besides circumstances and the evidence of paint analysis, William Rawle seems to have confirmed Graeme's authorship of the interiors: "Lady Keith's trustees sold it to Doctor Graeme, who repaired and beautified the house which is indeed internally very elegant."[90]

Among the first of Graeme's changes were the first-floor plan and room uses (p. 160). In the middle zone a new partition created a stairhall in which rose the stair. The interior kitchen became a dining room, and a detached kitchen rose just southwest of the house.[91] The room in the middle of the house behind the stairhall became the office. These rooms received Graeme's earliest renovations. In the office, paneling and a closet, now restored, framed the fireplace. The dining room's chimney breast received paneling with a cornice, and its walls a chair rail. On the wall opposite the fireplace, painted red stripes on the plaster imitate paneling. Later these early improvements were covered by a more elegant treatment: the woodwork was painted white, and the plaster walls were hung with verdigris green wallpaper, probably with a border, a striking color contrast.[92] In the entry, Graeme had the front door made more elegant by having the transom cut down to one row of panes so that the door, now two-leaved, could be higher. The stair, which runs continuously from the first to the third floor without a structural break, is a fine example of a closed-stringer scissors type, somewhat old-fashioned but well adapted to the narrow space available. Its gracefully turned balusters clearly belong to the 1740s. On all three floors the entry and stairhall doors received painted graining on the hall side only.

The second phase of Graeme's improvements created the truly glorious spaces for which Graeme Park is known. The large square space on the west end of the first floor, the most elaborate room in Graeme Park, became the parlor, the chief room of entertaining and recreation (p. 154). A former door to the front (north) was converted to a false window. In the original house, all first-floor spaces had exterior doors, common in earlier houses but later seen less often as demands for privacy and restricted access made the best spaces accessible only from the inside. The fireplace wall is the most notable feature of the room, with its right side door to the hall and a balancing false door flanking the chimney breast, both symmetrically located in the recesses and topped with pediments. The parlor held the finest furniture and accouterments of polite living: six chairs, six tables, a bookcase, four green curtains, three mirrors, several sets of medallions—heads of the poets, which accorded with Elizabeth Graeme's considerable talent in this line—pictures, a harpsichord, a carpet, an eight-day clock, and fireplace equipment.[93] The parlor would have forcibly struck the colonial visitor with its bold color scheme, or lack thereof: the floors of unfinished wide boards; the plaster ceiling whitewashed; the paneling painted white; and accents provided by the continuous black base, black door, and window-shutter hinges, and red-brown chair-rail cap and window sills. The room would have been Graeme Park's lightest room, a benefit of the full paneling.[94] Glints of light from the candles in the wall sconces would have made the room especially enchanting. Most of the woodwork still



Graeme Park, parlor chamber. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

holds only one paint finish, representing a rare and valuable survival of an exposed original colonial finish. With the green dining room at the other end of the first floor and the entry in between, the house possessed a highly fashionable and elegant set of public spaces.[95]

Perhaps also included in Graeme Park's parade was the parlor chamber, the second finest room in the house and by far the finest chamber. This room contained a bed with curtains for the mistress, a bed without curtains for her maid, two blue curtains, a desk, six chairs, fireplace equipment, and other accouterments. The interior design here was not as sophisticated as that of the parlor, it was large and grand nevertheless. The fireplace wall had full paneling, as did the wall opposite, against which the bed stood. The plaster side walls each had two shuttered windows with seats, common features in colonial Philadelphia but used only in this room at Graeme Park. Flanking the fireplace were closet doors with glazed arched fanlights, which were unusual, especially in chambers. The fanlight of the larger, lefthand closet would have allowed that space to be used for dressing and chamber-pot use. The use of interior transoms to "borrow" light for one space from another is unusual in colonial architecture, although it would become common in the Federal period. Like the parlor below, this chamber possessed a striking beauty. The plaster ceiling was whitewashed, while wallpaper—a plain, intense Prussian blue with a white border three-quarters of an inch wide—covered the exposed north and south plaster walls. Woodwork held a light blue paint, similar to the exterior trim color. Red-brown window seats and a continuous black base added accents.

While visiting at Graeme Park, the Graemes' relatives, the Stedmans, lived in the converted and renovated malthouse, which, located well in front of the mansion, was referred to as the "long house" and later the "tenant house," a structure seen in an engraving made after a late-eighteenth-century painting. In this building, Mrs. Stedman had what was referred to as "her kitchen."[96] This building represents a very rare conversion of a working-class or utilitarian structure into something more polite, higher up the architectural hierarchy. Mrs. Graeme died in 1770, after which the Stedmans came less often and fewer other people visited. Dr. Thomas Graeme and his daughter Elizabeth continued to spend summers there until his death in 1772, and Elizabeth lived there until 1791.

* * *

The form of the houses examined in this chapter varies greatly, as does the level of architectural pretension. Taken as a whole, they demonstrate the great diversity among Philadelphia's bourgeois country seats, a diversity that reflects income differences among the city's gentry but also differences in intentions, desires, and visions of what country seats should be. Especially those partaking of the vernacular demonstrate that social hegemony was not the most important reason behind a country seat. However, where there is architectural pretension—and most of the houses have at least a little—the architecture belongs to the new mode sponsored by Bush Hill and Belmont, with the sole exception of the very Germanic Grumblethorpe, which retains the older carpentry style of Stenton and Hope Lodge. The purpose too influenced these trendsetters. Farming still remained important on a few, for example, Grumblethorpe, but most were clearly seasonal residences of city dwellers for temporary retirement and relaxation in the country.

CHAPTER 13

The Flowering of the 1760s

The diversity of country seats that characterized the 1750s did not disappear with the prosperity of the 1760s, but to it was added a triumvirate of villas long recognized as among the finest colonial American houses. They mark a return to the larger houses of earlier times but with a full complement of Palladian-inspired woodwork, architectural finery, and picturesque landscape. Port Royal was destroyed in the industrial march of Philadelphia, but the Historic American Buildings Survey recorded it, and much of its woodwork survives at Winterthur. The other two, Mount Pleasant and Cliveden, survive with a high degree of historical integrity, which makes them prime representatives of the type. Cliveden in particular retains its original architecture, much of its original furniture, and the Chew family papers, rendering it an extremely rare commodity from which we can learn much about the colonial period.

Mount Pleasant: An Elegant House for a Scottish Privateer

Among country houses, Mount Pleasant, one of the best-known historical structures in Philadelphia, stands as the earliest and most luscious fruit of 1760s prosperity.[1] From the time of its construction, the place became well known as a paragon of a country house. John Adams declared it "the most elegant seat in Pennsylvania."[2] The composition of the complex, its lively exterior, and its interiors, which are some of the finest mid-eighteenth-century rooms in America, constitute a magnificent display of the builder's arts.

Mount Pleasant's owner, John Macpherson, easily ranks as the most colorful figure to build a Philadelphia country house since William Keith. A privateer who made a fortune capturing French ships in the Caribbean, Macpherson retired from the sea in 1759 and settled in Philadelphia, where he became a merchant and landlord, as had many of the

Philadelphia gentry before him.[3] Macpherson also bought land off the Falls Road and overlooking the Schuylkill River just across from Belmont for what he called from the beginning Mount Pleasant.[4] The villa at Mount Pleasant rose between 1762 and 1765, with the master carpenter Thomas Nevell as both designer and builder. Macpherson did not enjoy his country seat for long. He put it up for sale or rent as early as 1769, when he received no offers. In that same year his wife, Margaret, had Macpherson abducted, put in a straitjacket, and confined for a time in a tenant house at Mount Pleasant for psychiatric reasons. Freed, he lived intermittently in the city and at Mount Pleasant, rented his country seat to John Cadwalader, and finally sold it in 1779 to Benedict Arnold.[5]

Situated one hundred feet above the river, at the top of a high bluff, Mount Pleasant has one of the most dramatic sites of any Philadelphia country seat. In the immediate vicinity of the house, the site layout possesses formality, with symmetrically disposed barns and detached flanking dependencies, architecturally elaborated by the sweeping curves of their roofs to draw attention. Mount Pleasant enjoyed vistas up and down the Schuylkill, and terracing on the riverfront set it off handsomely. The tree-lined entrance drive framed the balanced dependencies, while anchoring the house in the landscape. However, the place seems to have had little else of formal landscaping. It seems incongruous that such an extraordinarily handsome house should be so well sited yet set within such a plain landscape; one would expect handsome gardens such as those that enhanced Belmont. However, the Scottish Macpherson would have brought Scottish gardening traditions with him, resulting in Mount Pleasant being a working farm with a very fancy house.[6] One of the first things mentioned in Macpherson's advertisement was the eighty tons of hay that the estate produced.

The terrace on the west, or river, side is the only truly formal element in the landscape. Archaeology demonstrated that the house's siting took advantage of a natural terrace: the projecting arm to the south was natural; that to the north was man made. Natural irregular terraces extended down to the river. The tree-lined drive leading to the east, or front, of the house, presumably of Macpherson's time, provided a dramatic entrance. A map of 1868, however, raises a question. The trees do not stand in a straight line on either side, the spacing is irregular, and the trees are of different sizes, keeping the drive from being a true allée. Did Macpherson simply leave these trees standing while felling the others for pasture or orchard, taking advantage of natural woodland as he had taken advantage of a natural terrace?

Mount Pleasant fulfills two Renaissance ideals of the villa more fully than any other eighteenth-century house in Philadelphia: it is given a unified architectural treatment all around and stands free, mediating with the landscape. These ideals were most clearly embodied in Palladio's Villa Rotunda (1567), but Inigo Jones Queen's House at Greenwich (1616) and Lord Burlington's Chiswick Villa (1729) came close. That such ideals reached fulfillment so completely in Philadelphia is remarkable given the colony's strong tradition of facade architecture and the principle of hierarchy that pervades house design in the region.

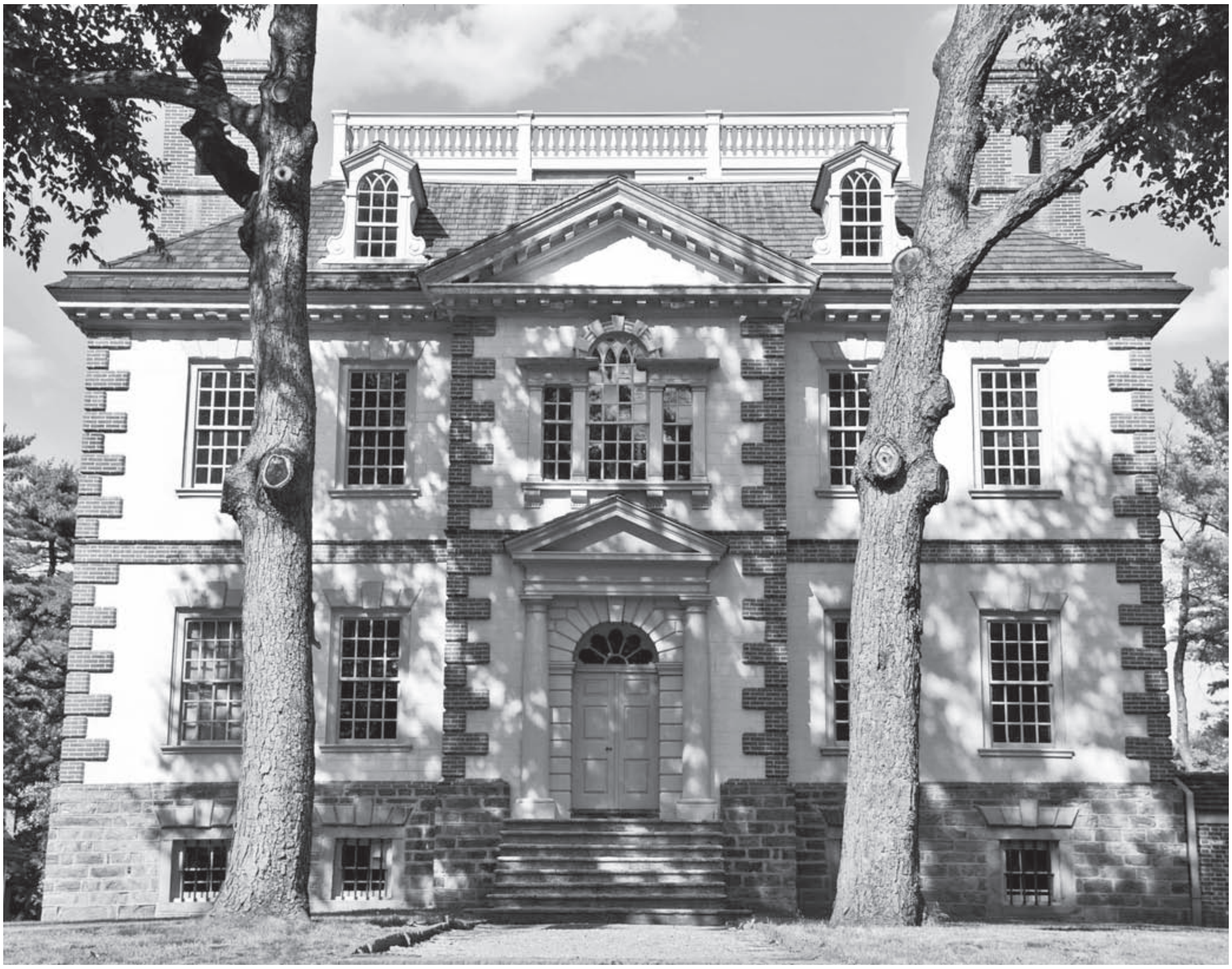
Mount Pleasant is strictly symmetrical and very academic. Its two major facades stretch five bays across, with the central bay broken out into a pedimented pavilion. Massive, arched chimneys mark the roof, recalling those on the State House, on which Nevell worked.[7] The walls are made of stone, squared and left exposed on the basement level, rubble stuccoed and scored to resemble ashlar above. Beveled brick quoins, which Nevell called "Rusticks," mark the corners, and a brick stringcourse (with a molded and flared top course) marks the second-floor line. The quoins are the most striking feature, because they stand out so dramatically from the whitewashed stucco. Along with the gray stone and wood-trim paint, these give Mount Pleasant a distinctly polychromed appearance (color plate A), unlike that of any other Philadelphia house and so different from the relative monotone of early houses such as Stenton. Originally, all the exterior woodwork was painted white, but for the second coat (probably immediately after Macpherson) the sash received cream-colored paint, and the rest of the woodwork, pink. Again, among previous houses Belmont would have come closest, with its more usual red brick walls, light gray stone trim, and dark red woodwork (with a second coat of pink).[8]

At the center of each front, a projecting pavilion is the *pièce de résistance* of the exterior and the feature that keeps Mount Pleasant's two fronts from being identical, a design strategy that prevents the exterior from becoming predictable, while carrying clues about the relative roles of the two fronts and their relationship to the interiors. The pediments of the pavilions had become normative by this time for top-rank Philadelphia country houses, but these were distinguished by Palladian windows and some of the most elaborate frontispieces in colonial Philadelphia. These Palladian windows are the earliest in Philadelphia, with the exception of the State House. For the window design Nevell relied heavily on Batty Langley, although Palladian windows and other forms of the Serliana also appear in Swan.[9]

The east front has a bit more formality than the west, as befits the main route of entry. The stone steps curve out laterally at the bottom and are graced with an iron railing.[10] The frontispiece looks much like a design from Gibbs,[11] though the same design could have arisen by combining elements from two or three plates in Swan.[12] On the whole, Nevell might well have needed only Swan's two books for the design of Mount Pleasant. The order of the east frontispiece forms a complete Doric: the bases have the proper moldings; the frieze, triglyphs and metopes; and the entablature, mutule blocks with guttae. While the jambs of the doorway are rusticated, the arch itself is molded and carries an enormous triple keystone, and panels fill the spandrels to each side. The east door's five-petal fanlight with tapered and fluted muntins is unique in the Philadelphia area. These details make the east doorway more formal and finely finished than its west counterpart, more suitable for an entry front. Finally, above is the Palladian window framed with an Ionic order. The Ionic window over the Doric frontispiece embodies the correct stacking of orders established by Leone Battista Alberti after the Roman Colosseum and repeated universally: from bottom to top, Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Composite. The use of Ionic over the Doric on the east front also prefigures their use inside in the central hall.

On the west front, significant elements of the central pavilion differ, becoming slightly less formal as befits a more private, garden front. The steps are less elaborate; only the bottom step curves outward, and no rails protect the edges. The frontispiece has the Tuscan order (the column bases are simpler, the proportions squatter, and the entablature carries no enrichments), an intentionally rustic order often used in connection with gardens. The Palladian window above becomes Doric to preserve the approved sequence of stacking. These orders do not match those inside and suggest this front's slightly lower status. The doorway surround possesses full rustication up and around the arch and spandrels, and the keystone is quite simple. The fanlight's uniformly thin muntins are of a more common type than the tapered ones on the east front.

The dependencies share the general exterior treatment of the mansion, although with distinctively curving roofs. Each has a chimney on the southward side wall, mirroring the



Mount Pleasant (1761), west facade, which differs slightly but significantly from the east facade. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

placement of the mansion's chimneys. Each also has dormers matching the mansion's on both fronts, that is, facing the approaches to the house.

To say simply that Mount Pleasant derives from Swan overlooks the enormous differences from the original and neglects Mount Pleasant's uniqueness in American colonial architecture, another example of the self-consciousness of design in the eighteenth-century villa. Nowhere does this uniqueness appear more evident than in the plan (p. 161). One would be hard pressed to derive Mount Pleasant's plan from anything in Swan's *Collection of Designs in Architecture*. The plan actually looks much like Woodford's, but with a more expansive hall, whose scale suggests older houses such as Hope Lodge or Stenton. The plan is unique among those of colonial houses, most resembling its contemporary and another thoroughly Palladian Virginia house, Mount Airy (1762).

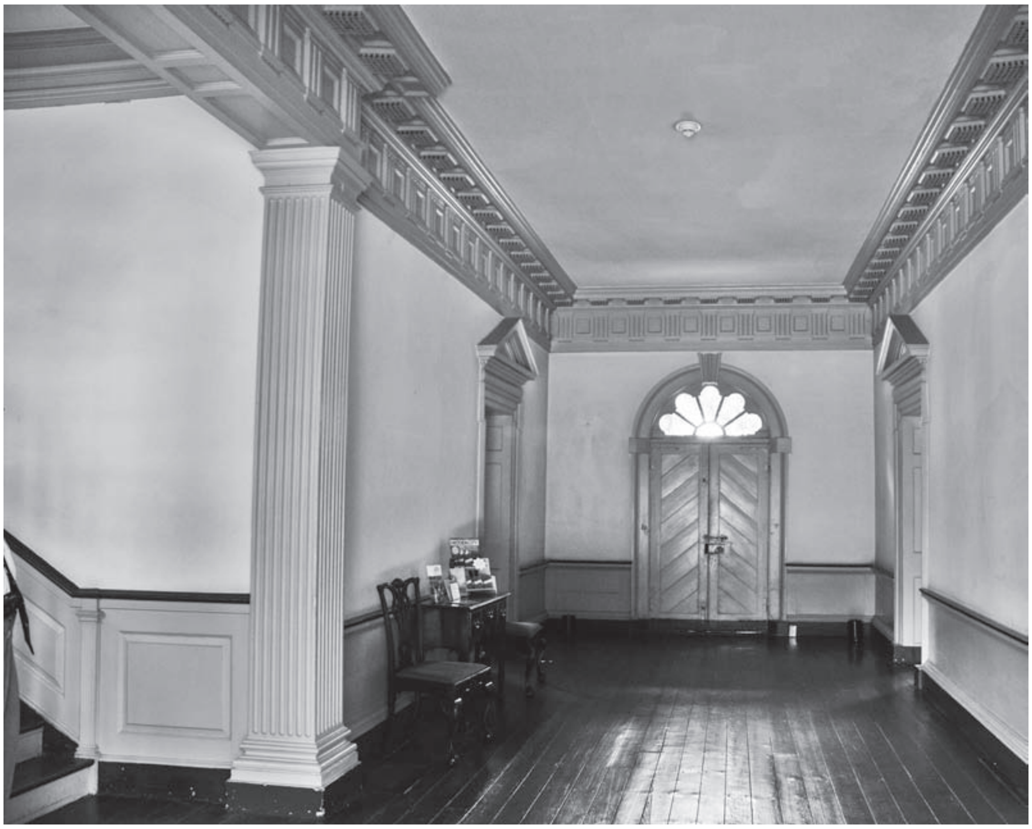
Moreover, the doors and windows, along with many false openings, create alignments that carefully structure the plan. The most obvious is the central axis, linking the entrance doors and Palladian windows in the hall. On the first floor the doors into the dining room (formerly the parlor) align with the opening to the stair and the door into the family parlor (formerly the dining room), creating cross axes that continue across the dining room via false doors flanking the fireplace. The fireplace in this room lies on axis with a niche on the hall partition. Upstairs, self-conscious geometry shifts from the north end to the hall and drawing room. A third cross axis marks the exact center of the hall by means of a closet door and a false door to the drawing room. This same false opening acts as one end of an axis in the drawing room itself, so that both sides of the fireplace are given equal treatment. The door from the hall also aligns with a cupboard, creating a vista.

In the interiors of Mount Pleasant, hierarchy fades somewhat in favor of character, a concept gaining importance in English architecture and landscape during the second half of the eighteenth century. The same could be said of the exterior, where the elevations differ little from one another and where the use of the orders did not result in one elevation being "better" than another but merely different and in concordance with the context, entry versus garden. The orders are vital for the distinctions inside as well. The four spaces of parade cannot be ranked in a clear hierarchy but rather contrast by their use of orders (and implied orders) and by treatments that render them more or less severe or ornate, more or less Doric or Ionic. Such distinction by orders appears elsewhere in colonial architecture, most notably in South Carolina, where Drayton Hall (1748) and the Miles Brewton House (1767) embody a very clear stacking of the orders inside. Unlike in many Philadelphia houses, moldings play a limited role in this characterization; instead, enrichments and degree of enrichments in the different spaces distinguish one space from another.

Mount Pleasant's hall proves key to its distinctiveness, for the space runs uninterrupted through the house, which is characteristic of a villa and most apt for a landscape scheme in which the house stands at the middle of two landscape experiences, as at Belmont, while at the same time being broad enough to be used as a room in itself, not just a passage. Only after midcentury did English houses show interest in a flow of space, possibly inspired by the French rococo, touches of which are definitely present in Mount Pleasant's carving.[13] That the hall is expressed on the exterior by the central pavilions of the main facades reinforces its importance.

The openness of the hall results from removing the stair to a side space, here adjacent to the entrance for ease of movement and to preserve views of the river for the major spaces to each side of the hall. Swan's book specifically notes this design rationale with respect to stairways.[14] Pushing the stair to the side was not unusual in colonial houses, but unlike most examples, such as at Sabine Hall and Mount Airy in Virginia, the stair here lies on an exterior corner so that it can receive abundant light.[15] Nevell's account book makes clear that the "hall" was noted and conceived as a unity downstairs and up.

The first-floor hall has a rather severe character that derives in large part from its Doric order. We have seen such a character in entry halls, but Mount Pleasant carries it farther than any other Philadelphia country house. The Doric was a common treatment for entry halls in English houses, both in the Palladian style of the first half of the eighteenth century and in Adam work of the second half. The plate from Swan on which Mount Pleasant is based placed the stair "in the Center of the Back Front," a terminology echoed by Nevell.[16] Since Mount Pleasant's hall is a single open space, no Doric screen divides front from back. However, a sort of screen appears between the hall and stair by means of full-height Doric pilasters that frame the opening, a treatment that recalls Woodford. Details of the Doric order, notably the bases of the pilasters and the entablature, seem copied from those shown in large scale in Swan's *British Architect*. (The same author's *Collection of Designs* shows the same order in small scale only.) The entablature runs complete around the entire space.

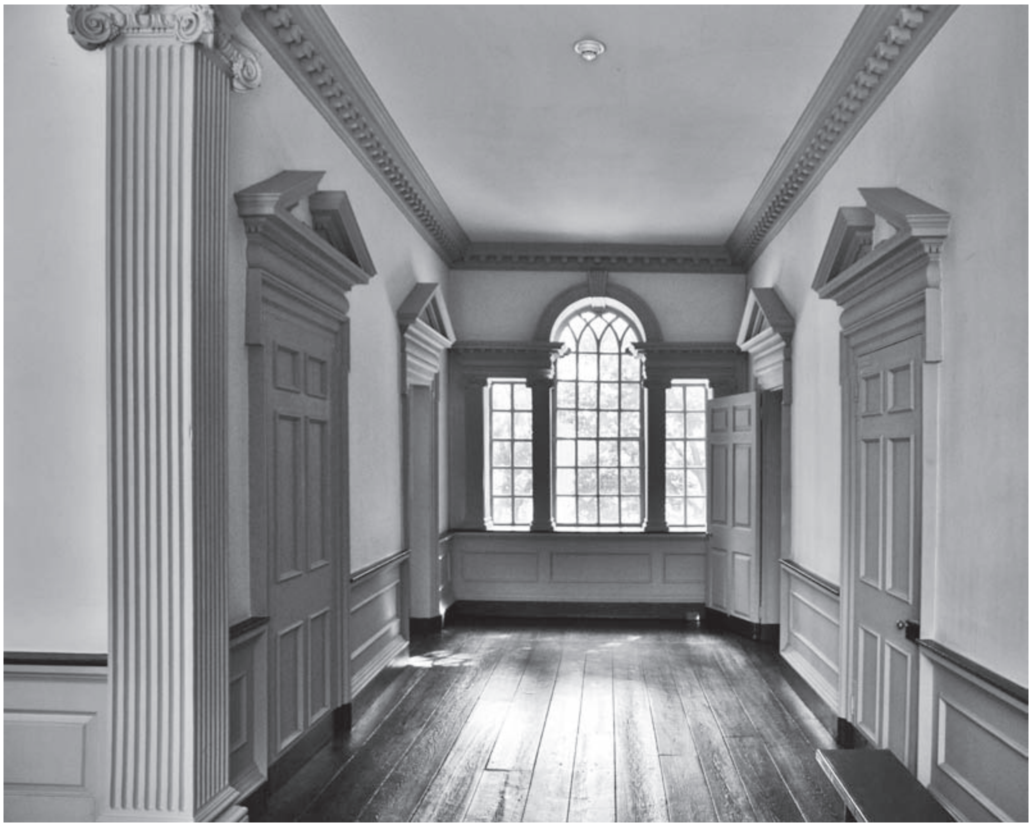


Mount Pleasant, first-floor hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

Several other details lend severity to the hall. The long stretches of blank wall between the two openings on each side make for an austere composition, although furniture would have relieved this somewhat. What survives today in most houses, the architecture alone, constituted less than half of an eighteenth-century interior; the fabrics of curtains and upholstery and the furniture in general were responsible for much of an interior's effect.[17]

The visitor most likely would have moved from the hall to the dining room, the largest room in the house and the primary one for public entertainment. This room has no overt classical order, though the Ionic is suggested by the general level of enrichment and the dentils in the cornice. Most significantly, the wall recedes beneath the windows, a very architectonic treatment that increases the prominence of the windows by running them to the floor. The overmantel is the dining room's glory: above a very heavy, enriched fireplace architrave two carved console brackets visually support a crossetted rectangular frame with rosettes in the corners and a running fret around the perimeter. To more comfortably accommodate the rosettes and fret, the inner molding of the frame curves inward in a quadrant, a nice touch that Swan shows nowhere with crossettes, although he does show it in a plate of wall paneling.[18] To continue the vertical lines (as with the windows), frieze blocks with three floral motifs stand on the overmantel's ears and connect to a projecting denticulated bed molding. The fret, the rosettes, and the general design of the overmantel all appear in Swan's *Collection of Designs*.[19]

Just as the pedimented doorways in the hall prepare for the dining room, so the detailing in the first-floor stair alcove anticipates the second-floor hall. The dado is paneled, probably to blend with the paneling up the stairway. The Doric cornice disappears in the

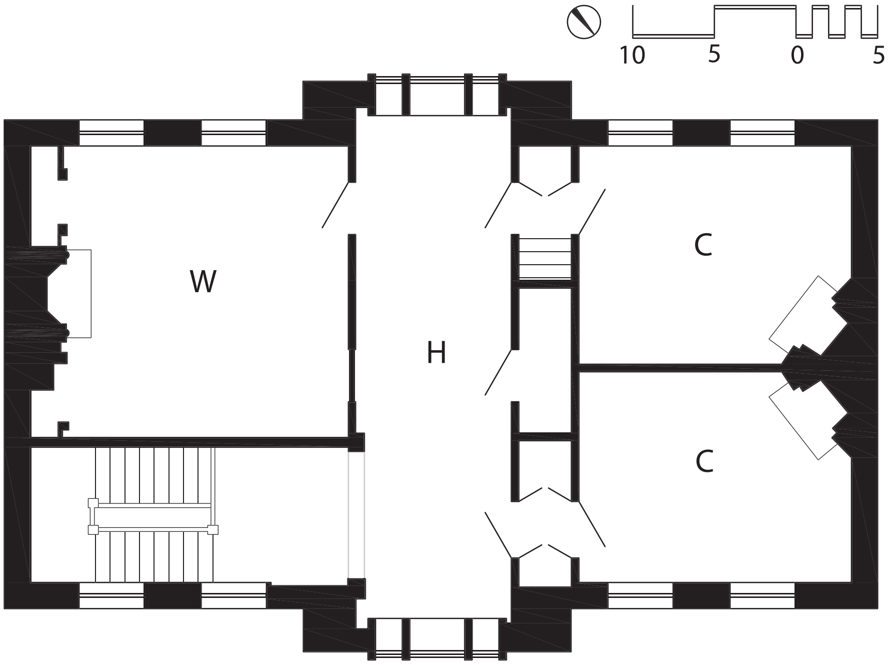


Mount Pleasant, second-floor hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

alcove; in its place a standard cornice with no enrichments creates a neutral transition between the Doric of the first-floor hall and the Ionic modillioned cornice of the stair's upper level. The stair itself continues the trend toward lightness in detailing that we have been following for more than half a century. The stair end brackets have a fanciful sawn form but no carving.

In the second-floor hall, pilasters occur only at the stair opening, and the entablature is complete only over the same opening. Elsewhere only the modillion cornice runs around the hall. The Ionic order seems reinforced by the Palladian windows, which are identical inside, unlike their exterior treatment. These dominate the end walls of the hall, almost completely filling the narrowed space both horizontally and vertically. They invite one to gaze outward over the landscape front and rear, and the view of the Schuylkill River must have been especially ravishing. Extra space is gained upstairs by shifting from a brick partition to a wood-framed one and by making the second-floor hall narrower than the first. Primarily this gains a slot of space on the hall's north side that provides air locks and closets for the two north chambers and a stair to the garret, a design move that shows considerable interest in function.

If the visitor was favored enough to reach the second floor, chances are they would have been invited into Mount Pleasant's most noteworthy space, the drawing room. The most elaborate room in any Philadelphia country house, the drawing room here rivals urban spaces such as the Powel House drawing room and truly brought the city into the country. Some have hypothesized that the room functioned as Macpherson's bedchamber, but its name in Nevell's account book and the contoured shelves in the right cupboard for the public display



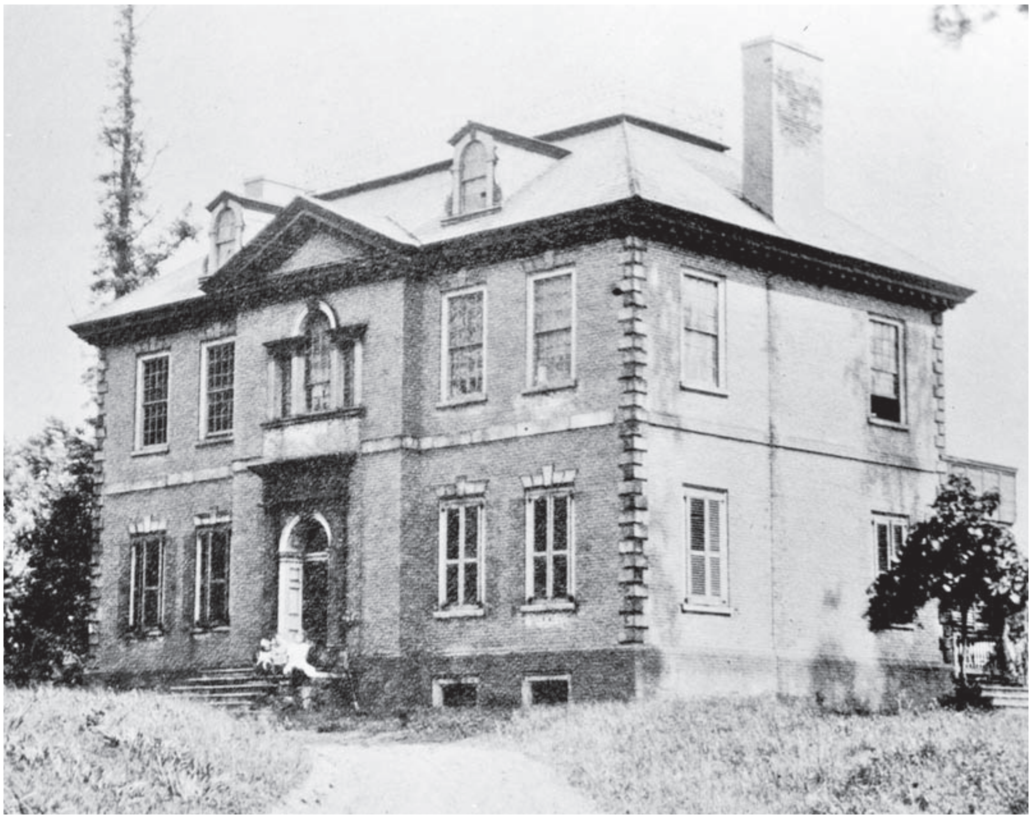
Mount Pleasant, second-floor plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Mount Pleasant*

of china and plate indicate that it was at least a quasi-public space.[20] Its decoration has a delicacy unmatched in other colonial work, especially the pediments and their console brackets over the arched doors and the fireplace trusses and overmantel, truly harbingers of the delicate, attenuated ornamental style then appearing in England. The size of the space makes it a true *withdrawing room*, for intimate gatherings with conversation and tea.

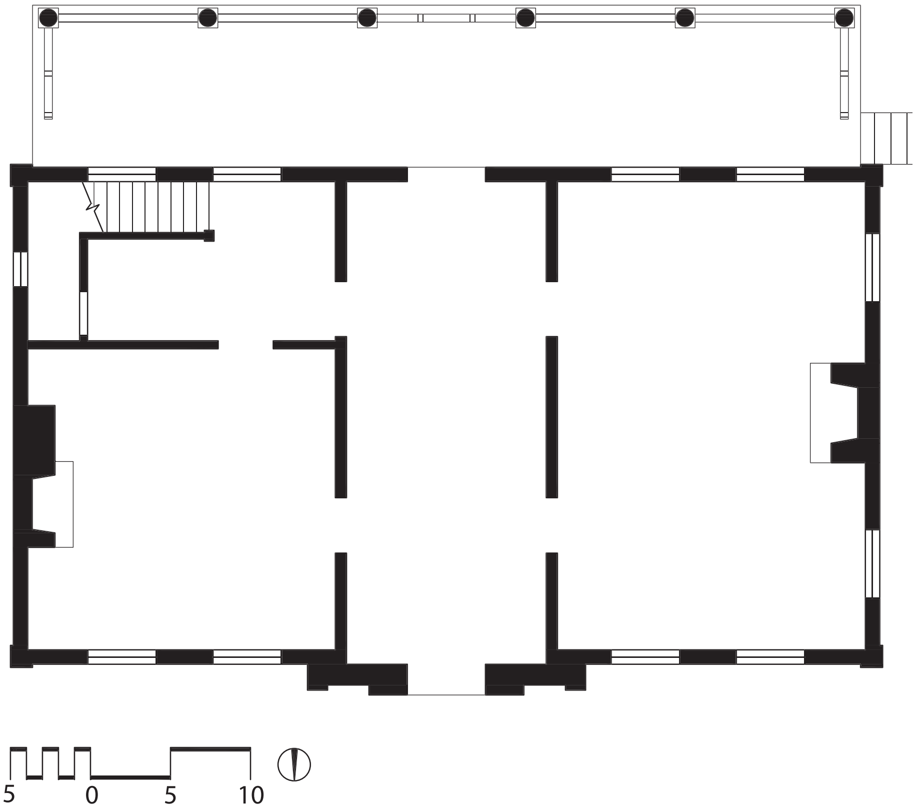
Port Royal: Mount Pleasant's Sibling

Mount Pleasant hit the Philadelphia scene with the same tremendous impact that Belmont and Bush Hill had had fifteen years earlier and immediately inspired imitators. The closest was the long-demolished house in the Frankford section of Philadelphia, Port Royal, built by Edward Stiles (c. 1720–1793) between 1765 and 1767. Mount Pleasant so impressed Stiles that he had his master carpenter, Gunning Bedford (1720–1802), nearly clone it for Port Royal. Stiles and Macpherson were friends and former business associates.[21] The name Port Royal came from Stiles's birthplace, Port Royal, Bermuda, another Caribbean reference in the world of the Philadelphia country house. Gunning Bedford sometimes worked closely with Thomas Nevell; for example, the latter measured Bedford's work at Port Royal in December 1768.[22]

Port Royal stood on the south side of what is now Tacony Street between Church and Duncan Streets. The site, on the north side of Frankford Creek, sloped gently down to the creek. To the east, the Delaware River would have been visible. For more than a century the industrialization of Frankford has made it difficult to remember that it once was rural and that on the banks of Frankford Creek were picturesque spots for country seats. Port Royal's site comprised 113 acres, 74 acres of upland and 38 of meadow, a valuable tract that Stiles bought in August 1761.[23]



Port Royal (1765), a near copy of Mount Pleasant. HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 5, Library of Congress



Port Royal, first-floor plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 5, Library of Congress

In plan Port Royal nearly copied Mount Pleasant, though with important changes that Stiles must have considered improvements. The stair lies against the back wall, so that the parade would have included the entire first-floor hall. Windows in the end walls would have made the interiors brighter and allowed more views of the landscape. The basement originally had a kitchen, the only one for the house, which had no dependencies.[24]

Port Royal's exterior treatment also differed from Mount Pleasant's. Instead of stucco, the walls displayed exposed brick, as did the quoins and stringcourse. Also unlike Mount Pleasant and more in tune with Philadelphia architecture generally, the elevations possessed a definite hierarchy. Only the front windows had stone jack arches. The windows had no lintels on the sides and rear, and the rear did not have a projecting central pavilion or pediment, although it did have a Palladian window in the second-floor hall. On the facade, the frontispiece linked architecturally with the Palladian window above by the elimination of the pediment and its replacement by a wide entablature over the door and a pedestal under the window.

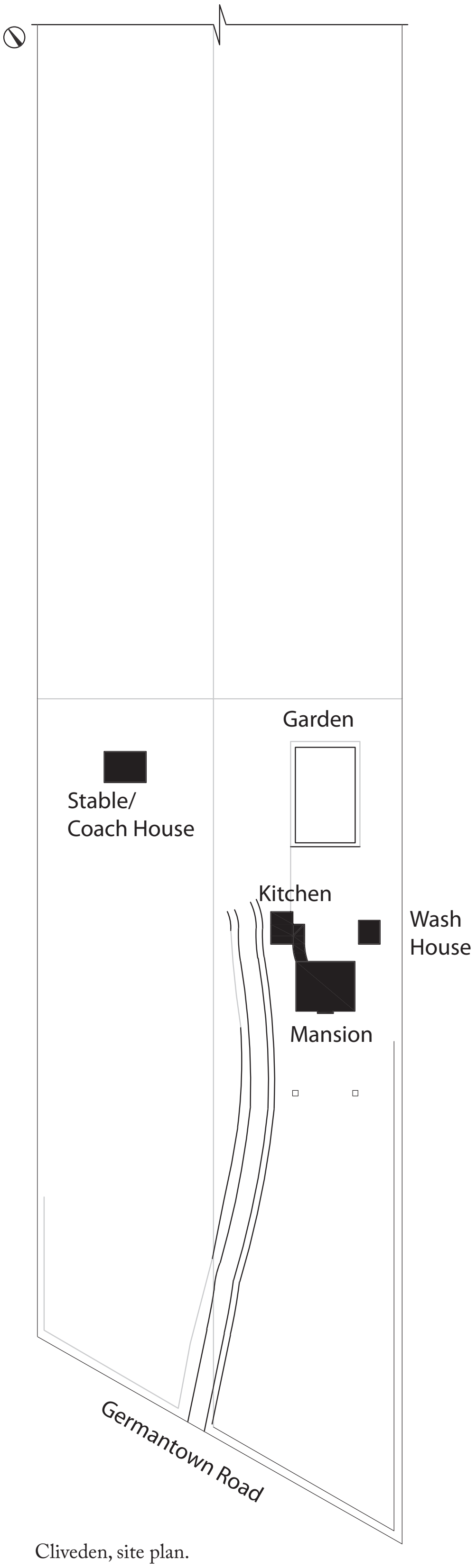
Much of Port Royal's first-floor interior woodwork fills two rooms at Winterthur, a hall and parlor that bear the house's name.[25] The hall displays a fanlit door similar to Mount Pleasant's and a complete Doric entablature around the perimeter, again like the earlier house. The parlor had a modillioned cornice only and a fine mantelpiece with a pedimented overmantel. The window and doors had crossetted frames. Judging from the surviving woodwork, Port Royal seems not to have had nearly as much carving as Mount Pleasant; the only surviving carving is some foliage on the parlor mantel's trusses. The lack of surviving woodwork from the second floor suggests that it was even simpler.

Cliveden: Benjamin Chew's Great Gray House in Germantown

As the builders finished Mount Pleasant and Port Royal, Cliveden, the third in the climactic triumvirate of Philadelphia country houses, began to rise in Germantown, part of a renewed population and building boom that began after the French and Indian War. Germantown land sellers actively promoted the town for summer residences. In place of a property's practical advantages, advertisements now stressed a site's suitability for a country seat. For example, a house was "well known for its elegant situation" and would suit "any West Indian or other gentleman for a pleasant, healthy, and commodious country seat,"[26] another clue that country living in North America may have been influenced by life in Caribbean plantation houses. In addition to orchards, which had long been noted, flower gardens now appeared as selling points.

The promotion worked, and the invasion of Germantown by Philadelphians began, swelling to a flood during the yellow fever epidemics of the 1790s. Economically and politically the wealthy outsiders quickly dominated the local population. Christopher Saur, the Germantown newspaper publisher and activist, complained that poor Germans could not afford to clothe their children well enough to go to school with the wealthy English, a complaint that might have found an architectural parallel.[27]

Into this shifting situation came Benjamin Chew (1722–1810), one of the most influential men in the colony. Chew had been born into a Maryland Quaker family that also had property in the Lower Counties of Pennsylvania, but after 1732 his father, Samuel, also maintained a home in Philadelphia, where he practiced medicine and befriended leading



Cliveden, site plan. Drawing by Thomas Peters after *Cliveden*

citizens.[28] The Friends disowned Samuel for supporting a strong defense against the French and the Indians. Benjamin also gave up his Quakerism for Anglicanism.[29] Benjamin trained in law under Andrew Hamilton, and by 1746 he had been admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, where he rose to become its most active and respected advocate.[30] In this position he became close to William Allen. Chew's decision to buy in Germantown was undoubtedly heavily influenced by the presence of Allen's Mount Airy. In 1755 Chew became attorney general for Pennsylvania, a post in the pay of the Penn family. The post also made Chew a member of both the Governor's Council and the proprietary group that governed the colony and looked out for the Penn family interests. His salary as a public official, together with his private legal cases, made Chew very wealthy.

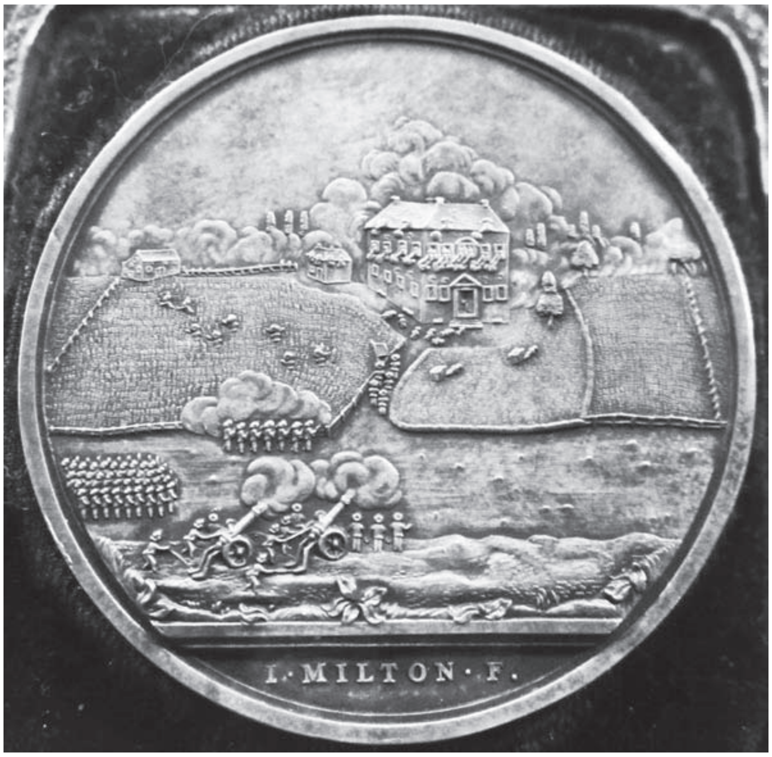
Chew also increased his social position through marriage. His first wife (taken in 1747), Mary Galloway, of a prominent Maryland Quaker family, died in 1755 after giving birth to five daughters. Chew subsequently married Elizabeth Oswald, a niece and heir of Joseph Turner, whose country seat was Wilton, a fellow attorney and business partner of William Allen, thus further cementing that relationship.[31] By his second wife Chew had six more children, making a very large family, perhaps reflected in the substantial Cliveden.

Cliveden stood on Germantown Road west of the dense part of Germantown. Its section of the road remained unsettled longer than the parts below or above. Chew bought the land, a long narrow parcel stretching from Germantown Road to Division Street, now Chew Avenue, in 1763 and very quickly began to build his mansion house. He called the place Cliveden after the country seat of the much beloved Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751), thus telegraphing his loyalty to the crown and its government.[32] Two years into construction, Chew extended the Cliveden tract with the purchase of a neighboring tract, on which he built his carriage house and stable, which still exist. Chew built Cliveden at the peak of his wealth and strength, but by the time of its completion he had begun to feel the effects of hard work. Many of the builders of Philadelphia country houses were not men of leisure, even if they had wealth and power. In the late 1760s and early 1770s Chew resigned from his post as attorney general and reduced his private practice. In 1774 he became chief justice of Pennsylvania, a position in which he declared himself "more master now of my own time."[33] Quite naturally, his country seat played an important part in his recreation.

Today the Cliveden mansion seems uncomfortably squeezed against Johnson Street, and the observer wonders why it was not placed further to the west. However, Johnson Street did not exist until the mid-nineteenth century, and in fact Chew located the mansion near the east-west center of the original tract, its central axis parallel with the parcel's long sides, a siting strategy similar to Belmont's. The narrowness of Chew's original lot may have helped determine the placement of Cliveden's dependencies, which seem too close by usual Palladian standards, as seen at Mount Pleasant. Had Chew spaced his dependencies using traditional formulas, they would have reached to within about twenty feet of his property boundaries, making them too close either to be comfortable or to allow a driveway by the west side of the house.

For the position front and rear on the lot, Chew followed topography. The mansion was located between four hundred and five hundred feet back from Germantown Road, approximately one-quarter of the depth of the lot, close to but not at the crest of the hill. In placing it so far from the road, Chew followed Jacob Marks rather than obeying the Germantown norm and placing it on the road. At 350 feet above sea level, this hill is the highest point in Germantown until one reaches Mount Airy.[34] Chew had pleasure gardens at Cliveden, and if these were placed behind the house, as is likely, they would have stretched up the remaining slight slope to the hilltop. So located, the house and gardens would have afforded delightful views in all directions. To the south, the ground sloped continuously to the Wissahickon valley; to the north and east, the land sloped down to Wingohocking Creek, the center of Germantown, and eventually to Philadelphia. At the time even the Delaware River and New Jersey were visible from the site.

The mansion sat on a flattened grade, or terrace, that ran around at least the front and sides of the house.[35] A more or less straight drive led from Germantown Road—about where the present drive enters the property—to the southwest corner of the mansion. On the east side of the drive, a long, mostly open lawn stretched in front of the mansion to Germantown Road. This openness makes sense in terms of the view to the southeast of the mansion. A fairly close fence surrounded this area, and statues close to the house decorated it. From mid-1766 on, Chew spent a great deal for fencing and other yard work as the house was being finished and the landscape began to take shape. The statues may have stood at extensions of the side lines of the mansion, as at Belmont. Behind and to the left of the house stood the barn and stable. Only the stable itself survives, but the area around it and the barn was filled with other service structures.[36]



Battle of Germantown commemorative medal showing Cliveden. Courtesy of Cliveden of the National Trust for Historic Preservation

In all early representations of Cliveden, trees loom up behind the mansion, a disposition of landscape known in other Philadelphia houses related to Cliveden stylistically and suggesting that the area behind Cliveden held pleasure and kitchen gardens. Accounts mention a summerhouse, orange trees in planters, raspberry bushes, and a shuttered hotbed. The orange trees in particular imply a fairly high degree of horticulture, and Chew had a gardener. Interestingly, Chew had no greenhouse or orangerie for overwintering his orange trees. Did he overwinter them at William Logan's Stenton or possibly at Mount Airy?[37]

The surviving drawings of Cliveden were discussed in chapter 5 (pp. 98ff.). Drawings 1 and 2, by William Peters, are plans for the house as first laid out and as modified from Abraham Swan's plate 1. Drawing 3 is a revised plan that shows the house as built. Drawings 4, 5, and 6 represent different facade treatments tried out during the design process. Drawing 7 is a perspective of Cliveden as it was intended to be built.

Swan's plate 1 depicts a house measuring about 53 by 48 feet; in drawing 1, Cliveden is 54 by 44 feet, the dimensions as constructed. The scale of rooms is also similar. Peters's modifications to Swan's plate produced an elegant and symmetrical plan dominated by the spacious central hall that stretched freely through the house—much as Mount Pleasant's did—but expanded laterally as well, forming a grander reception and warm-weather living space. Two good-sized rooms occupied the back corners of the plan. At the front corners, small but heated rooms provided a more intimate withdrawing space on the right and a waiting room and stairhall on the left, the latter also having an exterior door.

Drawing 3, a revised first-floor plan with the second floor superimposed, very closely represents Cliveden as built.[38] Chew evidently objected to Peters's omission of a grand central stair and wanted, in addition, a service stair isolated from any major space on the ground floor, a reaffirmation of Swan's design. The left front space became a separate, unheated room. The hall was divided into front and back by a screen of columns, an idea that probably also came from Swan's book, where many of the house plans have columnar screens dividing entrance hall from stairhall.

The three sheets of elevations (drawings 4–6) relate closely to the plan as it evolved. Their chronological order can be inferred from their relationship to the plans. Drawing 5 represents a stage similar to the plan of drawing 1, and 6 to the plan of drawing 3. Drawing 4 probably represents an early alternative to 5 and an attempt to relate the first-floor plan to the elevation.[39] The small front corner rooms are expressed in ten-foot-wide side pavilions, while the slight central projection, with urns on the roof and a Doric frontispiece, also gives the necessary emphasis on the house's formal entrance. Drawing 4 had a different source than Swan's plate 1, the origin of the plans and the other elevations. The inscription "No. 14" in the upper left corner indicates that it came from an unidentified book or from another version of *A Collection of Designs in Architectur*e.[40] Drawing 6, a revision of drawing 5, showed the Cliveden mansion in essentially its final form.[41] It corresponds to plan drawing 3 and to the constructed house in the width of its central pavilion, the heights of all parts of the mansion except the roof, as well as the placement and height of the dependencies. Between this drawing and construction, the fenestration of the dependencies would change from two windows to a central door flanked by windows. Indeed, this was the first time dependencies appeared at Cliveden. The drawing also has a third frontispiece variant, Tuscan, but with a concave hipped roof. As built, Cliveden's facade included features from all three elevation drawings. Its Doric frontispiece and urns came from drawing 4; its window placement, from drawing 5. The general form and placement of the dependencies appeared only in drawing 6, and the dormers had appeared in the perspective, drawing 7.

Two other drawings (8 and 9) probably represent an alternative design for Cliveden and deserve attention as a clever arrangement of a Palladian-inspired house dovetailed with its site. The designer (William Peters?) borrowed from the nearby Marks House the composition of the gable entry facade. The gable front spans the shorter side of a main block that is the same size as the executed Cliveden but turned at a right angle. As in the executed Cliveden, outbuildings stand near the main block, joined to it by walls with

Cliveden, washhouse dependency. HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 64, Library of Congress

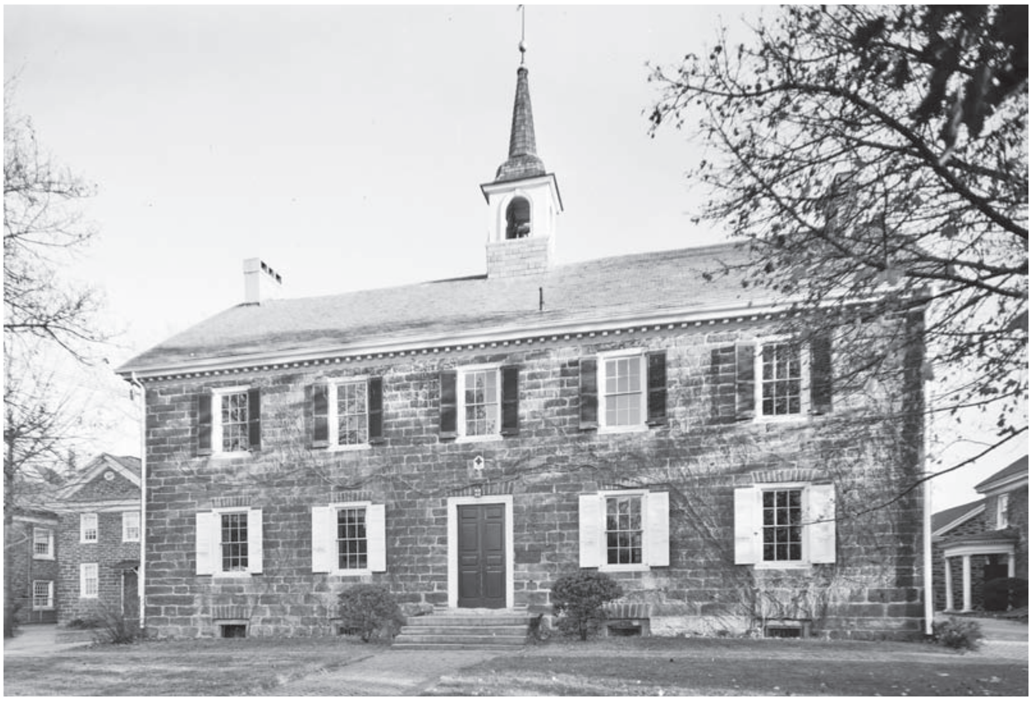
arched openings, as in Palladio's Villa Pisani at Montagnana. The right flanker acts as a screen for a piazza that runs along the main block's lateral wall, with a view down the hill toward Germantown and beyond. Less well developed was the plan, with its narrow passage running from the front entry to a broader cross hallway. Such a passage occurs rarely, but it does occur both in Palladio's villas, notably in Villa Cornara at Piombino, and in Swan's *Collection of Designs*, namely, in volume 1, plate 2, and volume 2, plate 6, in both of which the passage leads to a cross hall with stairs.

Like its plan, Cliveden's facade began with Swan's plate 1, with which it shares most of the salient features. While Chew allowed the frontispiece, he eliminated the mannerist window treatments. He also eliminated a second stringcourse below the first-story windows. The most important difference occurred at the roof, where Swan employed a low-pitched hipped roof with a parapet. Parapets were common in England but not in the colonies, possibly because the lead flashing work required was more available in the mother country. Instead of the more classical hipped roof, Cliveden has a gable roof, which is unusual among first-rank Philadelphia country houses though still quite common among slightly less exalted bourgeois country seats. English gentry houses rarely had gable roofs after the mid-seventeenth century. None appear in Swan or other pattern books of this era. In America they had become less fashionable by the late colonial period, although they survived and indeed thrived again in the Federal period.

Cliveden's gable roof may reflect Chew's maximizing space in his garret. It may also represent the influence of the Germantown vernacular. No other Germantown building of the time had a hipped roof, and the Germantown Academy (1760) may have been an influential precedent. Indeed, the exteriors of Cliveden and the Academy, on which Knor had worked, share so many features that they seem descended one from the other. Cliveden obviously has more sophistication in design and detailing than the Academy, but despite its more stylish design, it strongly recalls the traditional vernacular vocabulary of the region. Perhaps Knor was hesitant to erect a large hipped roof, which was a challenging piece of carpentry, and one with which Knor was unfamiliar.

By the mid-eighteenth century many country houses in the Philadelphia area possessed dependencies similar to Cliveden's, the closest parallels being Belmont—also designed by William Peters—and Mount Pleasant. Even more pertinent, the dependencies' form and their placement to the rear derive from the Germantown Academy, where similar flankers served as the lodgings of the English and German masters. This derivation is seen even more clearly in drawing 6, where the dependencies are shown with two windows, as at the Academy. As this elevation indicates, the dependencies formed part of the formal composition of Cliveden's front elevation, although their precise placement seems odd: they are too far back (but only slightly to the side) to be conveniently connected to the mansion. If a viewer stands close to the front of Cliveden, the dependencies disappear, but clearly they act like garden tempiettos, crowded with three diminutive bays and a full pediment and intended to stand on their own visually. But a larger visual scheme may be at work. To see the entire facade composition of Cliveden, including both dependencies, one must be approximately four hundred feet in front of the mansion, on its central axis, which puts the viewer just inside the property line at Germantown Avenue. In other words, Cliveden appears whole from the public thoroughfare.

Cliveden is above all a stone house, its exterior unrelieved by a brick front as at Hope Lodge or even brick trimmings as at Mount Pleasant. Even the roof originally looked like stone, having wood shingles painted gray to resemble slate.[42] With a gray stone front, a



Germantown Academy (1760), an important precedent for Cliveden, by the same carpenter. HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 33, Library of Congress gray stucco west elevation, and a gray roof, Cliveden lent itself easily to characterization as a fortified castle during the battle of Germantown.[43] Cliveden's facade (p. 126) is made of a kind of pseudo-ashlar, in which ribbon pointing masks the irregularity of the stone. The other walls were rubble. Cost probably played a role in Chew's decision to have an all-stone house. The Wissahickon schist of which Cliveden is constructed was plentiful in Germantown, while brick cost more and had to be hauled from Philadelphia or the Northern Liberties. Brick hauled from Philadelphia and laid would have cost approximately twice as much as stone.[44] However, a brick front or even brick trimmings alone would not have cost Chew that much more, and indeed he did ship thousands of brick from Philadelphia for the fireplaces and chimneys. The use of stone probably stems from common Germantown practice, so that Cliveden emerges as an amalgam of cosmopolitan and local ideas. Almost every known building of any pretension erected in Germantown in the eighteenth century has an ashlar facade and rubble sides and back.

Most trim on the mansion—cornice, door and window frames, frontispiece, and shutters—originally was painted off-white, though the doors may have been dark brown from the beginning. Interestingly, the glazing putty of the window sash was dyed black, a possibly common treatment in the late colonial period as it makes the typically thick muntins appear thinner. Thinner muntins became more fashionable as the influence of the Adam style made moldings in general more attenuated.

Knor fashioned much of Cliveden's exterior and cellar woodwork of red cedar, which resisted rot. Chew paid Knor the handsome sum of £25 for Cliveden's majestic Doric frontispiece,[45] one of the most classically correct in Philadelphia Georgian architecture. In the proportions of the columns and the details of the moldings Knor seems to have very closely followed Palladio[46] or, more likely, an English Palladian. As the frontispiece had to fit onto the wall so as to align with the stone stringcourse, designing all the pieces in their proper proportions constituted no small feat and indicates Knor's substantial skill.

The only other ornamental features on Cliveden's exterior occur on the roof, namely, the dormers and urns. Only the front two dormers are original. Chew paid Knor £5 15s. each for these, an amount very close to that prescribed by the 1786 rule book for a similar dormer.[47] They are indeed quite elaborate and most notably have Gothic sash windows. The only earlier known colonial window that had such sash was Edmund Woolley's Palladian window in the stair tower at Independence Hall (1754).

Cliveden's limestone urns are one of its greatest architectural glories and represent Chew's greatest extravagance, costing £130, far more than any other single architectural feature of the house. Presumably this cost included the £22 for shipping and duties and the £13 for hauling them to Cliveden and fixing them onto the roof, which surely was not an easy job in an era of manual power, even if each urn and cap came in ten pieces. The urns came from Bristol, England, in 1767, described in the bill of lading as "freestone," probably indicating that the stone had been quarried on the peninsula of Portland, in Dorsetshire, not far from Bristol.[48] At Cliveden they stood on brick piers topped with molded limestone caps.

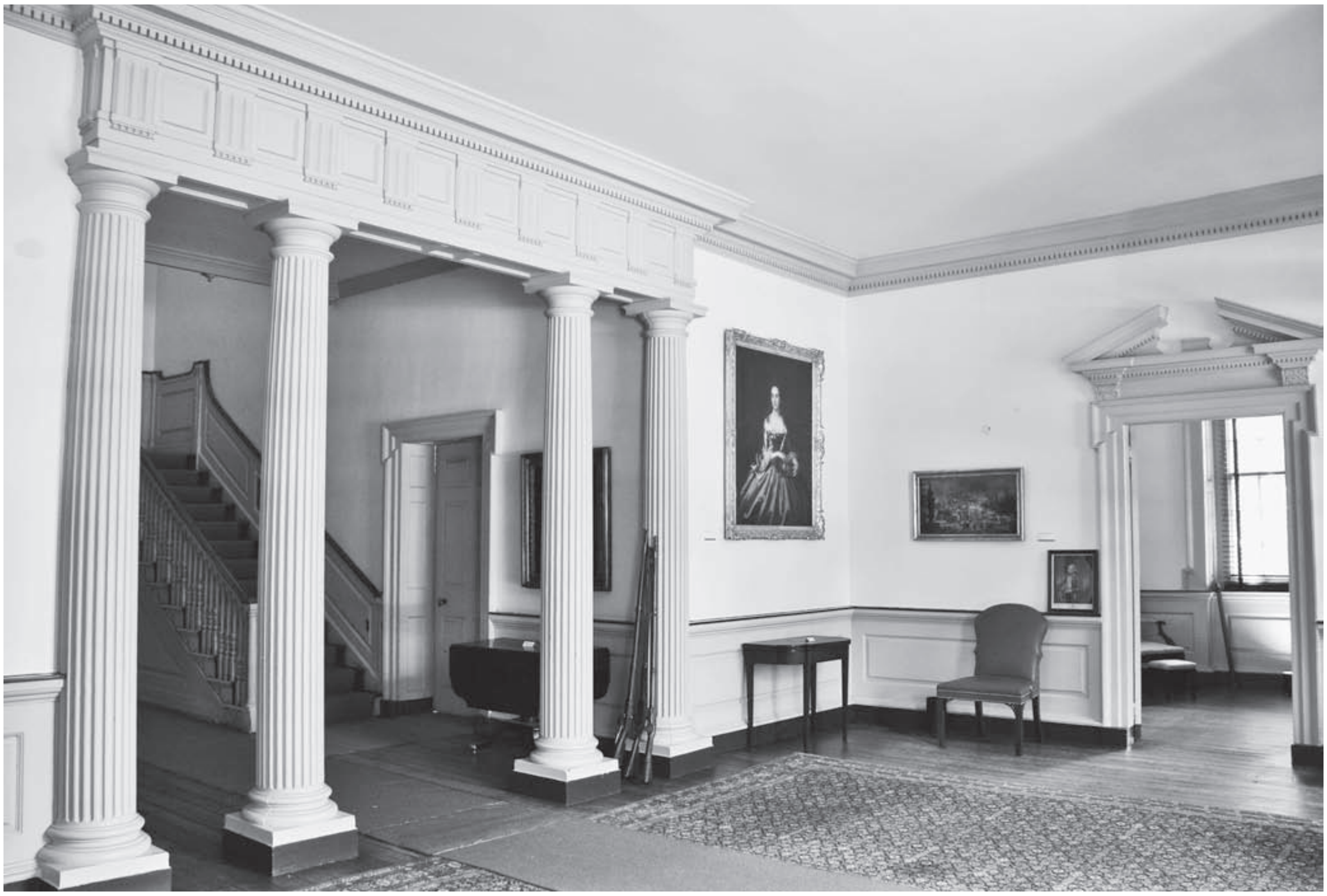
What led Chew into such an extravagance, albeit one that he tried to temper through his selection of the style of his urns? This blend of extravagance and tempered simplicity appears in a letter from Chew to William Fisher: "I have shown the patterns of the urns sent over by Mr. Pennington to the knowing ones among us and have fixed on No. 2 only that it is to have little or no carved work as most suitable to the plainness of my building."[49] Chew's ludicrous claim that Cliveden had a "plainness" in style demands explanation. Plainness in this sense may refer to Cliveden's overall rather severe or masculine character, perhaps in contrast to the more highly ornamented Mount Pleasant. Chew specifically refers to "plainness" as stemming from the intended lack of ornament on his urns, although in fact they arrived with pineapples at the top and flowers lower down. Many English urns were carved with foliage, swags, and heraldic ornaments. Chew referred to the lack of added ornament. In this sense Cliveden anticipated the neoclassical simplicity of the later eighteenth century.[50]

Plainness may also reflect Chew's desire to blend Cliveden into the Germantown scene, or at least for Cliveden not to stand out too much, something William Allen's Mount Airy might have taught him. Cliveden's overall form, especially the gable roof, and its masonry clearly fit within Germantown practice. Chew would not have been very concerned about any censure on the part of the local population, but he might have been sensitive to local feelings. He did, after all, hire a Mennonite carpenter and mason to build his house, rather than bringing craftsmen from the city. At this time craftsmen in Pennsylvania were becoming energized to resist foreign manufactures.[51] Tradesmen in Germantown would have felt as hostile toward Philadelphia craftsmen as Philadelphia craftsmen felt toward English artisans.

Chew, Peters, and Knor found how to produce an outstanding and gentrified house largely within the means of the Germantown vernacular. Cliveden's compromises with Germantown and its supposed plainness may also have had roots in Chew's willingness to compromise and to some extent act the chameleon. While a member of the Anglican proprietary party, he also courted the Quakers, enough to make the Penns at least a bit suspicious. Richard Penn noted: "Mr. Chew is a man of great ability, but how far to be trusted I will not pretend to determine. He . . . is in constant [seen?] with the Quakers on all occasions."[52] Raised a Quaker, Chew may have retained a smidgen of the doubt that bedeviled Isaac Norris. But despite these caveats, there can be no doubt that Cliveden was meant to impress all that passed it, as well as to delight those lucky enough to partake of its charms.

In scale Cliveden returned to the earlier standard of Stenton and Hope Lodge; indeed, with 2,420 square feet per floor Cliveden is the largest of all surviving colonial Philadelphia country houses. In part its scale can be explained as practical, since Chew had a large family. Further, in time the Chew family came to see and use Cliveden as more than a country house; it became their permanent family home, and the land was expanded to create a farm. Equally important to these practical matters must have been the social status conferred by a house that rivaled any around.[53] Cliveden was at least as large as Allen's Mount Airy and far larger than his in-law Turner's Wilton.

Cliveden also returned to the tradition of double-pile, central-hall plans, with the main stair in the rear hall (p. 171), a strong tradition in Philadelphia country houses as far back as Belair. Both Peters's lateral extension of the front hall and its ultimate division by a columnar screen worked to strengthen this separation. Formally the front hall became a grand and unified space directed side to side as much as front to back—the pedimented doorways at each end of the room help here, with the windows in each small room beyond establishing a true enfilade—and it was finished as well as or better than any other room in the house. These characteristics link it with such spaces as the entry halls of Stenton and Hope Lodge, where this division seems more rational than Cliveden's because in them the best rooms in the house are linked across the front. At Cliveden the best room, the parlor,

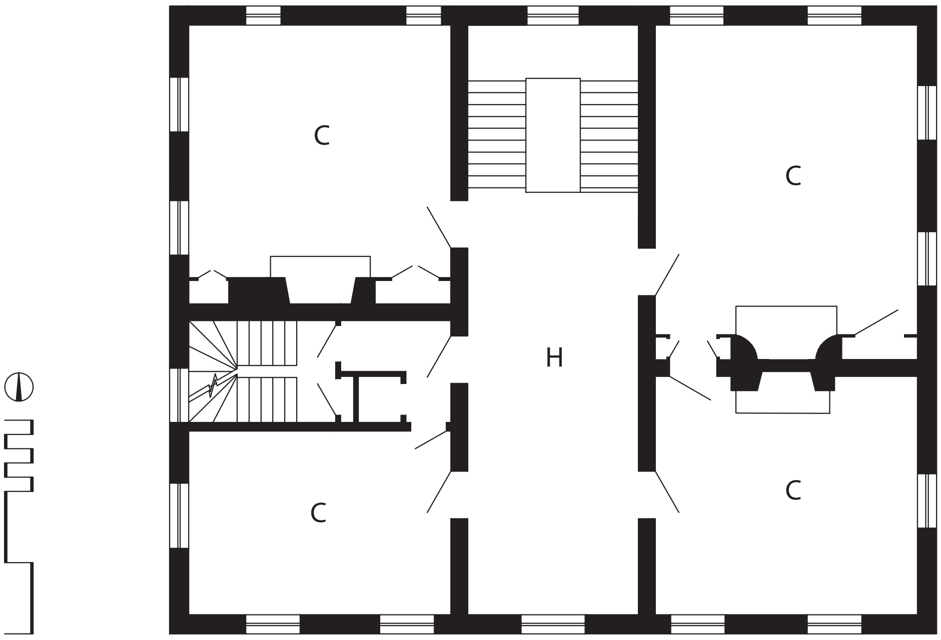


Cliveden, front hall. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

is behind the screen, and thus the message of the screen is unclear—it both stops one and invites one through. Upon stepping through the columnar screen into either the parlor or the dining room, the visitor was invited deeper into the house, making the approach to these rooms more dignified.[54] Perhaps the screen at Cliveden represents a somewhat unreconciled juxtaposition of the older divided hall with the through-hall of the newer villa form.[55] It also allowed the creation of a unified rectangular space with a continuous cornice. Certainly by the Federal period this formal rationale would seem the best interpretation of columnar screens dividing front halls from stairhalls, as, for example, at Boscobel, on the Hudson River (1807).

Cliveden's hall screen constitutes the first known use of freestanding columns in a Philadelphia residence. The full columnar screen—not simply a suggestion of one as at Mount Pleasant—became increasingly popular in English architecture as the eighteenth century progressed. In part it represented the influence on emerging neoclassicism of ancient architecture's use of freestanding columns, but it was also an important part of internal scenery in residential design. The screen and the internal scenery in general were major elements in the work of Robert Adam (whose style had appeared by the time Cliveden was erected), but they had appeared in much earlier Palladian work. The columnar screen was also a picturesque device. It gave constantly shifting views of what was seen through it and it served as a framing device, an effect of *repoussoir*, used in paintings of the time.

Cliveden's second-floor central hall also flows freely through the depth of the house. This form had become fairly common by Cliveden's time, although it had only begun to

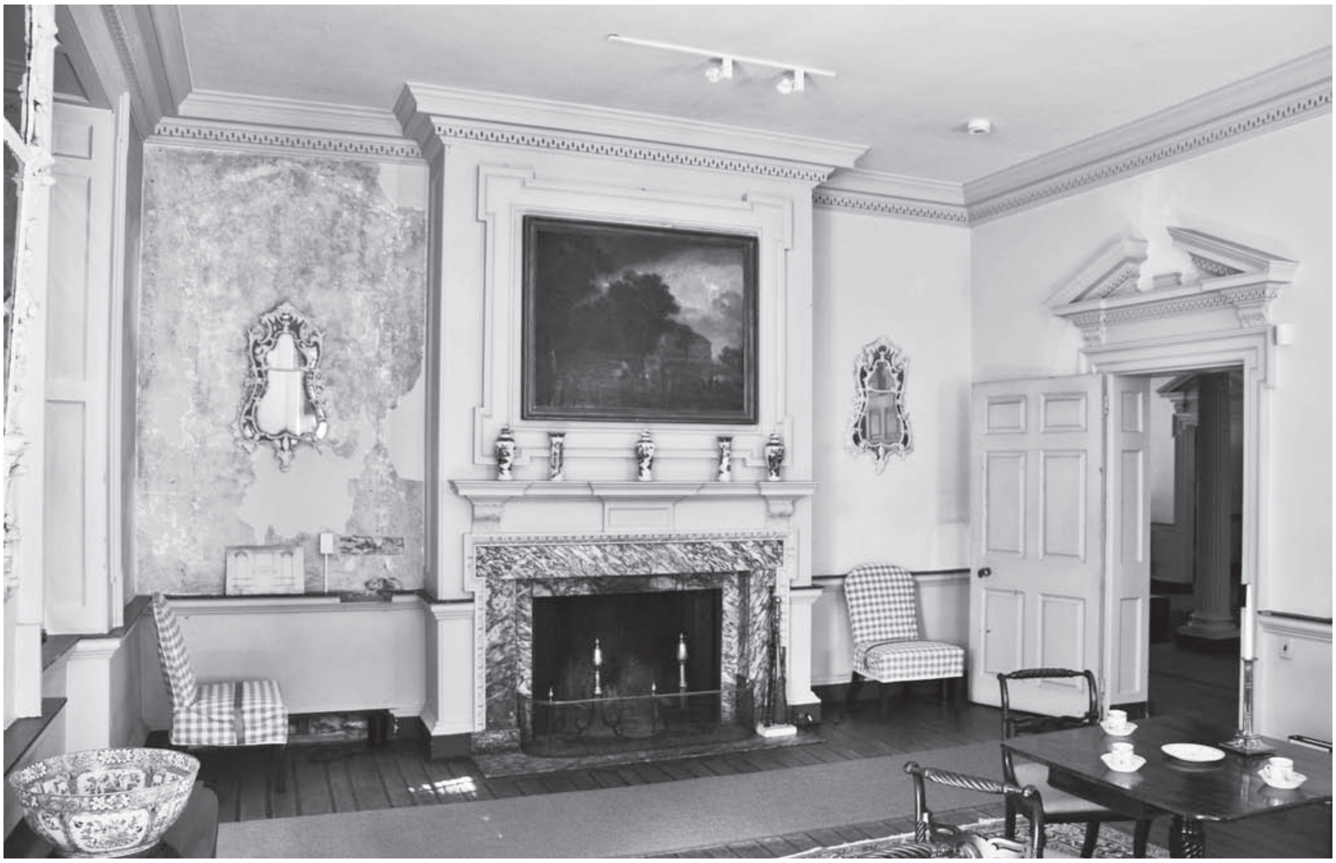


Cliveden, second-floor plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 64, Library of Congress

appear in the colonies about 1740. In Virginia, eighteenth-century writers noted taking the breezes in upstairs passages, a possible rationale for the form in country houses. However, its presence throughout the colonies—indeed it seems to have appeared first in New England and New York—makes an English or possibly a Caribbean origin likely. In the nineteenth century the Chew family referred to this space at Cliveden as the "gallery."[56]

Despite the effort expended on variety among the spaces, the millwork that distinguishes Cliveden as the home of an upper-class Philadelphian of the 1760s occurs only in the parlor and the hall, with the parlor Cliveden's most up-to-date room. Its chimney breast projects without paneling, a treatment that gained in popularity during the eighteenth century. Its window and door surrounds have crossettes top and bottom. Its dado is made of flush boards, a feature not seen before midcentury and used also in Graeme Park's parlor and the Powel House ballroom.[57] A broken pediment supported by trusses tops the parlor door, and a crossetted architrave enriched with egg-and-tongue carving surrounds the fireplace opening. Trusses support a very fashionable mantel shelf, above which is a fully crossetted tabernacle frame. All of the trusses, as well as the fireplace surround, held carving by the recent French immigrants Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez, for whom the work at Cliveden is the earliest documented commission.[58] Originally, blind aedicules with solid pediments filled the wall on either side of the projecting fireplace. Their purpose is unclear: they could have held small paintings or prints; perhaps even more likely, they might have held small girandoles or mirrors, as the recessed walls do now, perhaps even those that hang there. What Robert Adam called "mirrors in recesses" were common in this period.[59] The east and north walls may also have held looking glasses. The parlor also had wallpaper, apparently the only room with it at Cliveden in colonial times, and the wallpaper likely had a papier-mâché border.[60]

The style of Cliveden's entrance hall is linked to that of its parlor through its pediments supported by carved trusses and its cornice. But the use of dentils instead of Wall of Troy, a very popular feature from 1760 on in the best rooms in Philadelphia houses, indicates a more severe mode. No evidence survives for wallpaper, and the bare plaster also would have



Cliveden, parlor. The scraped plaster to the left of the chimney breast shows ghosts of a pedimented enframement. Photograph by Mark Reinberger.

made the room more severe. Like the stacking of orders in Mount Pleasant, this differentiation of character might be seen as an aspect of internal scenery. It was not present in earlier colonial houses such as Stenton or Hope Lodge, where the entry hall was slightly simpler but not of a different character. Mount Pleasant's and Cliveden's entrance halls are more masculine and severe (but not simpler) than rooms farther on in the parade. The columnar screen is obviously Doric. The details of the Doric from the frieze down duplicate those on the frontispiece, an interior reinforcement of the solemn character of Cliveden's exterior. Entrance halls rather severe in character appear in Palladian work such as Chiswick (Middlesex) and in Adam designs such as Syon House (Brentford, Middlesex).

Cliveden's interior woodwork impresses by its tremendous variety of fairly standard moldings, with a few flashes of the finest fancy work in the parlor, the front hall, and on the stairway. With the exception of these features, the woodwork could probably appear in any of the "better" (though not the "best") houses of the day. The gap in quality between the standard woodwork at Cliveden and the fancy decoration in a few rooms can be seen by comparing costs. All of the standard interior millwork in the house—all architraves, bases, dados, wall paneling, chair rails, doors, interior shutters, and most cornices—cost approximately £180.[61] By contrast, the fancy woodwork of the parlor and hall—specifically the fireplace, the pediments, the columns, two cornices, and the stairway—cost £160, almost as much as the rest of the millwork in the house. Eighteenth-century home owners often concentrated their expenditure for architectural finery on a few spaces so as to have the maximum impact on display, something that changed when people began to want private spaces to be appointed as nicely as public ones.[62]

And yet Cliveden has less fancy work than other houses of its class, especially within the triumvirate it formed with Mount Pleasant and Port Royal. Of these three, Cliveden's millwork is the least impressive in terms of both quantity and quality. Mount Pleasant and Port Royal had, respectively, four and three rooms treated with the lavishness reserved for only two at Cliveden, and this despite Cliveden being a much larger house. Other Philadelphia country houses not even as fine as Mount Pleasant and Port Royal had at least some interiors finer than those at Cliveden. Belmont had a saloon with a modeled plaster ceiling and a chimney piece with much carving. Even tiny Woodford has a chimney piece in the parlor that is more elaborate than anything at Cliveden. The relative simplicity of Cliveden is also evident when it is compared with Chew's city house (see chapter 6).

Cliveden's relative simplicity is also evident in the painting of the millwork. Cliveden's plaster walls and ceilings did not receive paint in the eighteenth century, and only the parlor had wallpaper. In the first period of the house's history, its millwork was all painted a light gray green, much as it is today, exceptions being the stairway and doors in the first-floor hall, which had graining, and the chair rails throughout the house, which had grained tops. Other than the parlor, no rooms possessed the visual richness and coding of color that appears in other houses.

As relations between England and America deteriorated during the 1770s, Philadelphia's ruling class became concerned, above all about working- and middle-class discontent in the city. Country houses seemed safe refuges. In 1774 Chew wrote to Edward Tilghman, the father of his new son-in-law: "I am not, however, without hopes of seeing you some time or other at Cliveden, should you be afraid of venturing to this city."[63] Chew would have recognized the dangers of the approaching Revolution for someone in his official position and wished to provide a safe haven out of the public eye for his family. In fact, he was arrested and held for a year (July 1777–July 1778) on suspicion of having Tory sympathies. Germantown was a relatively apolitical place whose inhabitants would have cared far less about his former connections with the Penn family than the mobs of Philadelphia, who violently attacked the houses of other wealthy loyalists or supposed loyalists.[64]

Just after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Chew took several steps to convert Cliveden into a year-round house and self-sufficient estate. First he bought four acres of land behind the house and gardens, which extended the property to what is now Musgrave Street.[65] Next, he began to concentrate on agriculture at Cliveden. On the new land and on the property in front of the stable he began to grow wheat (and, we might guess, hay). Accounts of the battle of Germantown mention the wheat field in front of the mansion. Finally, he built what he called a "Colonnade" to connect the mansion with the kitchen dependency so that food could be safely carried to the house in inclement weather.[66] Now enclosed, the colonnade was originally open toward the back yard. The curving wall was stuccoed on the outside and plastered on the inside, its stucco scored to match that of the mansion.[67]

Unfortunately, events of the Revolution kept Chew from Cliveden. While he was under arrest, the battle of Germantown (October 1777), in which the British used Cliveden as a fortress, caused much damage to the place: shot and cannon pock-marked the exterior stucco and damaged window sash and doors; bullet holes riddled interior plaster; and soldiers trampled and burned field crops. Moreover, Chew had lost his public positions upon the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and financial reasons forced the Chews to sell Cliveden to Blair MacClenachan, a Philadelphia shopkeeper turned privateer, war profiteer, and land speculator. MacClenachan paid Chew £2,500 cash and made mortgage payments at Amsterdam, the eighteenth-century equivalent of a Swiss bank account, untouchable by either the British or the Americans.[68] Though they would later return and buy back Cliveden, in 1779 the Chews retired much farther from the city, which no longer seemed safe, to a farm near Dover, Delaware, that the family owned from its days in the Lower Colonies.[69]

* * *

Especially among surviving Philadelphia country houses, the triumvirate of Cliveden, Port Royal, and Mount Pleasant represented the pinnacle of the type in the colonial period, built during that era's most prosperous decade. Perhaps appropriately, their owners differed significantly, typical of the expanding bourgeois gentry class of the city. John Macpherson began as a pirate and ended insane. Merchant Edward Stiles, although at times Macpherson's friend and associate, had a much more staid career and character: a stalwart member of Christ Church, Philadelphia, he left a legacy to the Anglican Church in Bermuda and manumitted his slaves with instructions to educate them. Finally, Benjamin Chew was an attorney, public official and judge, a Quaker turned Anglican, and someone who wrestled with his attitude toward money. Although similar in scale and style, the houses vary in character: Mount Pleasant self-consciously showy and extravagant, with fine exterior treatment all around and superb woodwork with much carving on both floors; Port Royal to a smaller degree, both outside and in; Cliveden even less so and transmitting mixed signals as to its owner's attitude toward extravagance and having elements of the Germantown vernacular. We can see this same diversity to the end of the colonial period in other houses built during the 1760s and 1770s.

CHAPTER 14

Denouement

Other Villas of the 1760s and 1770s

The last chapter in the saga demonstrates the complexity of the country-house scene as the colonial period ended. In some ways the scene seems as muddled as the times were for the people of Philadelphia. Country houses built during this period display a continuation of trends seen so far: some are farmhouses that are aggrandized, even in a homespun way; some continue the trend of the small villa; and some constitute the most ambitious in the colonial period, showing that though times were unsettled, some Philadelphians had great wealth. For example, the proprietors prospered mightily in the early 1770s. The decades of consistent land policies finally yielded much fruit, with enormous rents credited to Penn accounts in England.[1] Out of this came Lansdowne, one of the grandest country seats in the American colonies.

Houses such as Cliveden had reestablished the type of the large country house, but small retirements of the Belmont and Woodford type continued to be built by those who could not afford or saw no need for such a grand scale when only seasonal and other short-term residence was intended.[2] Examples from the 1760s include Laurel Hill, now a house museum in Fairmount Park, and Waln Grove, a house now lost that survived long enough to be photographed and recorded. Both began life small in the colonial period and were expanded considerably later. A third relatively unpretentious house, Summerseat, betrays older models and demonstrates just how open bourgeois gentry status was to even unlikely newcomers. The Deshler-Morris House shows how country houses continued to be built in Germantown, conservative to some degree but also revealing some newer ideas. This house was followed by three very ostentatious seats: the virtually unknown and strikingly sited Thomas Mifflin House, the architecturally pretentious Chalkley Hall, and the flamboyant Robert Morris's The Hills, never finished. Finally, Lansdowne provides our swan song.

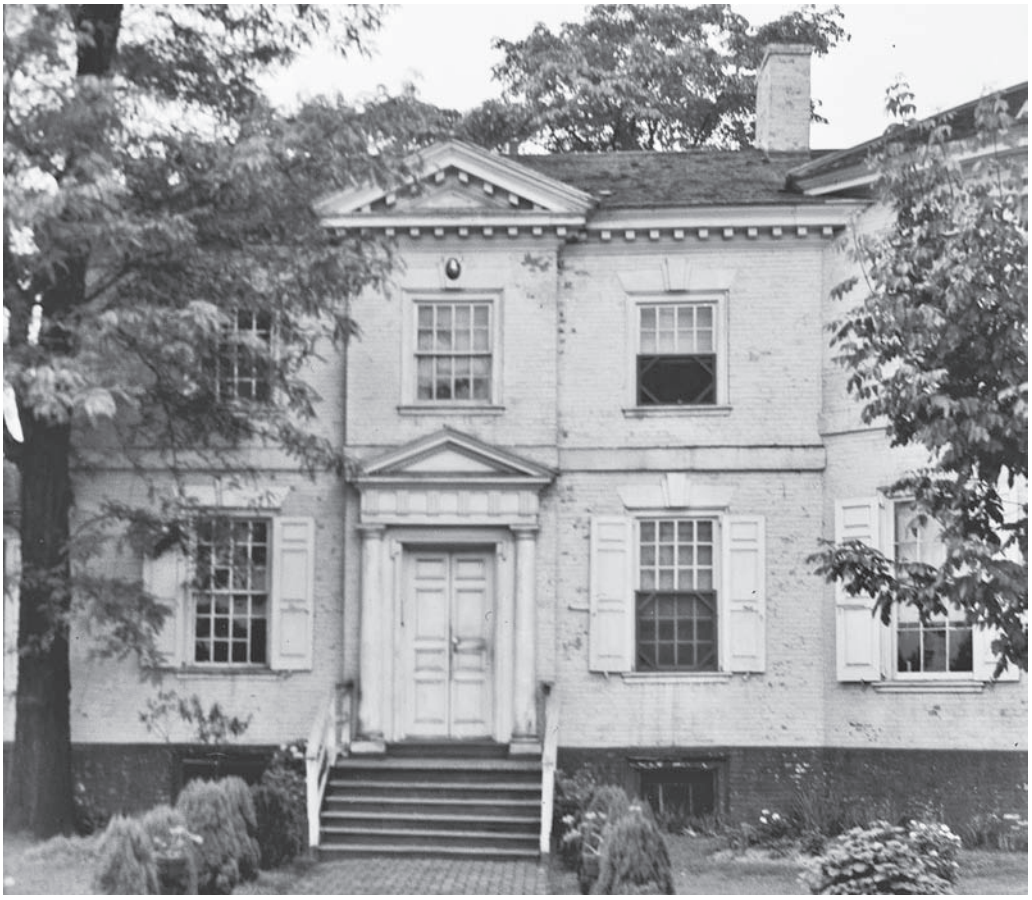
Laurel Hill: The Petite Retreat of a Gentlewoman

At midcentury the east bank of the Schuylkill above Peter's Island remained untouched by polite settlement, occupied only by the farm of Thomas Shute.[3] William Coleman had bought a piece of the Shute property and constructed Woodford, but the majority of the former Shute land, specifically along the river, was not announced for sale until 1760, when an advertisement described it as "finely situated for prospect, beauty, and pleasure, on that delightful river."[4] The point at the bend in the river was from early times known as Edgely (also Edgerlie and Edge-le-Point).[5] Edgely was the name of a colonial country house built at this location by Joshua Howell but destroyed in the early nineteenth century and known only in its revised Federal form.[6] Joseph Galloway, a young Philadelphia lawyer who had loaned the Shutes money, obtained part of the land, on which he built Bellville (c. 1760), also destroyed in the early nineteenth century and replaced by the present Ormiston. About 1760 Francis Rawle bought thirty-one acres overlooking the river, the land that became Laurel Hill. Thus this section of the river held four late colonial villas.[7]

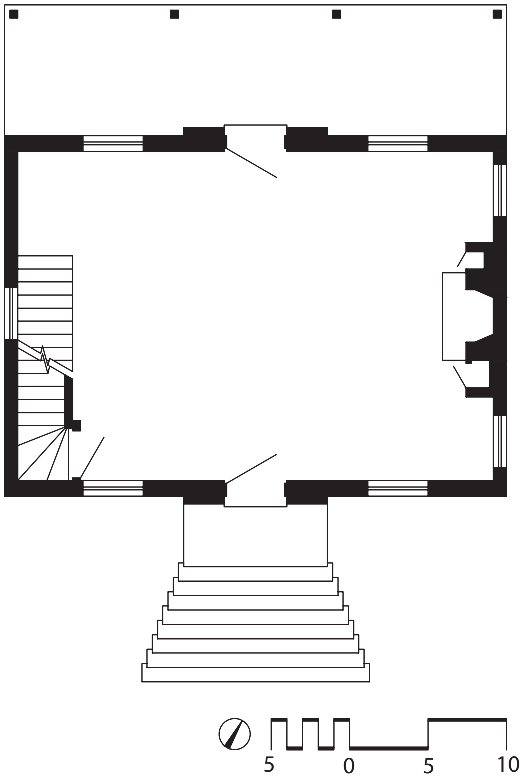
Rebecca Warner (1730–1819) and her first husband, the merchant Francis Rawle (1729–1761),[8] bought the land that would become Laurel Hill but built nothing because of Rawle's untimely death from a shooting accident.[9] Rebecca began Laurel Hill between his death and her second marriage six years later to Samuel Shoemaker (1725–1800), another Quaker merchant and landowner and one of the executors of her first husband's estate. Peggy Rawle, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Francis and Rebecca, remembered that she had spent nine or ten summers at Laurel Hill, establishing the date of the house as 1766–67, with construction of course beginning a little earlier.[10] Laurel Hill thus becomes the second known country house built by a woman, the original Cedar Grove being the first. Even after her second marriage, Laurel Hill belonged principally to Rebecca, who was treated as the primary owner.[11] In its original state the house was modest in size but fashionably up-to-date, influenced stylistically by Belmont, Woodford, and Mount Pleasant. The neighbor Joseph Galloway called Laurel Hill "a very pretty place."[12]

The original house at Laurel Hill was made up of the central block of what stands now, one of the purest examples of the small retirement in Philadelphia and a smaller version of Belmont. The first floor held a single room 20 feet deep and 30 feet long, originally probably known as the hall, as at Belmont, but now referred to as the great room. The first-floor partitions were added in 1877.[13] The second floor originally had two chambers. The first-floor space had doors at the center of the front and rear, each flanked by windows. The stairway, which survives in altered form,[14] occupied the left front (southwest) corner. The fireplace was centered on the east elevation. The first-floor millwork did not have the spectacular quality of Mount Pleasant's nor even the relative sophistication of Woodford's cove ceilings and parlor carving. But it was decently fine, with a fairly elaborate wood base, chair rail, and casings and a plaster cornice comparable to the one at the improved Graeme Park.

Like Mount Pleasant, Laurel Hill had pediments on the land and river fronts, both of which have a three-bay composition with the center projecting slightly. Painted yellow for many years, Laurel Hill originally displayed red brick walls with random glazed headers. The wooden, inset jack arches—sawn to suggest voussoirs—vary slightly on the land (entrance) front in having two steps to the keystones. A fine Doric frontispiece, given a slightly un-Doric fineness by the fret band in the cornice, also distinguishes the entry



Laurel Hill (1766). HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 12, Library of Congress



Laurel Hill, plan of the first floor, originally only one room. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after Reed L. Engle, *Historic Structures Report: Laurel Hill Mansion* (Media, PA: John M. Dickey, 1983) front. The door on the river front is treated much more simply, with a double-faced architrave and a jack arch that matches the adjacent windows. The chimney on the east wall of the central block served the hall and chamber above. There was no need for a chimney on the left (west) side, as the stair was located along this wall. However, for the sake of symmetry a dummy chimney, supported on the wood framing in the attic, rose above the roof. As first built, the house did not have a piazza on the north elevation, but this was added quite early on.[15]

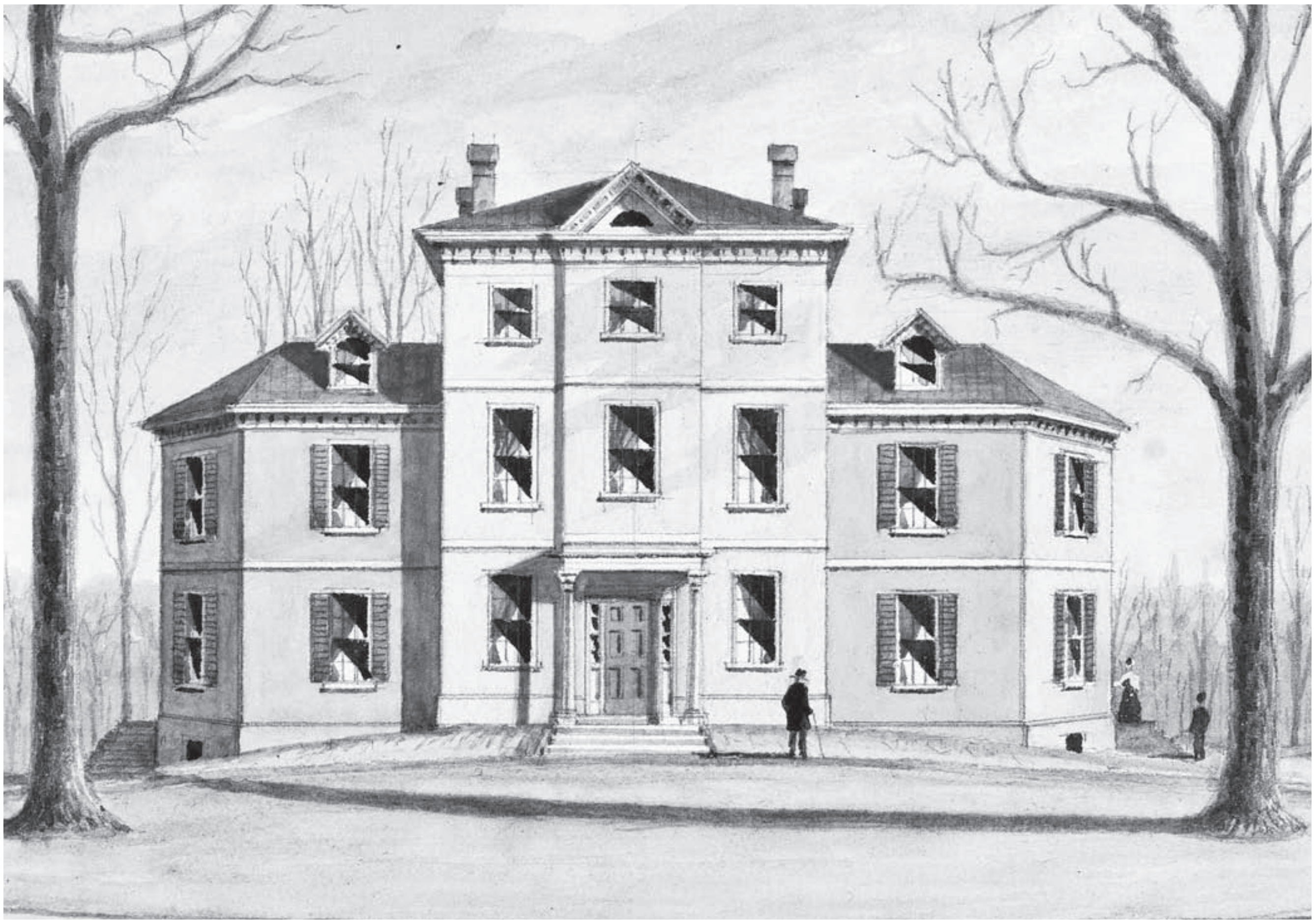
Laurel Hill followed Mount Pleasant in being located on a bluff overlooking the Schuylkill River. Then, as now, the house commanded a superb view. Quite wooded today, originally the riverbank would have been more open.[16] An 1800 painting of this section of the Schuylkill by William Groombridge shows the bank wooded along the river and on steep slopes but open farther up, where the houses sat. The rugged scenery in the neighborhood of Laurel Hill drew much praise in the late eighteenth century,[17] and the prospect from the house probably gave rise to the house's piazza.

Waln Grove: From Yeomen of the Northern Liberties to Merchants of Philadelphia

Waln Grove represents the phenomenon of a family of Northern Liberties yeomen, one branch of which moved into the city and made good as merchants, returning to their ancestral plantation and using it as a country seat. The first family member to arrive in Pennsylvania was Nicholas Waln (1650–1721/22), a passenger with Penn on the *Welcome* in 1682. After first settling at Neshaminy, he and his wife Jane moved in 1696 to the Northern Liberties, near Frankford Creek, where he amassed much land. At his death, his primary plantation went to his eldest son, Richard (1678–1756), like his father a yeoman. In later life Richard moved to Norriton and transferred his Frankford land to his three sons.[18] One of the sons, Robert (1720/21–1784), became a successful merchant in the city and built the country house that became known as Waln Grove.[19] As to its date, no country estate is recorded for Robert Waln in the 1767 tax rolls, establishing a *terminus post quem*; and old sources give the central, original section of Waln Grove a date of 1772.[20] Although there is no evidence for that date, it seems entirely possible.

Waln Grove stood at what is now the corner of Tacony and Church Streets, very close to Port Royal, whose builder bought land from the Walns. It faced south and east over land that sloped gently down toward Frankford Creek and the Delaware River. The original portion of Waln Grove was 25 feet wide and 40 feet deep and stood three stories tall, which was unusual for a country house, especially one of modest proportions. Perhaps two-story wings, such as were built in 1787,[21] after Robert Jr. inherited the property, were intended all along. These held a library on one side and a dining room on the other, common functions for such appendages in the Federal era. The front had the characteristic projecting pedimented central pavilion. The rear had a pediment that stretched the width of the block, somewhat recalling houses of the classical gable type. The rear thus looks much like the temple-and-wings type of Robert Morris (mentioned in chapter 12).

The original plan belonged to the Belmont type, having a single large square hall that occupied the majority of space and into which the front entry opened. Behind this lay a smaller room, thought to have been used as a common, or family, parlor, and a stair passage. The arrangement upstairs followed that below, except that on the third floor the



Waln Grove (1772). Watercolor by David J. Kennedy, HSP

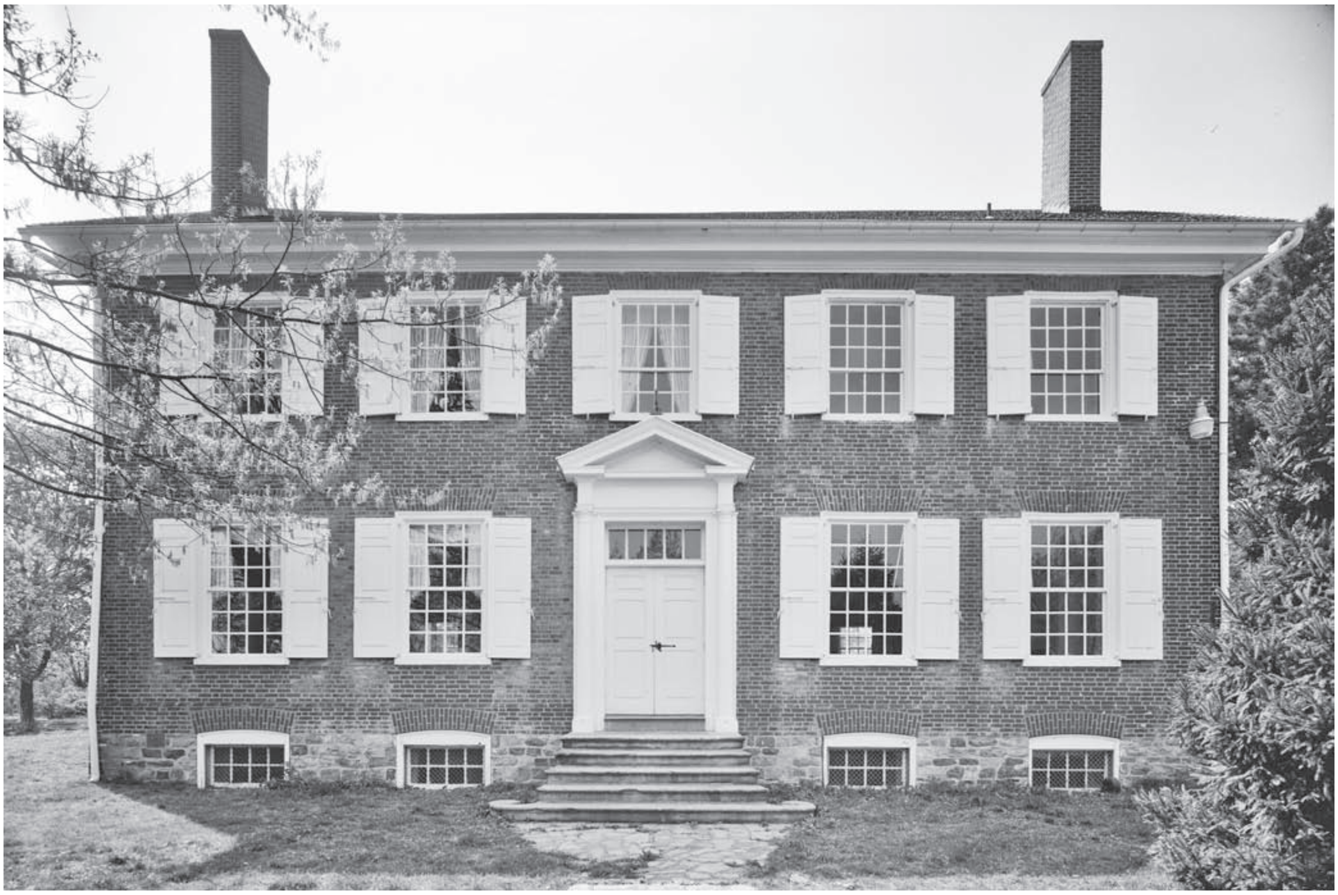
larger room was divided into two chambers. The kitchen was in the cellar. The interior treatment was reasonably fine and recalled other houses of this date, with paneled dado and fireplace walls, double architraves for the casings, paneled interior shutters, and an open-stringer stair.[22]

Summerseat: A Frontiersman Becomes a Gentleman

Several late country houses were more expansive in scale, though traditional in style. One such, Summerseat, was built far above Philadelphia on the Delaware River by Adam Hoops (c. 1710–1771), a most remarkable country-house builder. Summerseat had a standard Georgian plan and looked like many mid-Atlantic rural houses of the later eighteenth century. Though large and nicely finished, neither outside nor in did it have any of the memorable stylistic flourishes that characterized houses such as Mount Pleasant or even Laurel Hill. Perhaps, however, the very lack of such finery makes it more typical of late colonial houses, including many that no longer survive.

If the house seems normative, Adam Hoops had a most unusual background for a country-house builder, coming to Philadelphia from the frontier, where he had become wealthy by contracting with the British army in the Seven Years' War. His date and place of birth and his parentage remain unknown. He first appears on the frontier in 1738, uneducated and nearly illiterate,[23] an Indian trader, whiskey-keg maker, and farmer in the Cumberland County mountains west of Carlisle. He came to the notice of colonial authorities as one of the chief suppliers of food and horses to Generals Braddock's and Forbes's troops, an extremely difficult task given the frontier's mountainous terrain and virtually nonexistent roads.[24] His work for the army often took him to Philadelphia, and at the conclusion of the war he moved his family—eight children and a son-in-law—there, buying the property on Third Street known as the Byrd-Penn-Chew House, between Race and Arch Streets, an area inhabited by prosperous businessmen. Also showing the family's social ambitions, Hoops enrolled his son in the University of Pennsylvania.[25] Hoops also widened his scope of business, purchasing property, four ships, warehouses, and an iron furnace, all typical accouterments of a colonial Philadelphia merchant.[26] He also bought a chariot (a light, four-wheeled carriage), along with two horses to pull it. He and his family even traveled to England in 1763 and 1764, and on his return he bought the land on the Delaware that would become his country seat, a pattern by now common among wealthy Philadelphians.[27]

Summerseat, built between 1764 and 1772, when the house was described as "new and well finished," exemplifies a country house built by a newly rich individual who had risen from working- or middle-class status, an increasingly common occurrence in Philadelphia. Many of his sort never built a country house, although they may have rented one. Hoops never became part of the social elite of Philadelphia, although that elite consulted him with regard to frontier affairs. His children married above their original station, but


Summerseat (1764). HABS, PA, 9-MORVI, 1, Library of Congress

not with any members of the upper rungs of Philadelphia society, even though at his death Hoops was one of the richest men in Pennsylvania.[28]

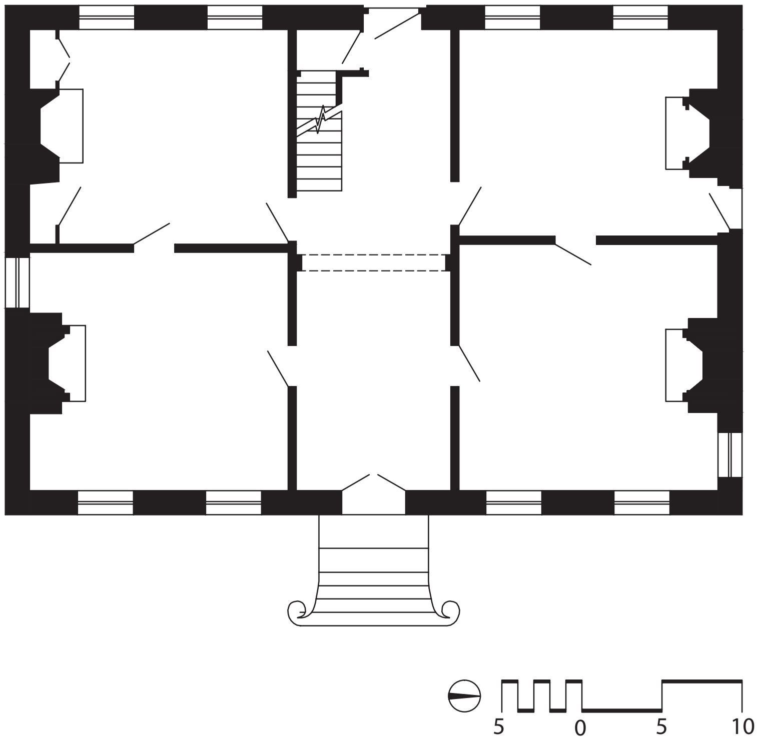
Summerseat did not match Cliveden in the overall size of its plan (50 feet wide by 35 feet deep), and proportionally it did not stand as tall as Cliveden or Mount Pleasant, making it less imposing and more vernacular. It had good brickwork only on the front elevation and some fine woodwork but nothing academically advanced, neither rustication, quoins, Palladian windows, urns, nor an ashlar facade. Like Cliveden, but unlike most of its brethren, it had a gable roof. This lack of high fashion may have been owing to Hoops's unfamiliarity with the most current design or his employment of Bucks County workmen—the site was perhaps too far from the city for Philadelphia workmen to commute—or a combination of the two.

Moreover, in his country seat Hoops did not intend so much a retirement as an extension of his mercantile empire. The house was the headquarters of an agricultural and mercantile community that began with a mill erected at the same time as the house, along with houses for employees. Eventually the commercial community of Morrisville would grow up around this development, the first at the falls of the Delaware.[29] Summerseat thus succeeded Fountain Low and heralded Federal mill communities such as Hopewell Village, rather than being a villa like Mount Pleasant.[30] Outbuildings surrounded the house and included a detached kitchen, which supplemented a kitchen fireplace in the basement of the main house.[31] In the house's back yard were slave quarters—highly unusual in the Delaware valley—that housed thirteen slaves: six men, three women, and four children.[32] A visitor in 1892 described the slave quarters:

> To the west an old fashioned high walled garden, the farm buildings and slaves quarters bound the lawn: to Northern eyes the latter are the most interesting and though fast falling to decay enough remains to show what they once were: five tiny cottages open upon a common court of which the wall of the garden and two other buildings form sides, they are substantially built—of the stone used in other outbuildings upon the place; two rooms are in each house, the lower room has one side entirely taken up with the huge open fire place, oven and soap-boiling arrangements of the times and an enclosed staircase leads to the room above which also contains an open fire place—without, the court is paved with flat stones now overgrown with grass and weeds.[33]

The house and landscape did not lack all aesthetic pretension. An advertisement noted "the situation being high and affording a charming view of the river Delaware, Trenton, Lumberton and the Surrounding country of land."[34] The house too had some pretension. Though the proportions are more horizontal than those of the most advanced houses of the day, the Flemish bond brickwork on the front announces the main entrance and is undergirded with a molded-brick water table. The sides (now covered with stucco dating from 1930) would have been rubble stone, as the rear is still.[35] As in earlier houses such as Hope Lodge, the window openings on the sides, rear, and basement front (which is also rubble, a vernacular feature) have old-fashioned arched openings. Unfortunately, the original front entrance does not survive; the present one dates from the 1930 restoration, as does much of the exterior woodwork.[36]

Inside, the fairly large rooms measure roughly 15 feet square, and the hall is about 10 feet wide. On the first floor, the front and back spaces on each side of the hall are con-



Summerseat, first-floor plan.
Drawing by Fanglan Chen
after *Summerseat*

nected by a symmetrically placed door, an arrangement allowed by shifting the chimneys to the side walls.[37] Indeed, most of the interior elevations of the rooms have a fashionable symmetry. The large room upstairs, in the space over the best parlor and the front hall, has come to be called the "ballroom," but there is no indication of such a use in the inventory taken at Hoops's death in 1771, and an inventory of 1833 simply called it "the large room" and stated its use as a bedchamber, which was the use stated for a similar space at Stenton.[38] Large second-story public rooms—let alone ballrooms—were uncommon in Philadelphia country houses, though they were known in town houses, the most famous example being the drawing room in the Powel House.

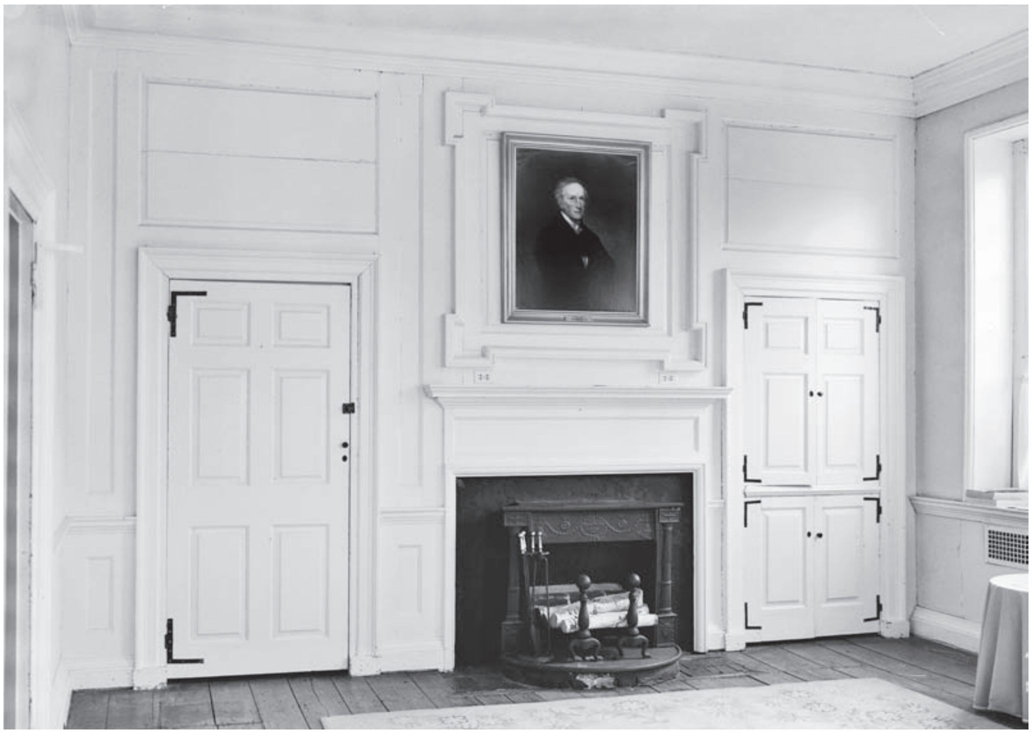
Hoops's inventory reveals an awareness of current fashion. On the first floor, one of the front rooms served as a parlor and was decorated in red, the top of the eighteenth-century color palette and unusual in America. This room held a dozen mahogany chairs with red damask upholstery, three sets of crimson harrateen curtains, and several tables, identified as a small dining table, a card table, a tea table, a china table, and an oval china table. A looking glass, girandoles ("branches for candles"), and four "flower glasses" decorated the room. None of the furniture was terribly expensive; the chairs were the only item worth two figures (£14 8s. for the dozen). Throughout the house, quantity trumped quality. Behind the parlor, the dining room held a large, fairly valuable mahogany table (£23); also of note in this space were ten "Bird Pictures."[39]

The rooms on the other side of the hall had more mixed uses, perhaps for everyday activities. The front room—again curtains for three windows are called out[40]—had furniture for a study or office but also a bedroom suite, including a substantial mahogany chest of drawers (£15) and two bedsteads with blue harrateen hangings, a clue as to the color of the room. Again, with the exception of the chest, none of the furniture cost very much, and values were even lower for furniture in the room behind, also used as a chamber, which contained a "walnut couche," bed furnishings, and a "walnut chamber table." The use of walnut, instead of mahogany as in the better rooms, also indicates lower status.

Upstairs, all four rooms served as chambers, each with a bedstead. The best is listed first, with a bed and furnishings, wash and toilet stands, an upholstered "easy Chair" with red damask—suggesting the color, which followed that of the room below—an "English carpet," and prints on the walls, perhaps picked up on the trip to England: "6 Roman Antiquities, General Monctons Picture & Cleopatra." The room behind also had a half dozen "Roman Antiquities," but its furniture was less valuable, being made of walnut and pine. Elsewhere appear furniture of less expensive wood (e.g., cherry) and wall decorations (e.g., "Scripture Prints"); and one chamber was green.

Summerseat's furniture was valued at approximately £300, less than a fifth of the value for the total goods and chattels at the place. Kitchen and pantry goods—china, silver, pewter, cooking utensils, and candlesticks—accounted for another £300. Four very heavy silver candlesticks alone weighed 94 ounces and were valued at £65. The value of the slaves totaled £400. Agricultural equipment, stock, and crops represented another £200. Miscellaneous items included "2 Marble Lyons" (statues that perhaps guarded the entrance stoop, as at Cliveden),[41] a "Batteau" and the "Shallop Summerseat" (£260), which Hoops used to move his family and goods back and forth between Philadelphia and Bucks County, and "4 Volumes of Burn's Justice of the Peace," a manual for an office that Hoops held. The total was just over £1,600.

Summerseat's surviving colonial woodwork suggests a skilled carpenter and the desire for fashionability, but not extravagance or high artistry. Most of the rooms, even the lesser ones, evince a level of fashion similar to that suggested by the inventory. In the hall, a prominent open-stringer stair wraps around a comfortable well and possesses fashionably narrow and elegantly turned balusters bespeaking a late colonial date. The hall has an



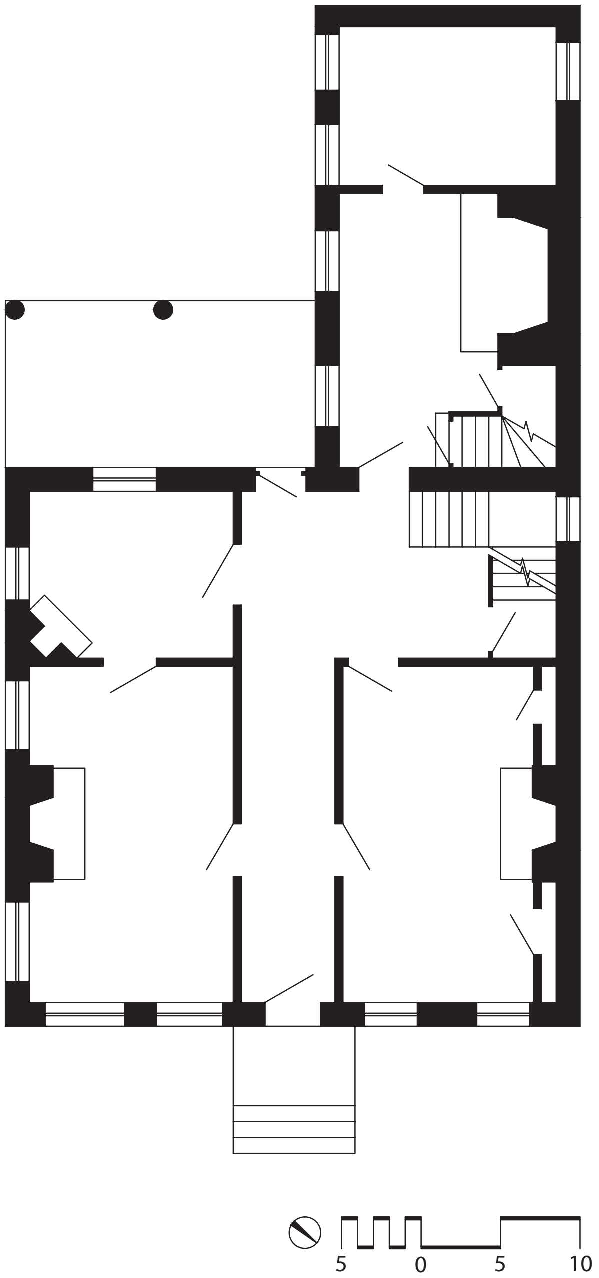
Summerseat, first-floor interior. HABS, PA, 9-MORVI, 1, Library of Congress ornamental plaster ceiling—with a simple panel design and a plain circle in the center—as do the right front room on the first floor and the large room on the second. If these ceilings are original, they were very unusual in Philadelphia country houses at the time and suggest the influence of town houses. Throughout the house, most rooms have paneled walls around the fireplaces, with plaster walls elsewhere articulated by a base, a chair rail, and a cornice. Most rooms on the first floor retain their running moldings but not their chimney piece. The left rear space on the first floor, presumably a lesser room, retains a majority of its original woodwork, including a crossetted tabernacle frame over the mantel and closets on each side of the fireplace.[42] Presumably the first-floor front rooms would have been more elaborate. Almost all of the second-floor woodwork dates from the restoration of 1930.[43]

The Deshler-Morris House: Gentility Continued in Germantown

Throughout the colonial era Philadelphia gentry continued to build country houses in Germantown, which remained rural in aspect even at its most urbanized core. The Deshler-Morris House, long famous as the retreat of George Washington in 1793–94, furnishes a good example of such a late colonial seat in this burgeoning enclave.[44] David Deshler (1711–1773), born in Baden, Germany, educated at the university in Heidelberg, and brought to the New World in 1733 to be a business partner of his uncle John Wister, of Grumblethorpe, built such a country seat right on Germantown's Market Square. In 1751–52 he bought a two-acre parcel of land that he described as having "an airy, high situation, commanding an agreeable prospect of the adjacent country."[45] The view would have been up the hill to the rear but also across the street and down Church Lane, known at the time as the road to Luken's Mill. By this time Deshler had married and established his own counting house on High Street, downtown, specializing in the trade of paint and hardware with England and the West Indies.[46]

In a pattern supposedly common in Germantown and encountered elsewhere on the frontier, but uncommon among Philadelphia country seats in general, Deshler began with a rear wing housing the kitchen and another room below and two chambers on the second floor. Surviving evidence for the kitchen fireplace suggests that it was similar to Grumblethorpe's.[47] It is clear from the junction between this wing and the main front block—firmly dated 1771–74 by a painting bill from Deshler to David Dominick and by a Philadelphia Contributionship policy of 1774 that calls the house "quite new"—that the rear wing was earlier, but its exact date is unclear.[48] It has traditionally been thought that Deshler began the rear wing as soon as he bought the property, but the earliest reference to his living in Germantown is from 1760, when he was asked to become a trustee of the Germantown Union School (later the Germantown Academy), and the first time he appeared on a resident list for Germantown was 1764. Whatever the date of the rear wing, it seems likely that Deshler intended all along to build the main block. If the Philadelphian Dominick is typical, Deshler engaged craftsmen from the city rather than Germantown artisans.[49]

While his uncle's Grumblethorpe retained many pre-Palladian and German elements, Deshler's house by and large partook of late colonial fashion. The lot, measuring 100 feet wide and approximately 300 feet deep, sloped up toward the west, or rear, with the house



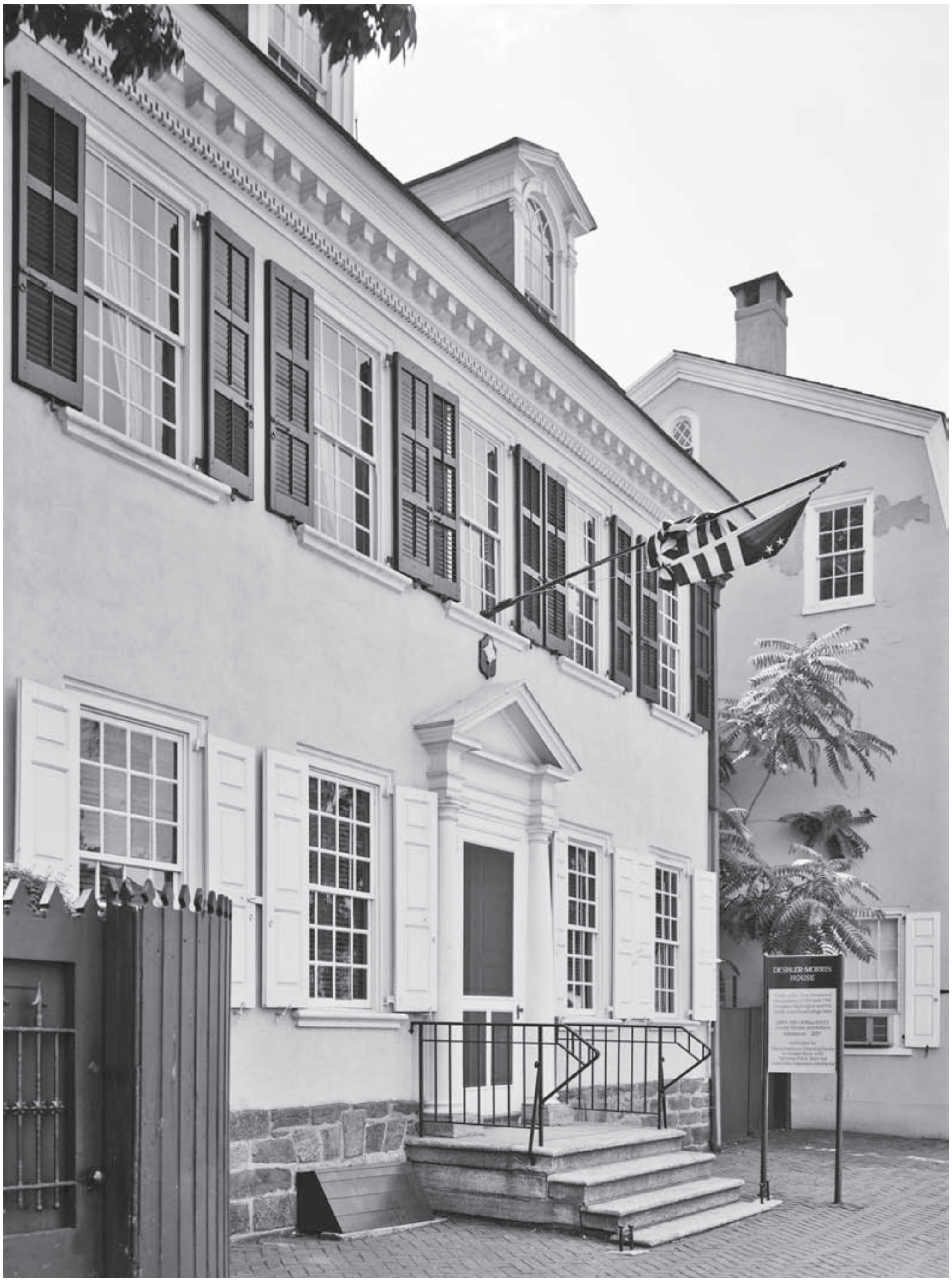
Deshler-Morris House (1771), first-floor plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955)

located at the lowest point to the east. The only account of the Deshler landscape comes from a newspaper advertisement of April 1782, which noted that the property was said to contain "about two acres of the best grafted fruit trees of various kinds, and a large garden paled in."[50] The garden would have been a kitchen garden, with the typical vegetables of the period for family consumption. The fruit trees likely came from Christian Lehman's nursery in Germantown, probably the earliest nursery in the colonies. Early-twentieth-century writers say that Deshler made the house narrow and did not center it on the site because of a prized plum tree.[51]

The plan of Deshler's main house forms a square of roughly 36 feet, which is relatively small for central-hall, double-pile houses. Fitting a Georgian plan with a central hall and room to each side into this rather small frontage results in small, narrow rectangular rooms, unlike the larger, more nearly square rooms of Stenton, Hope Lodge, or Cliveden. The two main spaces measure only 12 and 13 feet in width though a more substantial 21 feet in depth. Behind these spaces lay smaller ones, the left interpreted as a sitting room with a corner fireplace, recalling one of the small rooms off Cliveden's front hall, and the right holding the stair in an arrangement similar to that at Woodford or Port Royal. Very up-to-date was the piazza, fitted with a proper Doric order, which ran across the rear of the main block.

The plan's pedigree, that is, whether it belonged to Germantown typologies, has been debated.[52] The square shape of the main block is more characteristic of German than of English work in the eighteenth century. Many nearly square central-hall plans of roughly the same dimensions as that of the Deshler-Morris House can be found among Germantown colonial work, all of them in the lower half of the community.[53] Most of these have relatively narrow, deep rooms, and several are divided, with a larger room in front and a smaller one behind. All could be considered examples of *durchgangigen*, or through-passage, plans (discussed in chapter 12 in relation to Grumblethorpe). However, the close symmetry and regularity of the plan make it unlike other Germantown examples, so perhaps we should see it as a Germantown type inflected with influence from high-style Philadelphia work.

The narrow frontage on a Georgian plan house also results in a rather crowded facade dominated by the substantial twelve-over-twelve windows. Elegant woodwork includes a Doric frontispiece, recalling Cliveden, and a modillioned cornice. Also like Cliveden, the house has a gable roof, but without a cornice return, making it seem more like a town house than a freestanding country house. Scored stucco, seen on the side of Cliveden and increasingly popular in the later eighteenth century, covers the rubble stone walls. A coating of crushed quartz and black mica was applied by hand to the stucco to make it look like gran-



Deshler-Morris House. HABS, PA, 51-GERM, 30, Library of Congress

ite, and the mortar lines were painted a cream color.[54] On the front, jack arches are inscribed in the stucco over the first-story windows, while on the south end the jack arches project from the wall, perhaps so that they read better when approaching the house along Germantown Road and when observing the house obliquely from the front.[55]

The interior woodwork of the front block remains little changed from 1774.[56] All three first-floor spaces have similar trim that includes double-faced architraves around the doors, single-faced window casings, a paneled dado below the chair rail, and cornices, the most elaborate in the large south room, a little simpler in the connected small rear room, and the simplest in the larger north room, which has traditionally been called the dining room. The small room also has a corner cupboard with butterfly shelves. The fireplaces too are similar, with a marble firebox surround, a crossetted architrave, a mantel shelf with a fret motif supported on console-shaped trusses, and a crossetted overmantel. The trim in these rooms was originally painted yellow, while that in the entry and stair halls was gray. Baseboards, chair-rail tops, window sills, and stair rails were painted brown. Somewhat unusually, the dado in the halls had painted graining, but as expected, the stairhall had a Doric order.[57] The woodwork and the level of finish in the house are substantially above average for Germantown, with only Cliveden and perhaps Mount Airy finer, testifying to Deshler's adherence to the standards of Philadelphia gentry.

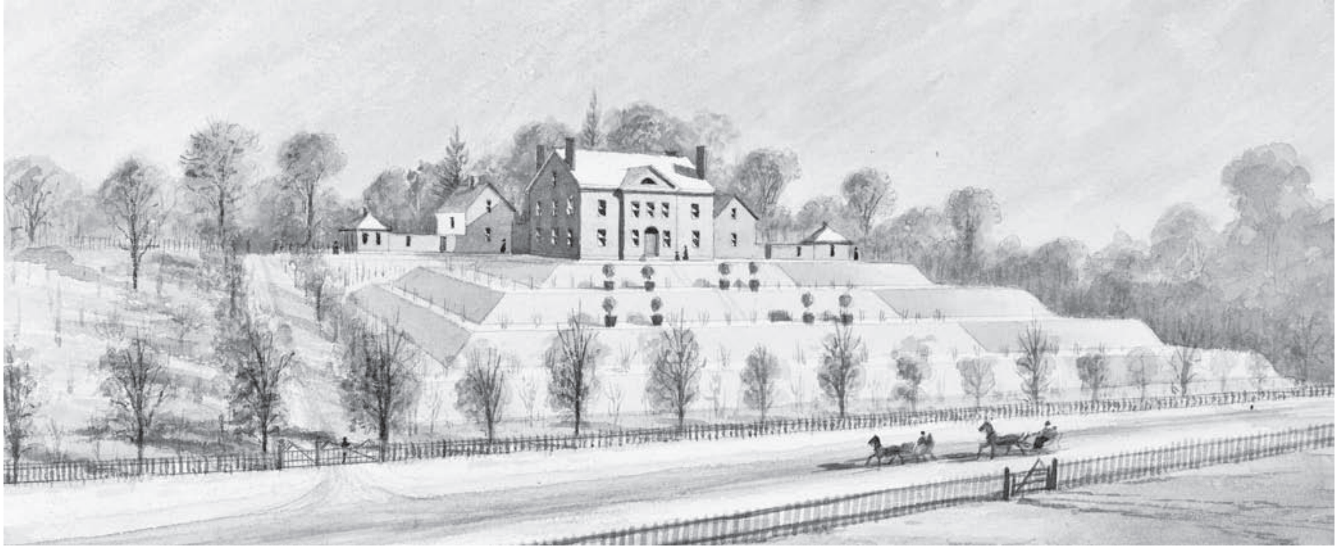
The Thomas Mifflin House (with an Aside on Smith's Octagon)

A final class of villas represented the colonial era's end and included some of the most ambitious country seats ever built in the Delaware valley. One, built by Thomas Mifflin (1744–1800), an energetic military and political leader, rose as the colonies rebelled. The Mifflin family had long been associated with an earlier country house, Fountain Green, on the east bank of the Schuylkill below Mount Pleasant and above Springettsbury.[58] Thomas built his house higher up, on the same bank of the river but opposite the falls, a site now in the East Falls neighborhood of Philadelphia.[59] From the site one could hear "Schuylkill's thundering waters crashing down, / Where scraggy hills re-echoed with the sound!"[60]

Thomas, a merchant turned politician and soldier, was elected to the legislature as early as 1771 and had been aide-de-camp to George Washington since 1775. But he had involved himself in the failed Conway cabal to replace Washington with General Gates and so retired to civilian life in 1778. Later, however, he would become the first governor of the new state of Pennsylvania.[61] His temporary retirement in midlife involved a retreat to the country, where he bought twenty-one acres along the river, the Wissahickon Road (now Ridge Avenue), and a road to Germantown (now Indian Queen Lane).[62]

Mifflin apparently built his house soon after buying the land, because Jacob Hiltzheimer visited him in February 1784, noting that they saw on the shore piles of ice from the falls.[63] Perhaps this readily available ice inspired Mifflin to build the octagonal summer and ice house long noted and prominently visible to the right of the house in many views, including the one in Walter S. Bromley's 1888 *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*. The house's date corresponds to the earliest references to ice houses in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.[64]

Mifflin's house stood until 1895 and appears in several nineteenth-century photographs and prints that show its later accretions of side bays and a two-story front porch.[65] In the photographs and prints, the original house is somewhat hidden behind the later porch, much as it is portrayed in a remarkable watercolor by D. J. Kennedy made after a lost painting by William Birch:[66] two and a half stories tall and five bays wide, a double-pile Georgian plan with prominent end chimneys on a gable roof and an arched-headed central doorway. The Birch/Kennedy view shows it with a central pediment à la Bush Hill, Belmont, and Walnut Grove, a feature evidently removed to make way for the later porch. The view also depicted one-and-a-half-story dependencies to each side, each connected by a wall to smaller buildings, the one to the right being the summer and ice house. But the

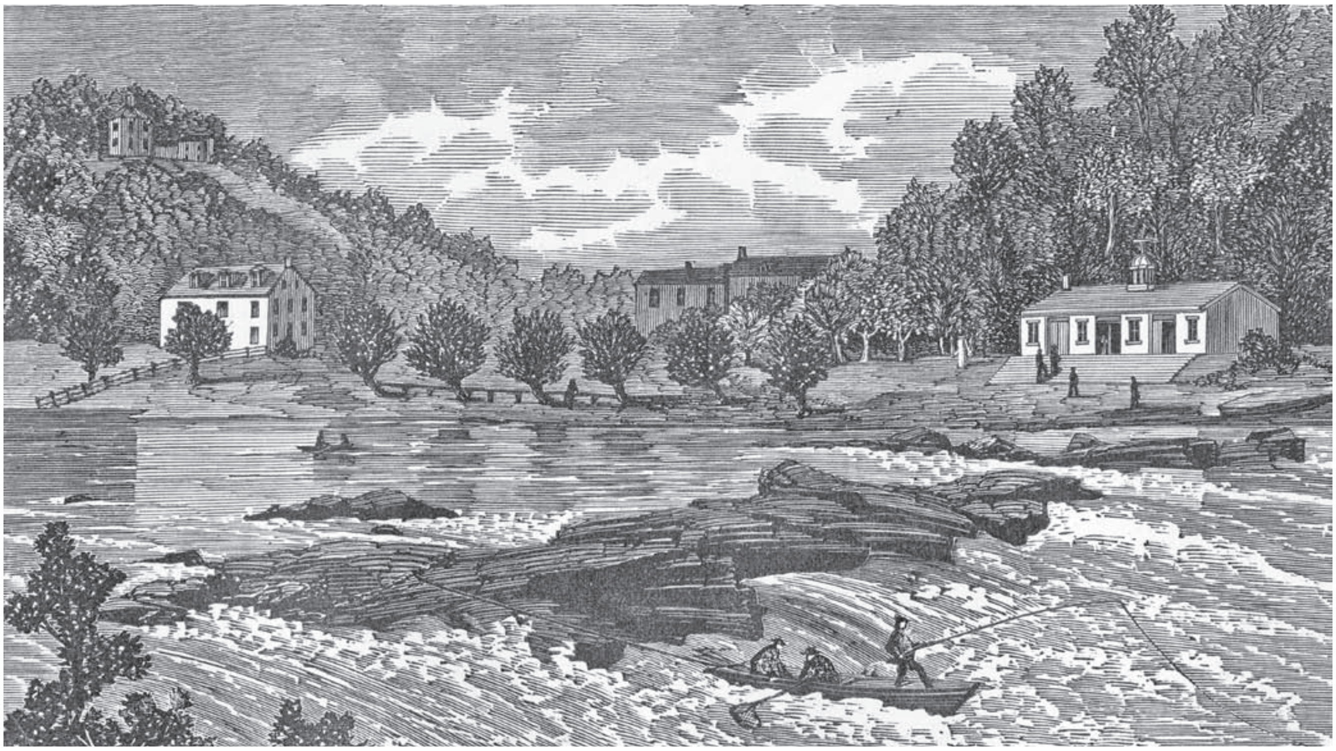


Thomas Mifflin House (c. 1778). Watercolor by David J. Kennedy, HSP

view's most striking feature is the stupendous display of terracing that rises zigguratlike up the steep slope from the Wissahickon Road to the house, steps that were later smoothed off into a sloping lawn in the more picturesque landscape style of the nineteenth century. Surely this represents one of the greatest terracing efforts in the colonies. The view shows landscaping very fresh and new, the plantings on the terraces quite small and supplemented for immediate effect by topiary in boxes flanking the front entrance stair. The view probably overemphasizes the sharpness of the terrace edges, as it would have been difficult for them to withstand heavy rains at least until grass was well established.

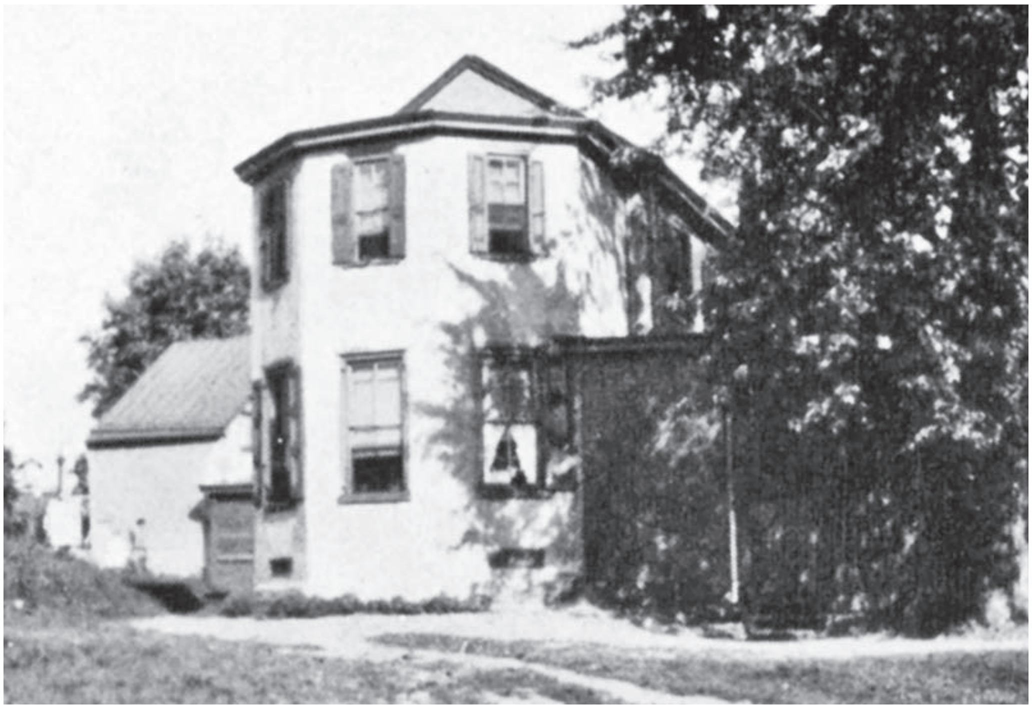
A close neighbor of Mifflin's was Dr. William Smith (1727–1803), provost of the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), whose famous octagonal country house stood nearby on a wooded hill. Smith built this interesting house sometime in the 1760s on land he had bought in 1761.[67] It appears from an engraving that the dramatic and picturesque site included a vista from the villa down toward the falls. Gilbert Stuart's 1800 portrait of Smith depicts a curtain drawn back to reveal the view of the river from Smith's villa, which evidently was very special to the subject.[68] Locals called the villa Smith's Octagon (also, predictably, Smith's Folly). It was depicted in a 1794 engraving of the falls, which shows it as two stories tall and with a cupola.[69] It became a school in the early 1800s—which is interesting as Smith was an educator and many schools in the Philadelphia area in this era were small octagonal structures—and survived to be photographed, by which time it was a semioctagonal wing of a larger house.[70]

In England, octagonal structures commonly appeared on the grounds of eighteenth-century country houses. They demonstrate how related the country house could be to a garden pavilion. James Gibbs illustrates several examples, including a two-story one at Down Hall, Essex, and a one-story model at Twickenham. He called these "pavilions."[71] By the time Robert Morris (the author of *Rural Architecture*, not the financier) wrote at midcentury, the octagon had come to be used very extensively in plans, especially for villas, Burlington's central room at Chiswick perhaps being an important precedent. Morris's villa plans often contain octagonal rooms, as do his designs for garden structures.[72] Morris often linked the use of the octagonal plan to wide, almost panoramic views. For



View of the falls of the Schuylkill, showing Dr. William Smith's house (c. 1761) on the hill. Frontispiece to *Early History of the Falls of the Schuylkill, Manayunk, Schuylkill and Lehigh Navigation Companies, Fairmount Waterworks, etc.*, by Charles V. Hagner (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, 1869), LCP

example, an octagonal "Pleasure-Room" intended for a terrace near Windsor had a "very pleasing, and extensive Prospect, almost uninterrupted, 3 Fourths round the Horizon, and from which you may see and trace at different Places, the Windings of the Thames."[73] Smith's villa had a comparable view, which the octagon allowed to be seen from different vantage points.



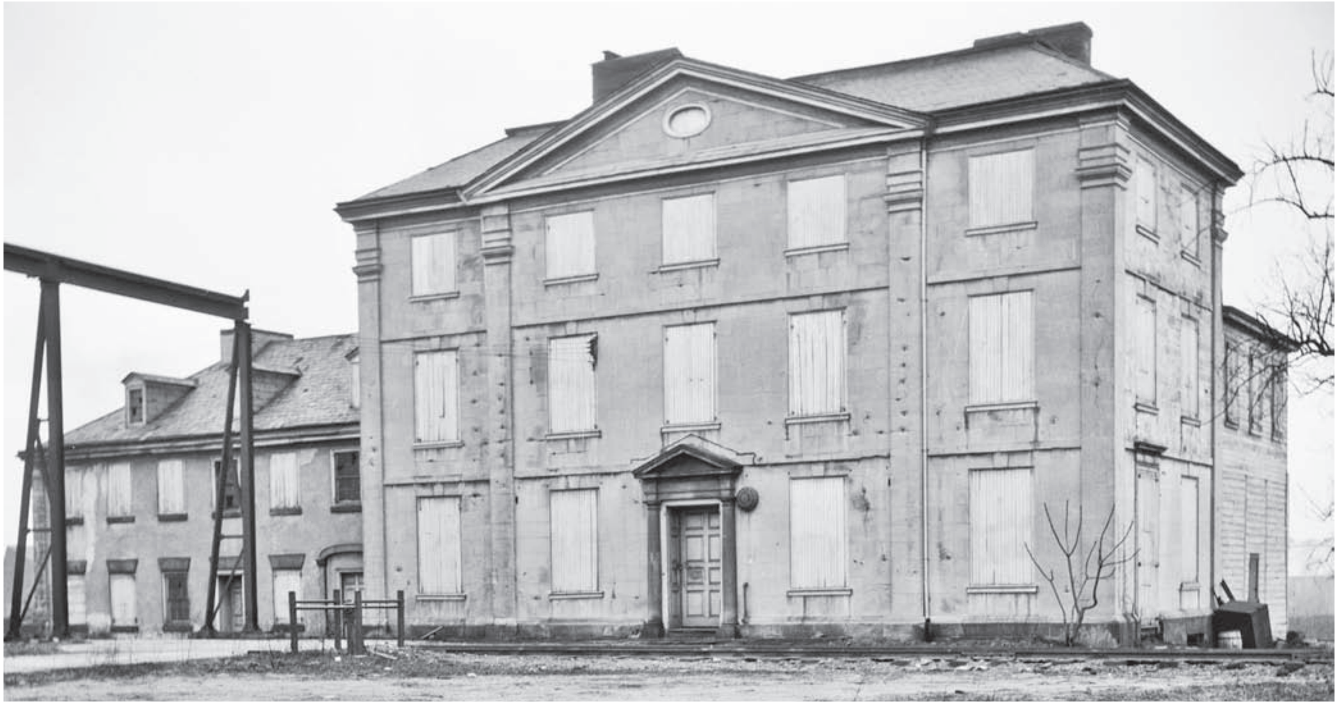
William Smith's house. From Francis Burke Brandt and Henry Volkmar Gummere, *Byways and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Corn Exchange National Bank, 1925), 144, LCP

Chalkley Hall: Inconsistent Grandeur in Frankfort

Another pretentious late house with a doubtful date, Chalkley Hall began life in the generation of Fairhill as a modest traditional structure built by the Quaker merchant and preacher Thomas Chalkley (1675–1741), who pieced together a plantation near the village of Frankfort in the early eighteenth century. In 1723 Chalkley moved permanently to his plantation near Frankfort "to be more retired and for health's sake."[74]

Chalkley died in 1741, whereupon the property descended first to his wife, Martha, and subsequently to his daughter, Rebecca, and her husband, the successful Quaker merchant Abel James (1725–1790).[75] The James family originated from yeoman stock in upper Philadelphia County, but Abel's father, George, moved into the city in 1739 and became a well-off shopkeeper. Upon reaching majority, Abel went into partnership with another Quaker merchant John Smith, a venture short-lived but profitable. At about the same time (1747), James married Rebecca Chalkley, and he and Smith edited Chalkley's *Journal* (published 1749), one of the most widely read Quaker publications of the eighteenth century. James greatly prized his connection with the popular and pious Chalkley, naming children, a ship, and his country house after him. After he retired there in 1782, he preferred to be called "James of Chalkley Hall." Chalkley Hall, his two-hundred-acre country seat, was assessed at £100, a sum that reflected land more than architecture. There he kept six horses and twenty cows and also grew hay and vegetables.

James used Chalkley's house as a country seat, having it insured by the Philadelphia Contributionship in 1751. However, he had greater pretensions than this modest house would suit, and at some point after 1751 he had a grand three-story, stone-faced, pilastered block constructed alongside the original house, which became a service wing. The new block was a most remarkable house in colonial Philadelphia—for its height, three full stories (as at Waln Grove and Bush Hill); for its smooth ashlar exterior, unique in Philadelphia

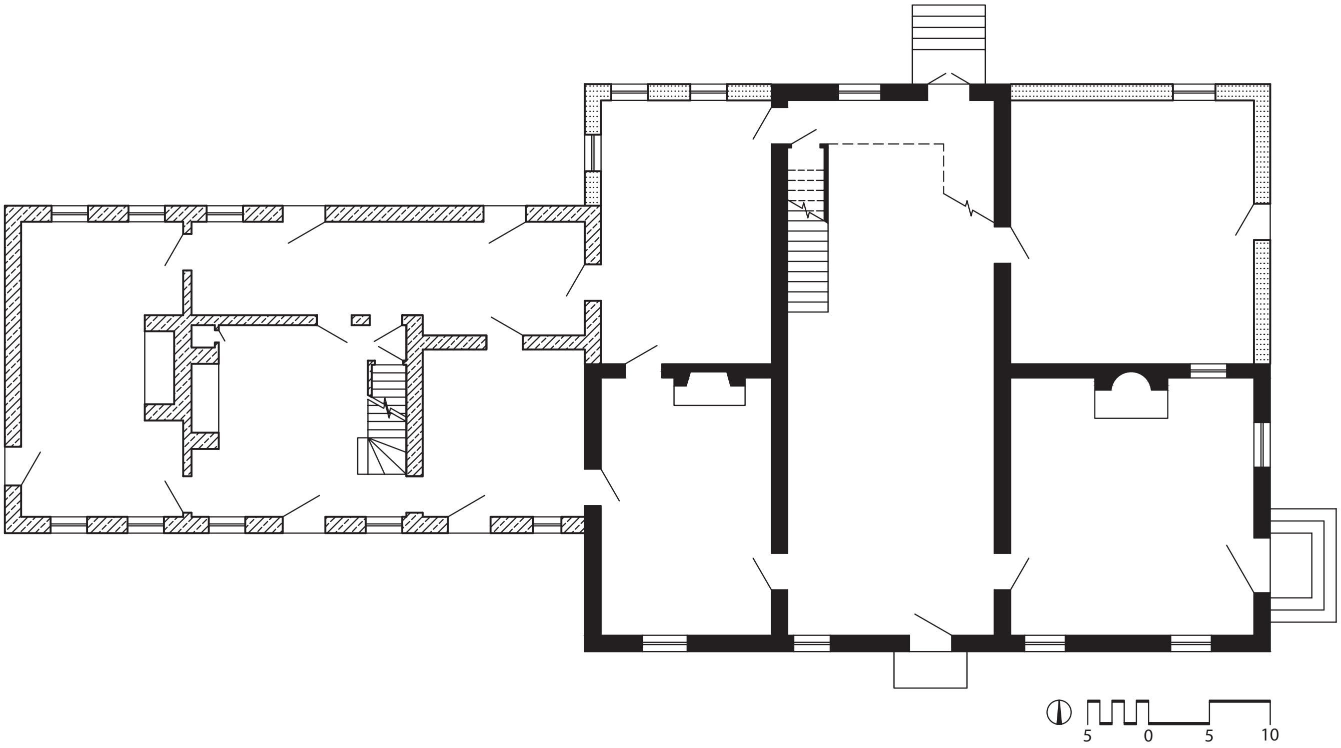


Chalkley Hall (c. 1770). HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 62, Library of Congress and rare anywhere in the colonies; and for the pilasters, which mark the corners of the block and its central pavilion.

The date of this long-demolished block remains uncertain. It may have risen as late as 1782, when James, ready to retire and believing that the post-Revolutionary economy was about to take off, speculatively purchased vast tracts of land and engaged in other risky business activity that precipitated his bankruptcy two years later. At this point James sold his house in town and relocated his main residence to the country, and perhaps the new house accompanied this move. The attenuated pilasters argue for a late-eighteenth-century date, recalling Adamesque and Federal examples such as The Woodlands in Philadelphia (1788). Alternatively, it seems unlikely that the diminutive old dwelling inherited from Thomas Chalkley served as James's country seat for forty years, especially when houses such as Port Royal and Waln Grove had risen so close. In 1769 two indentured Welsh masons ran away from Abel's Frankford plantation. Perhaps they were working on his new stone house.[76]

The grand and stylish front was contradicted by the floor plan and the interior. The wide hall in no way corresponded to the facade, being shifted to the left to encompass the doorway and one window. The room to the right, presumably the formal parlor, had two windows on its front wall, while that to the left had only one, and neither had a symmetrical arrangement. The left room in particular had an awkward layout, perhaps acceptable in a family parlor adjacent to the older wing. The main block originally had a T-plan; the two rear side rooms rose as wood-framed infills between 1833 and 1859. Elements of the house's woodwork surviving in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission suggest that the woodwork was quite plain, with flat panels and very simple sawn scrolls on the stairs. At times James's behavior oscillated between extreme elevation and despondency,[77] and perhaps his house reflects that character.

Chalkley Hall, first-floor plan. Drawing by Fanglan Chen after HABS, PA, 51-PHILA, 62, Library of Congress



The Hills: Robert Morris's Dubious Villa

The Hills, another enigmatic country seat of this late period, arose from a speculative venture in suburbanization by the richest man in America, and one of the most profligate. The land belonged to the Vineyard Tract, then owned by Tench Francis Jr., who subdivided much of it into thirty-five lots for country houses.[78] In 1770 Robert Morris, who was just beginning his rise to financial prominence, which would lead him to the pinnacle of American society and then debtor's prison, bought two of the lots.[79] Morris expanded his property through additional purchases, so that by 1797, when Morris's estate was seized for debts, The Hills totaled about three hundred acres.

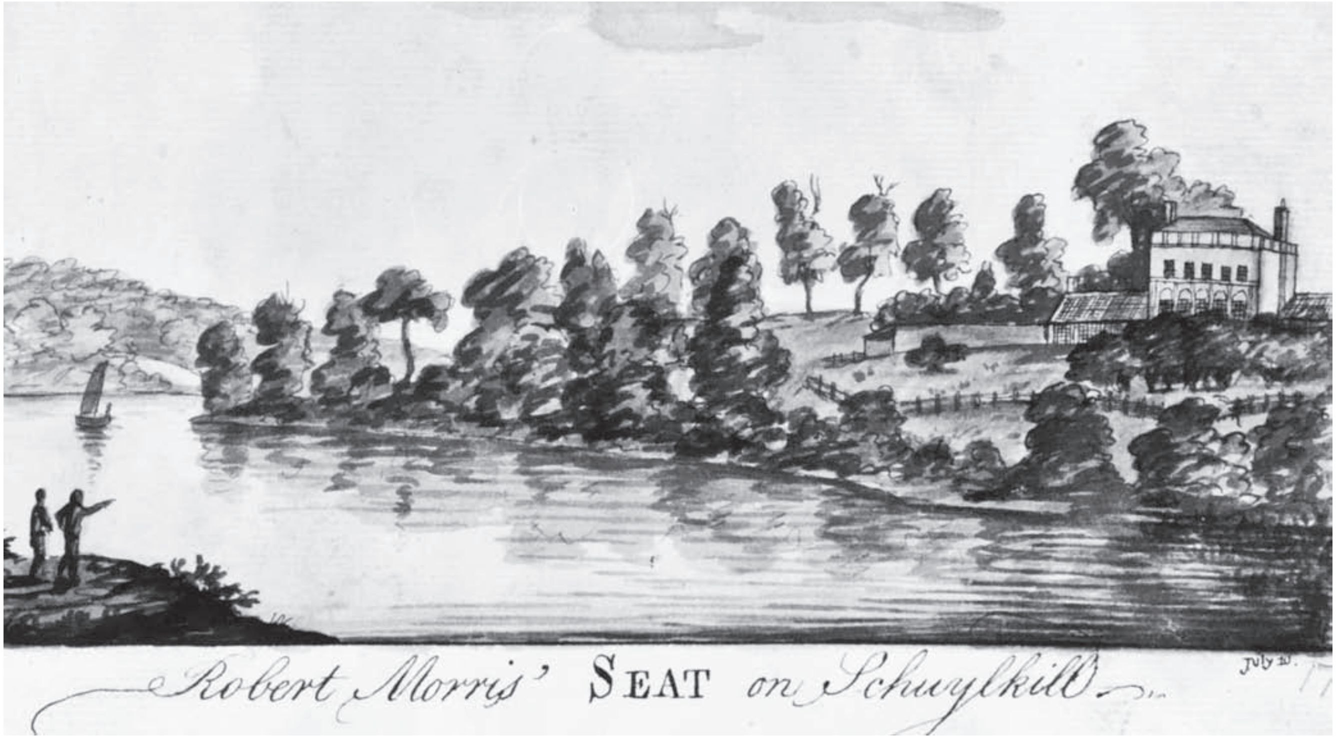
History remembers Robert Morris as a patriot and a strong supporter of the Revolution,[80] though one contemporary commentator said generally of Morris that he was "a man of loose morality."[81] Whatever his personal foibles, he engaged in massive speculation that led to a financial collapse that seriously damaged the finances of many other families in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Like many of his compatriots, after the Revolution Morris speculated wildly in land—in the new capital of Washington, in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. He also invested heavily in domestic industries and banks, built one of the largest and most notorious (though never finished) houses in Philadelphia, and lived extremely well.[82] All of this came crashing down around Morris in the mid-1790s, and in 1797 he declared bankruptcy.

As with his city house, Morris never completed his country seat.[83] He had a house at The Hills—at least he lived there on an occasional basis—but we have no firm knowledge of it. It was sufficient to entertain guests as early as 1774. In 1776, as the Revolution threatened to force prominent Philadelphia patriots to flee, Morris wrote that he dined there every Sunday.[84] The Hills may have constituted an ongoing construction project interrupted by the Revolution and financial problems. George Washington recorded several times in 1787 that he dined with Morris, his wife, and others at The Hills.[85] That Morris's house was a work in progress was also suggested by Manasseh Cutler, who wrote, also in 1787:

> We continued our route in view of the Schuylkill, and up the river several miles, and took a view of a number of Country seats, one belonging to Mr. Robert Morris the American financier who is said to possess the greatest fortune in America. His country seat is not yet completed but it will be superb. It is planned on a large scale, the gardens and walks are extensive and the villa situated on an eminence has a commanding prospect down the Schuylkill to the Delaware.[86]

What Cutler called a villa must have been a dream only, for other accounts refer only to a farmhouse, and indeed there is no evidence that Morris ever finished a grand house there. However, he did complete an elaborate greenhouse to accompany equally elaborate gardens, perhaps best considered the centerpiece of a *ferme ornée*. As at neighboring Springettsbury, landscape trumped architecture. Morris wrote of the greenhouse in 1795: "In this Garden is a large Green House with two Hot Houses as Wings each 50 feet long, a Gardners House, Coal Houses, proper Fire places, Flues and everything necessary, being altogether a large and elegant Stone Building, by far the compleatest of anything of the kind in America."[87]

In 1794 Jeremiah Paul depicted this structure, which appeared very much as a greenhouse in the center, with arched openings on the ground floor and wings to each side—the


Robert Morris' SEAT on Schuylkill.
July 20.

The Hills (c. 1770), *Robert Morris' Seat on Schuylkill.* Watercolor in Jeremiah Paul Sketchbook (1794), HSP

hothouses. That the greenhouse structure possessed "elegance" indicates its architectural pretension, a quality obvious in the view. Paul's watercolor shows the Schuylkill lined with trees, which gives the house and its grounds a picturesque setting, an air of mystery and discovery awaiting. The hill on which the house stands lies mostly open, though there is a clump of trees immediately in front of the structure, and, as was typical, more trees form a dark backdrop.[88]

The Morris family did not live for extended periods at The Hills; most reports suggest day trips only. Indeed, in 1795 Morris rented Lansdowne from the Penns for his family to live in during the summer,[89] which would have been unnecessary if The Hills had been adequate for long-term inhabitation. Henry Pratt bought the property in 1798 and subsequently built Lemon Hill, which survives today in Fairmount Park. Contrary to what some sources say, Lemon Hill does not incorporate any part of earlier structures at The Hills.

Lansdowne: "The Best Country House in America"

A final Penn house concludes our story, a house that was one of the grandest in colonial America and one of the most advanced both in architecture and landscape. William Penn's grandson John Penn, son of Richard (1705/6–1771), became governor of Pennsylvania in 1763. John cemented his own interests in Pennsylvania by marrying William Allen's daughter Ann (d. 1830), and he retained the governorship until the Revolution,[90] being popular with the people of Pennsylvania.[91] Upon returning to Pennsylvania after a trip to England in 1771–72, now eldest in his line and owning a quarter of his family's interest in Pennsylvania, John thought of building both a town house and a country house.[92] He never built the former, but he began the latter in short order, upon the Schuylkill below Belmont and across from Mount Pleasant. Despite obvious sympathies toward England, John Penn remained loyal to America during and after the Revolution, he and wife spending much of their time at Lansdowne until his death in 1795. At that time William Bingham (1752 1804) bought the property.

As grand as Lansdowne was, relatively little is known about it, mainly because of its destruction by fire in 1854. However, several views preserve its exterior, and its plan can be reconstructed from a 1795 inventory of furniture (discussed in chapter 7). Lansdowne's site lay mostly open when Penn bought it, and he made the area around his new house a park.[93] Robert Gilmor wrote of the view the place commanded:

> In the evening he [the Viscount de Noailles] drove me in his gig out to Lansdown, Mr. Bingham's delightful country residence which he lately purchased from the last of the family of the old proprietor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Penn. It is a most superb place, and supposed to be the best country house in America. It commands a noble view of the Schuylkill and the seats in the neighborhood, & at a distance the steeples of some of the churches in Philadelphia.[94]

Lansdowne sat on mostly level ground a little more than one hundred feet above the Schuylkill River[95] and had much the same view of the city as Belmont. Old prints suggest that broad lawns in front and back dominated the landscape near the house, which was scattered with a few trees, in the style of Capability Brown (color plate B). A post-and-rail fence separated the front lawn from the river.[96] Gilmor's testimony suggests that visiting a country house had become easier as roads improved during the later eighteenth century. He would have traveled more than three miles to reach Lansdowne from the city yet thought nothing of starting out late in the day.

John Adams also visited, and he observed in a letter to his wife: "went to Lansdowne on Sunday, about a half mile on this side of Judge Peters [Belmont], where you once dined. The place is very retired, but very beautiful—a splendid house, gravel walks, shrubberies, and clumps of trees in the English style—on the banks of the Schuylkill."[97] "Very retired" probably referred to its lack of neighbors. Blockley Township still was only sparsely settled. No houses lined the road on the west bank of the Schuylkill between the Schuylkill Fishing Company and Belmont, a stretch of about a mile, so that Lansdowne was fairly isolated for a property so close to the city. As late as 1800 open meadow and pasture filled the landscape around and behind Lansdowne.

A large house, Lansdowne occupied a greater footprint than any previous Philadelphia country house, Bush Hill possibly excepted. Porticos distinguished it on the front and rear, and semioctagonal bays on the flanks. The three-bay portico on the river (east) front had flanking single windows set in a broad expanse of wall, giving a formal character to this entry elevation. This portico had two stories of superposed orders, Doric on the first—the triglyphs can be seen in the William Birch engraving—and Ionic on the second, the canonical stacking that had appeared on earlier Palladian houses, such as Drayton Hall and the Miles Brewton House, and in Jefferson's early drawings for Monticello, but never in Philadelphia.[98]

Lansdowne has a subtle "improvement" on these other examples in the doubling up of columns at the corners, as well as the corresponding pilasters against the wall, which strengthens the appearance of the small, freestanding order in the manner that Palladio himself had adopted at the Palazzo Chiericati. On the rear (west) a slightly projecting, three-bay central pedimented pavilion had the two outer bays narrower than on the front and a one-story portico—documents refer to it as the "small portico"[99]—with arches between the pilasters at the sides, another feature that recalls Palladio. Prints show that unlike most Palladian houses, Lansdowne did not stand high above the ground, so that the interiors flowed more freely into the landscape, a marked change in style that resulted in major changes to other houses, such as neighboring Belmont, where the ground was raised three feet around the house to facilitate a verandah and easy passage from inside to outside.

Bay windows facilitated views of the landscape. Lansdowne was not the earliest Philadelphia country house to have bays.[100] That distinction goes to Belmont, whose single small bay, hidden on the rear of a back building, gave views of the extensive garden. The Jacob Duché House, downtown (1767), also had them. They appeared in a handful of late colonial houses, such as Monticello (1771) and the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis (1774–75). Bay and bow windows, which would become standard features in Federal houses, aim at the merger of inside and out and produce variety in room shapes and thus internal scenery, a major goal of late-eighteenth-century English architecture. Lansdowne's projections should probably be called bays because they were semioctagonal outside, but the house's inventory referred to "bow" rooms, the bow normally referring to a curving projection. Perhaps the octagonal form was smoothly curved inside.

Prints of the exterior and an inventory allow a reconstruction of Lansdowne's plan (p. 163). A central hall, possibly divided on the second floor to create a separate space to the east known as the "portico room" and apparently containing the stair, was flanked to each side by two rooms, those toward the river front referred to as "bow rooms" and "bow chambers." Behind the bow rooms on the first floor lay a "small dining parlor" and a "library." It is impossible to say with any certainty which room was on which side, but the inventory suggests that those taking the inventory made a clockwise circle downstairs, putting the library in the southwest corner, where there would be good light. The basement, lit by windows on the rear and sides, contained a "kitchen" and a "servants hall," an unusual element for a colonial house and one encountered before in Philadelphia only in discussions of Thomas Penn's city house.[101]

Robert Gilmor has left a description of activities at Lansdowne when he stayed there with the Binghams, but it may be extrapolated backward to the times of the Penns without too much danger of anachronism:

> I remained here about a week, passing my time in the most agreeable manner. Company were continually visiting Lansdowne, and added to its own made a most sociable society. During the day I either amused myself with hunting or retired to the Library where [Gilbert] Stuart was engaged in painting the whole family. In the evening we played at the French game of the Lottery, in which we were occasionally joined by the Princes and viscount who staid after night. . . . The day passed as usual; very agreeable and the company did not sit long at table, particularly the young people who assembled in the portico and on the Lawn.[102]

That the Binghams bought Lansdowne from the Penns establishes the place as the most important transitional country seat near Philadelphia. Governor Penn would naturally have stood at the pinnacle of society in the late colonial period, and the Binghams were declared the arbiters of taste in the early republic,[103] although some chastised the family for extravagance.[104] Quaker critics joined republican-minded contemporaries who thought too much display unfitting for the traditions of Philadelphia, especially in light of the new country's ideals.[105] Mrs. Bingham in particular was criticized for the amount of facial makeup she used and for the extravagance of her dinners and the artificial decorations, concoctions, and confections displayed at them.[106] Many thought that luxury and display had gotten out of hand in the post-Revolutionary period—by now a familiar theme in the Philadelphia story.[107] In this age of nascent industrialization and consumerism, such criticism was a reaction to the conspicuous consumption of which the country house itself had become a part.

As the country seat of first Governor Penn and then the Binghams, Lansdowne participated in this escalation of taste and display, anticipating style in the Federal period—in its "English landscape" in the Capability Brown manner and in architectural features such as bay windows and arched doorways. Lansdowne formed a vital link between colonial houses and fully Adamesque Federal-style houses such as The Woodlands, the country seat of William Hamilton (1745–1813), which would rise just down the river from Lansdowne in the late 1780s. Indeed, an earlier version of The Woodlands, built about 1770 and now subsumed in the present structure, may have included a freestanding portico and bow windows and thus itself formed an important precedent for John Penn's better-known country house.[108]

* * *

The disparate group of houses discussed in this chapter indicates that by the end of the colonial era the bourgeois country seat, in all its variety, had become thoroughly enmeshed in the life of the Philadelphia gentry. Even as political and economic conditions deteriorated, the building of country houses continued. Lansdowne, but also Chalkley Hall, The Hills, never realized, and the Thomas Mifflin House betray the ambition inherent in many late colonial country seats. As a group, the houses also demonstrate the heterogeneous nature of Philadelphia's wealthy bourgeoisie, ranging from the finest patrician families, up to and including the Penns, to the roughest and most unlikely newcomers from the deep hinterlands, such as Adam Hoops. These houses also illustrate trends in design of the last twenty years but break new ground. Some, like Summerseat, belonged to traditional models that had already entered the vernacular. Others, such as Laurel Hill and Waln Grove, followed midcentury types such as Belmont in plan and scale. A few, most notably Lansdowne, were as up-to-date architecturally and in landscape design as any American colonial building and fully anticipated the next phase of American architecture.

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Conclusion

"A Life Worth Living"

Colonial country houses in the environs of Philadelphia were representative of their period and of an economic class present throughout the Atlantic world, but they also expressed the smaller and more particular world of colonial Philadelphia and even their owners' individuality. If the architectural history of the "high style" has traditionally overemphasized the individual uniqueness of the monument, newer material-culture studies have perhaps painted it with too broad a brush, seeing all artifacts of a class or time as essentially one. In this study we have aimed to strike a balance between the two.

Viewed in the broadest context, bourgeois country seats of the eighteenth century belonged, to one degree or another, to the class of farms or places where food was grown. At a minimum their landscape included a kitchen garden and often much more extensive agriculture. Many, especially in the first half of the period examined here, were large, even extended farms with tenants that inevitably included the accouterments of the farm or plantation and on which the owner spent much time in the management of agriculture as either a revenue producer or an avocation.

But if the villa is a farmhouse, it has gone to town to acquire good manners and returned to the country, becoming civilized with the best (or almost the best) the city can offer in architectural and landscape design, craftsmanship, furniture, and manners. We say "almost" because the country houses of the Philadelphia bourgeoisie never quite attained the high level of polish that their city houses did. Indeed, that was part of their charm: in the country house one dressed down and did not have to display the finest manners; one entertained closer and more selected friends, and they too wore their country or traveling dress.[1] But country houses partook of much obvious urban influence through their design by owners and their friends and through the craftsmen that built and sometimes designed them. Seen sometimes in the scale of the house, usually in its features and materials, and almost always in room use, urban influence made the country house different from the houses of yeomen. It also allowed these places to serve as a conduit for the spread of city manners to rural districts and the yeoman class, contributing to the refinement of the countryside, a catalyst for change and improvement in rural society and architecture.[2]

The stylistic evolution seen across our narrative is an obvious part of the story. In architecture from the Queen Anne to the Palladian, the change in the colonies began about 1740. The Queen Anne gloried in what it knew as classicism in the seventeenth century: steep roofs, bulbous turned balusters on balconies and stairs, roof cupolas, heavy bolection paneling, and orders alive with mannerist flourishes and solecisms that would later be called incorrect. The eighteenth-century change, facilitated in the colonies by skilled artisans and the books that influenced them, saw the exterior become correct according to an Italian Renaissance model, with canonical orders, pediments, and Palladian windows, inspired by the Italian architect who has been called the most influential in history. The interior became filled with a new vocabulary of moldings and ornament, sometimes lighter and gayer but also grander in their closeness to classical originals, as in the Doric screens in entry halls, which would have impressed visitors and fixed the owners within the tradition of two-thousand-year-old classical architecture.

Arising from this transition of style, a new model of plan emerged—the freestanding villa, with both front and back polite and the hall open through the house, so that the garden could be fully engaged. In the most advanced examples—Mount Pleasant, Lansdowne, Laurel Hill—this evolution saw reduced emphasis on hierarchy as a design strategy. At Mount Pleasant, for example, front and back elevations and downstairs and upstairs halls are equally polite in their architecture; they simply have different orders, reflecting the difference in the character of their architecture.[3] Peeking ahead, this evolution of the villa type and the greater emphasis on character would eventually lead to Philadelphia country houses of the Federal period, with Ormiston, Rockland, and John Penn's diminutive Solitude emerging from smaller villas such as Laurel Hill or Woodford and William Hamilton's The Woodlands from Lansdowne with its front and back pediments.[4]

Alongside the architecture, the landscape evolved as well. In the first half of our period the axiality of the seventeenth-century baroque dominated, with ornamental landscape confined to a series of courts and drives arranged along a line leading to the house. In Philadelphia during this time, agriculture dominated the landscape, with a few flower beds the sole examples of ornamental plants. After the change, ornamental landscape came to dominate, though food production was never lost completely. The axis too never disappeared, though its use became more varied. Axes no longer ran just to the house but now extended as multiple vistas within the garden, leading to structures or points of interest such as summerhouses or connecting with borrowed scenery, such as a river or the city. A wilderness of large trees often lay behind the house and formal gardens, a place to wander in the shade and be closer to nature. The landscape might absorb tremendous expenditures, with terracing, ditching and hedging, multiple structures, and occasionally sculpture. Here again, later colonial landscapes, such as those at Lansdowne and The Woodlands, presaged the more thoroughly picturesque landscape of the new republic. Thomas Jefferson called the landscape at The Woodlands "the chastest model of gardening which I have ever seen out of England";[5] he was referring to its lack of superfluous ornaments and structures and their replacement with purely "natural" elements such as meadows and clumps of trees. At Federal-period Belmont, William Peters's son Richard reduced the area devoted to ornamental landscape and delved further into farming, along the way founding the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, an organization of which William Penn would have been proud.

Accompanying this evolution in landscape and architecture, the nature of retirement to the country changed, and here the early influence of Quakerism was felt. For the first generation in Pennsylvania, retreat to the country, or retirement, involved a religious motivation, seen most clearly in the ideal of William Penn's country life. Besides Penn, Norris of Fairhill, Samuel Preston, James Logan, and other Quakers exemplified this early model of retreat. Ideally, this form of retirement was permanent; life in the country became a return to the land on a self-sufficient farm. Because of demands of business and public service, few achieved the ideal, but it remained a part of the Philadelphia tradition throughout the colonial period, seen in the continuation of kitchen gardens, orchards, brewhouses, and other agricultural accouterments that remained parts of nearly all country seats throughout the colonial period. Quakerism also played a role in the ideal of plainness that popped up throughout the Philadelphia story. Explicitly evoked by leaders such as Penn and Norris, plainness caused significant internal struggles for the first generation building and decorating their dwellings and remained a vaguely defined cultural value in Pennsylvania thereafter, however little it was followed in some cases.

But the ideal of retirement had changed. In place of permanent retreat, retirement became temporary, mostly seasonal, with no thought of giving up one's grand town house. Religious motivation waned, as Pennsylvania's gentry forsook Quakerism for Anglicanism or other faiths more accepting of the world's secular values. Retirement consisted in leisure activities in the country that re-created the man (and woman) tired from affairs and the social round in the city and improved his (and her) mind and body: reading and writing; practicing the arts, such as music and painting; gardening and dairying; boating, hunting, and fishing; and visiting. Above all, one took refuge in the country from the ailments of the city to protect and improve one's physical and mental health, though with less emphasis on one's spiritual health than in earlier days. At times the colonial country house even led to a lifestyle of commuting, as when James Hamilton made Bush Hill his only home and rode to the city for business. In the Federal era commuting would become more common, as in the case of Richard Peters of Belmont.[6]

This shift in the nature of retirement was abetted by the fluidity of early Pennsylvania's society, a fluidity that increased as the colonial era progressed. The ranks of the wealthy bourgeoisie who built country seats never froze as they did in Virginia, for example, where a small group of families intermarried and created a true aristocracy, as there was in England. In Philadelphia, newcomers from below constantly rose into the gentry on the basis of trade, profession, or public service. The cast of families changed, and their alliances through trade, marriage, or church varied widely. The variety of religious denominations alone contrasts with the unitary Anglicanism of the Virginia gentry.

Several architectural effects resulted from this fluidity. First, Philadelphia country houses were not so grand as the prodigy houses of England or the American South. Some certainly had grandeur, but there also abounded some that were relatively modest either in scale or appointments. Town houses had greater architectural finery, but even these varied widely in their level of finish. Second, houses both in town and in the country changed hands often, being sold rapidly or rented as economic conditions demanded, so they rarely had an air of dynastic legacy about them. The builders of even the finest, such as Mount Pleasant, often owned them for a relatively short period of time. This rapid trade meant that houses projected less power and hegemony than in the southern colonies, attributes that should not be overemphasized in their interpretation as house museums. As one modern historian has argued, "Philadelphia fostered a rejection of hierarchical authority that prepared its citizens to enjoy a life worth living."[7] It also made Pennsylvania the proverbial American melting pot and allowed the bourgeoisie, rather than an aristocratic elite, to dominate society.

The bourgeois country house epitomized the "life worth living"; it was a place where one could re-create oneself and, above all, experience the recuperating powers of nature. This last could prove vital in a time when cities often possessed extremely unpleasant smells and disease caused by bad water, heat, insects, and overcrowding. Quakers believed that cities also harbored more subtle dangers of contentiousness, corruption, and luxury. William Penn had warned of such physical and moral dangers, establishing a line of thought that continued for a long time in America.[8] Moreover, if merchant-class town houses and the life therein seemed pretty much the same throughout the Atlantic world, and if competition and social status dominated both,[9] the same did not pertain to the country house, which allowed for the creation of individual identity, the creation of the self, what Owen Barfield called the eighteenth-century gentleman's "imaginative double life—his life in the order and reason of the moral and material universe and of 'sensibility' in the little universe of himself."[10] Freed from the constraints of society—and small lots—country seats could exhibit more individualism than town houses and so better express the character of their owners. This is one reason why biography plays such a large role in this book. Did competition play a role in the development of country seats? Undoubtedly. But country seats varied widely, and some very wealthy individuals had modest country houses. If there was competition, the rules were unclear, so winners and losers would be unclear as well.

The creation of country seats involved endless possibilities in terms of scale, materials, detail, and level of finery. Real estate varied in size from a few acres to more than a thousand. Sizes of houses differed as well, from a few rooms to as substantial as anywhere in the colonies. A few came close to the rural vernacular in their materials and appointments; some were almost as fine as the best city mansions. Landscapes might consist of no more than a kitchen garden, or they could range to a mile in extent, with all the accouterments of English ornamental gardening. Their town houses largely fixed in form and scale, in their country seats the Philadelphia gentry could exercise their penchant for design and create unique spaces for themselves. Country seats also allowed them a measure of independence, temporarily from some of the social rules and strictures that bound them and even in the more fundamental matter of food production, providing a measure of agricultural self-sufficiency. The country seat constituted the greatest creative act that some Philadelphia gentry would ever attempt, an act about which the well-known landscape designer Stephen Switzer wrote: "[Among] all the Works of the Creation, . . . a Country Seat distributed with Judgment, may well be accounted one of the greatest; in this every Person makes to himself a Kind of a new Creation."[11] Such a place would indeed facilitate the "life worth living" and recall for its inhabitants the conditions of a golden age so long sought in Western thought.

APPENDIX

Names on the Scull and Heap Map

This appendix lists all the names on the 1752 Scull and Heap map, discussed in chapter 4, one of our best sources for the number and placement of country houses in the mid-eighteenth-century environs of Philadelphia. Besides country seats (indicated by the abbreviation "CS" after names in the list), some yeoman farmers are named, along with prominent features in the countryside such as churches, inns, and towns. The list gives our best guess as to the identity of persons named on the map, along with our sources for this identification. The list is organized according to the townships bordering the city of Philadelphia, starting southeast of the city with Moyamensing and proceeding clockwise with Passyunk, Kingsessing, Derby, Blockley, Lower Merion, and the Northern Liberties. Following is the next arc of townships to the north, from west to east: Roxborough, Germantown, Bristol, Oxford, and Cheltenham. Personal names under each township name are listed alphabetically.

The source materials are varied. The deed books cited are those of Philadelphia County, available on microfilm at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in the County of Philadelphia Deed Records.

Abbreviations for other source materials, in the order that they appear in the entries, are as follows:

Will Adm.	Will administration records of Philadelphia County, available at the Philadelphia City Register of Wills archives. Briefs of title are available in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
GLO	General Land Office Records, available at the Pennsylvania State Archives.
1734 tax	Tax roll of 1734, in "Landholders of Philadelphia County." *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* 1 (July 1897): 166–84.
1767 tax	Tax roll of 1767, in Rare Books Library of the University of Pennsylvania. For the Northern Liberties, this tax digest is divided into sections for the Northern Liberties West (NLW) and the Northern Liberties East (NLE).

Statutes at Large	*Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801, compiled by James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders*. Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1899.
PG	*Pennsylvania Gazette*, available online and at HSP.
Browning, *Welsh Settlement*	Charles Henry Browning. *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1912.
Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait*	Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard. *Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia, 1670–1838*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1939.
Reinberger and McLean	The current volume. References to names can be found through the index.
Scharf and Westcott, *History*	J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott. *A History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884.
Westcott, *Mansions*	Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with Some Notice of Their Owners and Occupants*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877.

Moyamensing

BATTERY, fortification guarding the city's port.

BROCKDEN, Charles. Occupation: gentleman of Philadelphia. CS.
Will Adm. #12:1769 H:68. 1734 tax. GLO: 9 July 1762. *PG*: 16 June 1743; 24 March 24 1752.

COX, Charles. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
1767 tax. GLO: 4 June 1723. *PG*: 19 November 1747.

DUCHEE, Anthony. CS.
1767 tax. *PG*: 2 November 1752.

HANNIS, Andrew, and wife Sarah. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books F 4:139 and G 2:187, in Briefs of Title,, Wk 31, vol. 3. Will Adm. #102:1754 K:158, in Briefs of Title,, Wk 31, vol. 3. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. GLO: 29 December 1739. Reinberger and McLean; Scharf and Westcott, *History*.

MORRIS, Anthony, and wife Phoebe. Occupation: brewer. CS.
Deed book MR 21:532, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4. Will #25:1763 N:42. 1734 tax. *PG*: 13 September 1750.

PEMBERTON, James Junior. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 1:168, 174, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 3. Westcott, *History*.

POINT HOUSE, ferry house built by Thomas Penn at Greenwich Point.

POWEL, Samuel. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Will book H:396, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 5.

TROTTER, Joseph. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 13:267. Will #15:1770 P:21. *PG*: 27 June 1754.

WHARTON, Joseph. Occupation: cooper. CS.
Deed book I 6:102, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4. Will #272:1776 Q:321. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 15 January 1751. Reinberger and McLean; Scharf and Westcott, *History*; Westcott, *Mansions*.

Passyunk

ASH, Edward (the elder), and wife Rebecca; sons John & Edward. Occupation: butchers.
Deed book I 9:71. 1767 tax. *PG*: 28 September 1749.

CADWALADER, Thomas. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
1767 tax.

COX, Moses and John.
PG: 19 November 1747; 31 January 1749; 24 October 1751; 29 October 1761.

DAVEY, Hugh, and wife Elizabeth. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed books I 6:102, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4; H 11:541; D 55:169. 1767 tax. *PG*: 1 January 1744. Reinberger and McLean.

GRAY, George, and wife Mary. Occupation: ferry keeper.
Deed book G 3:293, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 14. Will #31:1748 I:54, in Briefs of Title, vol. 14. 1767 tax. GLO: 1739-026. *PG*: 24 August 1749. Norma Adams Price, *From Meetinghouse to Statehouse, 1683–1783* (Wallingford, PA: Historic Delaware County, 1976).

GRIFFITHS, Thomas or Francis. Occupation: mayor of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book EF 25:131. 1767 tax.

HANNIS, John. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books E 6-7:147 and F 5:426. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 20 November 1746; 24 September 1747.

KINSEY, John. Occupation: attorney and judge. CS.
Will Adm. #41:1750 F:321. *PG*: 7 June 1753; 23 March 1758. Reinberger and McLean; Joseph S. Walton, *John Kinsey* (Philadelphia: Friends' Book Association, 1900); Scharf and Westcott, *History*; Westcott, *Mansions*.

LAWRENCE, Thomas. Occupation: attorney of Philadelphia. CS.
Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4. Will book K:168, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4.

LORD, Theodorus. Occupation: merchant of Passyunk.
Deed book E 7-10:235. Will #93:1759 L:160. GLO: 1723-163. *PG*: 13 December 1759.

LOWNS, Joseph. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books H 16:488, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 9; I 6:528. Wills: #48:1781 S:48; #240:1783 S:296, both in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 9. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. GLO: 1724-431. *PG*: 16 April 1747; 19 January 1748; 26 March 1754.

MORRIS, Anthony, and wife Phoebe. Occupation: brewer. CS.
Deed book MR 21:532, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4. Will #25:1763 N:42. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 13 September 1750.

PEMBERTON, James. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 2:11, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 4. Will book K:143, in Briefs of Title, vol. 4. *PG*: 9 January 1750. Reinberger and McLean; Scharf and Westcott, *History*; Westcott, *Mansions*.

PENROSE, Bartholomew, and wife Mary. Occupation: gentleman of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed books H 2:370; H 5:267; H 9:324. 1767 tax. *PG*: 29 October 1747; 9 February 1748.

POLL, John, and wife Rachel. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed books D 13:298, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 9; I 16:519, 540. Will book K:245, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 9.

RAMBO, Andrew. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax. *PG*: 27 September 1744; 29 March 1748. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972).

ROUSE, John. Occupation: blacksmith of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book I 3:534. 1767 tax.

SIMS, Joseph. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 3:374. 1767 tax. *PG*: 11 January 1744; 4 August 1757.

TURNER, Joseph. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 7:306, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 5. Will book S:271, in Briefs of Title, vol. 5. *PG*: 15 December 1763. Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait*; Reinberger and McLean; Scharf and Westcott, *History*.

Kingsessing

BARTRAM, John, and wife Ann. Occupation: yeoman and botanist. CS.
1767 tax. *PG*: 17 March 1739. Reinberger and McLean; Scharf and Westcott, *History*, 271; Westcott, *Mansions*, 181. Herbert c. Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidleman, *Colonial Architecture for Those about to Build* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1913), 91.

BELL INN, later Blue Bell Inn, near Cobbs Creek. The present building dates from 1766.

BLAKELY/BLEAKLY, John. Carpenters and Province Islands, site of early agribusiness in raising of cattle. Occupation: merchant. CS.
1767 tax. *PG*: 16 April 1748; 12 December 1749; 20 March 1750; 19 July 1750; 22 December 1763. Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait*.

BOIS/BOYCE, Joseph, and wife Mary. Occupation: yeoman and cooper.
Deed books A 1:110; H 6:655; G 8:326. *PG*: 23 December 1762.

BONSALS/BONSALL/BONNSALL, James, Benjamin, or Enoch. Occupation: yeomen.
Deed book E 5:170. 1767 tax. GLO: 20 June 1751. *PG*: 23 August 1753; 25 July 1754; 8 December 1763; 19 January 1764.

COULTIS/COULTAS, James, and wife Elizabeth. Occupation: merchant and sheriff. CS.
1767 tax. H. Louis Duhring, "Whitby Hall, Kingsessing," in *The Year Book of the Twenty Seventh Annual Architectural Exhibition: Philadelphia, 1924* (n.p., n.d.); Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait*, 245; Reinberger and McLean; Westcott, *Mansions*, 172; Herbert c. Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidleman, *Colonial Architecture for Those about to Build* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1913), 41.

COULTIS SAW MILL, on Cobbs Creek.

FERRY, Gray's Ferry, also called Lower Ferry.
GIBSON, David or Nathan. Occupation: yeomen; Nathan = carpenter.
Deed books D 13:29; I 11:207; I 13:326; G 8:326. 1767 tax. GLO: 26 June 1728. *PG*: 19 May 1748; 12 May 1763.

HUNT, John.
1767 tax. *PG*: 27 March 1757; 19 January 1764; 6 December 1764.

JONES, Moses? Occupation: yeoman?
PG: 24 March 1757.

JONES, Neil? Occupation: yeoman?
Deed book E 7-10:327, in Briefs of Title, vol. 1, section titled "The Gray's Ferry Estate." 1767 tax.

KNOWLES, John.
Deed book IC 14:585, in Briefs of Title, vol. 4. *PG*: 6 December 1764.

LASCUM, William? Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax. *PG*: 31 August 1749.

MILL, on Mill Creek near Gray's Ferry.

PEST HOUSE, quarantine station on Province Island.

RAMBO, Andrew. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax. *PG*: 19 May 1748.

SIMCOCK, John or Benjamin.
Deed book I 4:285, in Briefs of Title, vol. 4, section titled "Elmwood Mutual Land and Improvement Company." *PG*: 23 April 1747.

STILLY/STILLE, Peter, and wife Sarah. Occupation: carpenter.
Deed books H 6:653; G 8:326; H 7:3–8.

YOCUM, Swen, et al. Occupation: yeomen.
Deed books E 7-10:281; G 8:326; A 1:110; H 6:653. 1767 tax. GLO: 6 August 1728. *PG*: 6 November 1740.

Derby

DERBY, village.

MEETING, Quaker at Derby village.

SNUFF MILL, on Cobbs Creek near Derby village.

Blockley

COULTON, William. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book TH 115:306, in Briefs of Title, vol. 5. 1734 tax; 1767 tax.

FERRY, across Schuylkill at the city, called Middle Ferry, at High (later Market) Street.

FERRY, across Schuylkill at the falls. *See* GARRIGUES, Francis.

FORD, across Schuylkill below the falls.

GARDNER, Peter. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books G 5:175, in Briefs of Title, vol. 2; EF 14:15; TH 115:306, in Briefs of Title, vol. 5. 1767 tax. *PG*: 26 January 1731; 16 June 1748; 20 July 1749.

GARRIGUES, Francis. Occupation: ferry owner.
PG: 9 May 1751; 25 November 1756.

GEORGE, David. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book H 19:84. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 24 May 1750; 25 July 1751; 11 August 1757.

GEORGE, Edward. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book G 1:354–59. 1734 tax; 1767 tax. Browning, *Welsh Settlement*, 428, 483.

HUMPHRIES, Jonathan. Occupation: blacksmith.
1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 18 July 1745.

JONES, James? Occupation: yeoman and cordwainer.
1767 tax. GLO: 1 July 1740. *PG*: 11 July 1754; 18 March 1755.

JONES, Lewis. Occupation: yeoman and miller.
1767 tax. *PG*: 10 February 1743; 24 November 1748; 30 December 1762.

LEE, Joseph. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book D 27:268. GLO: 17 May 1746.

MARSHALL, John. Occupation: miller.
PG: 23 April 1747; 3 March 1752.

MEREDITH, Rees. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 12:741, in Briefs of Title, vol. 2. *PG*: 7 Jan 1752.

MOORE, James. Occupation: yeoman?
PG: 24 November 1757.

NICKINSON, John. Occupation: yeoman?
PG: 2 November 1738; 7 November 1745; 8 February 1759.

PETERS, William, and wife Mary. Occupation: attorney. CS.
1767 tax. Reinberger and McLean; Scharf and Westcott, *History*, 271–73; Westcott, *Mansions*, 381.

ROADS/RHOADS, Samuel. Occupation: gentleman of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 8:163. 1767 tax. *PG*: 7 November 1745. Westcott, *Mansions*, 200.

ROUP, Bernard or Barnet.
Deed book TH 115:306, in Briefs of Title, vol. 5. Will of Bernard Rub, by the name of Barnet Roop, 26 April 1772, Book of Wills, p. 266, in Briefs of Title, vol. 5.

SAW MILL, on Mill Creek.

SCHUYLKILL COMPANY, or Schuylkill Fishing Company or Colony in Schuylkill, social and fishing club founded in 1732, made up of wealthy Philadelphians. Their "Castle" was built in 1747.

SCULLS FERRY, across Schuylkill at Fairmount, also called Upper Ferry. The mapmaker Nicholas Scull lived at the ferry.
Browning, *Welsh Settlement*, 454.

THOMAS, John.
1767 tax.

TURNER, George.
Deed book TH 115:306, in Briefs of Title, vol. 5.

WARNER, George or Isaac. Occupation: yeoman and gentleman.
Patent book A 2:251. 1767 tax. *PG*: 4 December 1740; 20 February 1750; 19 February 1751; 11 August 1757. Browning, *Welsh Settlement*, 438, 454. Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait*, 63; Westcott, *Mansions*, 171, 333.

WENNS/WYNNE/WYNN/WINN, Thomas, and heirs. Occupation: yeoman and physician.
1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 20 May 1736.

WHITE, Uriah. Occupation: yeoman?
PG: 30 January 1753; 5 June 1758.

WILCOX, Barnabus or John.
PG: 23 April 1747; 5 June 1758.

WILLIAM, Edward. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax. GLO: 10 June 1746. *PG*: 15 March 1759. Westcott, *Mansions*, 173.

Lower Merion

BAILERT.

BEVEN/BEVAN, John, Evan, or George.
1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 1 November 1750; 26 December 1754; 25 March 1762. Thomas Allen Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract* (Norristown, PA: Herald, 1896), 165–66, 175–76.

EVANS, Hugh or Thomas.
Deed book H 6:90. *PG*: 21 March 1749; 12 February 1754.

GEORGE, Richard. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book H 6:90. *PG*: 8 August 1745; 25 February 1762.

GRIFFITHS, Evan or Griffith.
Deed book G 9:223. *PG*: 17 February 1747; 17 May 1750. Browning, *Welsh Settlement*, 454.

HUGHES, Richard. Occupation: innkeeper.
1734 tax; 1767 tax. *PG*: 7 May 1741; 19 February 1751; 7 January 1752; 3 May 1753; 14 January 1755.

JONES, John.
Deed book H 6:90.

LEWELIN, Morris.
PG: 1 November 1750; 25 March 1762.

MERRION MEETING, Quaker.

ROBERTS, John.
Deed books H 6:90 and H 19:84. GLO: 7 November 1743; 19 April 1751. *PG*: 5 June 1758; 25 March 1762; 3 March 1763. Browning, *Welsh Settlement*, 424.

ROBERTS, Robert. Occupation: maltster.
PG: 12 April 1739; 13 September 1744; 12 February 1754. Thomas Allen Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract* (Norristown, PA: Herald, 1896), 280.

SCHULTZ PAPER MILL, c. 1748–49, 543 Mulberry Lane, Lower Merion Township.
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Cultural Resources Database.

STRADELMAN/STADLEMAN, William. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book I 12:303. 1767 tax. *PG*: 5 June 1760; 27 November 1769.

TUNIS, Abraham or Anthony.
Deed books G 9:223 and H 6:90. 1767 tax. *PG*: 19 November 1748; 30 December 1762.

TUNIS, Joseph. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books I 15:26 and H 19:84. 1767 tax. *PG*: 14 February 1765.

Northern Liberties

ADAM, William. Occupation: gardener.
1734 tax. GLO: 1740-369. *PG*: 6 November 1746; 16 April 1747.

BALL, William, and wife Mary. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia; yeoman of Shackamaxon.
Deed books G 1:380 and G 3:108, both in Brief of Title to the Ball Estate, Wk 3, vol. 6. Will 143:1744. 1734 tax; 1767 tax NLE. GLO: 1724-421. *PG*: 29 May 1740; 3 July 1740; 2 February 1744. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 27 (1903): 380; Reinberger and McLean.

BOND, Thomas. Occupation: elder, physician; son, merchant. CS.
1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 23 August 1750.

BOST, Baltzer?

BROWN, John Michael. Occupation: physician of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 4:100. *PG*: 8 October 1741; 11 January 1744; 13 November 1746.

BROWN.

BUSH HILL, country seat of James Hamilton. CS.
Reinberger and McLean.

CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Statutes at Large, 22ff. *PG*: 21 August 1740; 8 February 1744; 6 November 1746; 9 February 1748; 25 February 1752; 5 May 1763; 2 June 1763. Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, and Laurie M. Wolf, eds., *Laws and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991–97), 3:253; Reinberger and McLean.

Callendar and others moved to Point No Point, or Richmond, in the 1730s and 1740s and engaged in cooperative agriculture. The following names in the Northern Liberties are included in this corporate activity: ELFRETH, FOX, HILLIGAS/HILLEGAS, HOPKINS, LYNN, OLDMAN, Hugh ROBERTS, and WARNER.

CAMPBELL, Thomas. Occupation: gentleman of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 8:153. 1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 8 April 1756; 2 December 1762; 5 July 1764; 7 February 1765.

CLARK, William, and wife Beulah. Occupation: cooper of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book D 1:155. 1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 23 April 1747; 5 April 1759.

CLEM/CLEMM, William. Occupation: organ maker of Kensington.
Deed book H 7:268, in Brief of Title to two tracts of ground in the 37th Ward of the City of Philadelphia, Wk 31, vol. 6. *PG*: 17 July 1755.

COLLINS, Edward. Occupation: gardener.
PG: 1 June 1738; 29 December 1747; 9 May 1765.

CRUMP.

DUBREY/DUBREE, Joseph, son of Jacob and wife Hannah. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books D 9:501; I 15:331; I 16:346, all in Briefs of Title, Wk 3, vol. 2. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 10 June 1736; 6 November 1746; 7 November 1754; 24 February 1763. Reinberger and McLean.

ELFRETH, Jeremiah, and wife Mary. Occupation: blacksmith.
Deed books E 2:237; G 2:88; G 3:387; I 7:1; I 16:527; G 2:274; I 3:525. *Statutes at Large*, 22ff. 1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 19 February 1761. Reinberger and McLean. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

FAIR HILL MEETING, Quaker.

FARR/PARR, William.
Briefs of Title to lots of ground in 23rd Ward,, Wk 3, vol. 27. 1767 tax NLE.

FORD.

FOX, Joseph.
Statutes at Large, 22ff. 1767 tax NLE. Reinberger and McLean. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

FRANCIS, Tench. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 23 August 1750. Reinberger and McLean.

GARETSON/GARRETT, Markus or Marcus. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax NLW.

GREEN, Thomas. Occupation: carpenter of Philadelphia. CS.
GLO: 1747-218.

GREENWAY, Robert. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed books H 6:107 and G 4:100.

HALL.
HARPER, John.

Deed book F 7:25.
HARPER.

HARRISON, Henry. Occupation: mariner of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed books H 4:297 and G 10:437, both in Briefs of Title to six lots of ground, Wk 3, vol. 20.

HILLIGAS/HILLEGAS, probably Michael but possibly Peter. Occupation: potter of Philadelphia.
Deed book D 11:438, in Briefs of Title of Rose Hill Estate,, Wk 3, vol. 1. 1767 tax NLE. *Statutes at Large*, 22ff. *PG*: 6 June 1745. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

HOOD, probably Thomas. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book H 7:109, 119, in Briefs of Title to a Tract of Land in North Penn Township,, Wk 3, vol. 17. Will book K:534. *PG*: 4 January 1759.

HOPKINS, Robert. Occupation: baker of Philadelphia.
Deed book G 3:382. 1767 tax NLE. *Statutes at Large*, 22ff. *PG*: 4 October 1744. Reinberger and McLean. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

JAMES, Abel. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
1767 tax NLE.

JONES, Francis, and wife Mary.
Deed books I 16:346 and I 5:339, both in Briefs of Title to lots of ground on the north side of Coat's Street, Wk 3, vol. 2. Will book P:51, 53.

JONES, John. Occupation: brewer of Philadelphia. CS.
Briefs of Title to premises on the west side of Germantown Avenue, Wk 31, vol. 13. 1767 tax NLE and NLW.

KENSINGTON, village.

LOGAN, William. Occupation: merchant. CS.
Briefs of Title, Wk 3, vol. 21. 1767 tax NLE. Reinberger and McLean.

LYNN, Joseph.
Statutes at Large, 22ff. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

MADDOX/MADDOCK, Joshua. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 9:167. *PG*: 26 February 1751.

MASON, Benjamin. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book D 17:389. 1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 16 October 1765.

MASON, Benjamin.
Deed book GWC 53:4, in Briefs of Title to land of the Franklin Land Association, Wk 3, vol. 16. Will book R:149.

MASSEY.

MASTERS, William. Occupation: attorney of Philadelphia. CS.
Will books F:199 and M:38, both in Briefs of Title to several lots or pieces of ground in Penn Township, Wk 3, vol. 1. 1767 tax NLE. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1889): 287–99. *PG*: 5 July 1764; 26 July 1764. Reinberger and McLean.

MEAD, Robert. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 4:129. *PG*: 13 November 1746; 26 April 1759; 16 October 1765.

MEETING, Quaker, at Frankford.

MIFFLIN, Samuel. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books H 4:138 and D 15:56, both in Briefs of Title to a lot of ground situate on the north side of Park Avenue, Wk 3, vol. 2. 1767 tax NLW. John Houston Merrill, *Memorandum Relating to the Mifflin Family* ([Philadelphia]: privately printed, 1890), 6, 8, 12, 36. *PG*: 9 March 1758.

MILL, west of Kensington, possibly at the spot of the Governor's Mill, north of Cohocksink Creek. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1881), 1:40, 478.

MOLAND, John. Occupation: attorney. CS.
Deed book D 11:438, in Briefs of Title of Rose Hill Estate, Wk 3, vol. 1. Will book 11:438. *PG*: 23 April 1747; 21 May 1747; 7 February 1760.

MOORE, Samuel Preston. Occupation: physician of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 11:647. 1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 30 April 1747; 13 August 1747; 14 February 1749.

MORGAN.

NAGLEE, John. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books F 10:55 and H 7:479, both in Briefs of Title, Wk 3, vol. 1. Will book J:432. *PG*: 13 August 1747.

NICE, Anthony, and wife Mary. Occupation: yeoman and innkeeper.
Deed book H 19:131, in Briefs of Title, Wk 421, vol. 11. *PG*: 9 March 1745.

NORRIS, Isaac. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Briefs of Title for Fairhill, Wk 3, vol. 1. 1767 tax NLE. Reinberger and McLean.

OLDMAN, Joseph. Occupation: blacksmith of Philadelphia.
Deed books G 3:379, 387; G 8:193; I 7:1. *Statutes at Large*, 22ff. *PG*: 26 April 1750. Reinberger and McLean. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

PALMER, George.
GLO: 1747-271.

PASCHALL, Thomas. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
1767 tax NLW.

PEEL, Oswald, and wife Lydia. Occupation: captain and merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed books D 47:73; I 16:346; IC 23:44. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 7 November 1754; 24 February 1763; 17 October 1765. Reinberger and McLean.

PLUMSTEAD, Clement or William.
Deed book I 9:311.

RENSHAW, John.
1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 21 December 1742; 29 January 1749; 29 June 1749; 1 November 1750.

RICKEY, John. Occupation: yeoman.
GLO: 1747-144.

RISING SUN, tavern run by Benjamin Armitage of Bristol.

ROBERTS, George and Hugh. Occupation: shopkeepers of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 9:409. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 19 July 1764.

ROBERTS, Hugh.
1767 tax NLE. *Statutes at Large*, 22ff. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

ROBERTS MILL, on Frankford Creek at York Road; built as early as 1683 by Richard Townsend.
John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1881), 2:27.

ROSS, John. Occupation: attorney of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 14:26, in Briefs of Title to a lot of ground formerly part of the Tusculum Estate, Wk 3, vol. 1. Will book Q:289. 1767 tax NLE.

SAW MILL, at the falls.

SHIPPENS, Edward, Joseph, and William. Multiple houses at the "great plains of Messrs Shippen," an early instance of agribusiness in Philadelphia.
Deed book J 9:544, in Briefs of Title, Wk 421, vol. 9. Will book F:219. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 2 Apr 1761. Randolph Shipley Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania across Five Generations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975).

SHUTE, William, and wife Elizabeth.
Deed book H 1:280. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 2 December 1742; 14 May 1752; 15 May 1760.

SICKLE MILL, at the falls.

SPRINGETTSBURY, country seat of Thomas Penn. CS.
Reinberger and McLean.

STINYARD/STENNARD, Joseph.
PG: 4 November 1736.

SUGAR HOUSE, on Germantown Road just above the city and Pool Brook.

TURNER, Peter, and wife Sarah.
Briefs of Title to two tracts or parcels of land, Wk 3, vol. 1. 1767 tax NLW.

VENABLE/VENABLES, probably Thomas, and wife Rebecca. Occupation: attorney. CS.
Briefs of Title to the Real Estate of the Philadelphia Park Association, Wk 3, vol. 21. Will book I:382. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 5 March 1751. Reinberger and McLean.

WALKERT.

WALN, Richard.
Deed book H 16:340, in Briefs of title to 23 lots of ground on 5th Street north of Indiana, Wk 3, vol. 27;, Wk 31, vol. 5. Will books M:469 and G:140. 1767 tax NLE. *PG*: 27 December 1759. Reinberger and McLean.

WARNER, Edward. Occupation: carpenter.
Briefs of Title to six certain lots or pieces of ground in the District of Richmond, Wk 3, vol. 2. Will books F:219 and K:219. *Statutes at Large*, 22ff. *See also* CALLENDAR, William, and wife Catherine.

WORTHINGTON, Daniel.
PG: 9 July 1752.

ZACHERY, Lloyd. Occupation: physician of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book I 2:267, in Briefs of Title to property bounded by Masters, Jefferson, 18th, and Bouvier Streets., Wk 3, vol. 1; Briefs of Title to the Green Hill Estate, Wk 3, vol. 6. Will book K:483. 1767 tax NLW. *PG*: 5 July 1764. Reinberger and McLean.

Roxborough

LEVERING, Benjamin, William, or Jacob?
Briefs of Title of a Tract of land in Roxborough, Wk 3, vol. 16. *PG*: 8 December 1748; 6 July 1758; 17 November 1763.

ROBESON, Andrew.
PG: 11 May 1749; 25 March 1756. Reinberger and McLean.

Germantown

ALLEN, William. Occupation: attorney of Philadelphia. CS.
PG: 17 May 1753. Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, and Laurie M. Wolf, eds., *Laws and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991–97), 3:309; Reinberger and McLean.

ASHMEAD, Samuel, and wife Sarah. Occupation: blacksmith.
Deed book D 48:189. *PG*: 24 February 1743; 8 October 1747; 29 June 1749.

BELLET/BAILITZ, probably Lawrence. Occupation: joiner.
Deed book G 5:50.

DEWALDENT, Johann Theobaldt Endt. Occupation: saddler.
Deed book I 13:88.

MARKS, Jacob. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book GWR 7:280, 288. *PG*: 5 July 1753; 19 March 1761. Reinberger and McLean.

McCALL, probably Samuel. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 9:313.

MEETING, Quaker at Germantown.

MORGAN, Evan. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.

NAGLEE, John. Occupation: yeoman.
PG: 29 May 1746.

OIL MILL, probably owned by Henry Schreffler.
Pennsylvanische Geshichtes Schreiber, 1 July 1752.

PAPER MILL, in the location of William Rittenhouse's mill on Wissahickon Creek.

POWEL, Samuel. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book E 7-8:137. *PG*: 18 January 1759.

Bristol

ARMITAGE, Benjamin, and wife Jane. Occupation: blacksmith of Philadelphia; innkeeper (Rising Sun Tavern); yeoman.
Deed books H 9:109; H 21:467; G 4:231; H 15:442; H 18:221; F 10:389; E 5-7:105. 1767 tax. *PG*: 27 September 1750.

CART, probably John. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed books H 2:601 and H 13:543.

DILWORTH, James. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book G 3:21. 1767 tax. *PG*: 3 September 1747.

FINNEY, Richard. Occupation: millwright.
Deed books H 1:627 and H 15:442. 1767 tax. *PG*: 23 May 1745.

FOX, Joseph. Occupation: carpenter of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book G 4:159.

GRIFFITHS/GRIFFITH, Thomas. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax.

JONES, Jacob. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax.

LUCANS/LUCKENS/LUKENS, Derrick, John and wife Margaret, or Samuel.
Deed book F 10:385. 1767 tax. *PG*: 2 January 1737.

MOCK, Jacob. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book JAH 242:419.

MORGAN, James. Occupation: yeoman.

PHILIPS, Matthew. Occupation: mariner.
Deed book F 2:282–83.

REAZER/REESOR, Bernard. Occupation: baker and yeoman.
PG: 26 June 1746; 13 June 1754.

RICHARDSON, John. Occupation: gentleman of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 8:163. *PG*: 19 June 1760.

ROBERTS, John. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax.

SPENCER, Joseph. Occupation: yeoman.
Howard M. Jenkins, *Genealogical Sketch of the Descendants of Samuel Spencer of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904), 50–57.

STRETTEL, Robert or Thomas. Occupation: merchant of Philadelphia. CS.
PG: 26 November 1741.

THOMAS, Joseph. Occupation: gentleman of Philadelphia. CS.
Deed book H 14:160.

THOMAS, Nathan. Occupation: tanner.
1767 tax.

WILSON, William. Occupation: yeoman.
1767 tax. *PG*: 15 November 1753.

Oxford

BRISTOW/BRISTOL, Dan. Occupation: shipwright.
Deed book H 1:627, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 6. 1767 tax. GLO: 1747-457.

BUZBY/BURBY/BUSBY; including BUZBY'S MILL, probably Thomas; possibly also William and wife Sarah, or Isaac. Occupations: yeomen and millers.
Deed books: E 1:338; D 2:210; G 12:351; H 7:271; H 8:32; F 7:14. 1767 tax. *PG*: 25 October 1752.

CRANE, Richard.
GLO: 1739-042.

EDWARDS, John.
PG: 14 November 1754.

HALL, Jacob or John. Occupation: John = innkeeper.
Deed book H 1:627, in Briefs of Title, Wk 31, vol. 6. 1767 tax. *PG*: 19 December 1749.

HARPER, John, Joseph, or Charles. Occupations: yeoman and carpenter.
GLO: 1736-079; 1724-417; 1724-267; 1736-078. *PG*: 18 February 1746.

HUSTON/HUSON, John. Occupation: carpenter.
1767 tax.

LEECH, Isaac. Occupation: tanner.
Deed book G 5:123. *PG*: 25 March 1756.

LEECH, Joseph. Occupation: yeoman.
Deed book G 12:181. *PG*: 26 April 1759.

MARL, John.
Deed book G 6:139. *PG*: 16 August 1744.

McVAUGH, James. Occupation: innkeeper.
PG: 27 June 1745.

MILL, on Frankford Creek near Oxford Church.

MOORE. Occupation: physician. CS.

OXFORD CHURCH, Anglican.

PAUL, Henry or Joseph. Occupation: yeoman and carpenter.
GLO: 1740-174. *PG*: 13 October 1757; 26 April 1759.

SYNG, Philip. Occupation: physician. CS.

WALLN/WALN, Robert. Occupation: yeoman.
PG: 9 November 1738; 2 November 1752. Reinberger and McLean.

WHITMAN, Nathan and wife Rebecca, or Richard. Occupation: yeomen.
Deed book H 7:271. 1767 tax. *PG*: 22 November 1764.

Cheltenham

BOLTON, descendants of Everard Bolton. Occupation: yeomen of Cheltenham.
Deed books E 3-6:56 and G 1:28, 144.

HEAG.

THOMAS, John.
Deed books H 12:167 and H 10:158.

WHITE.

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Notes

Short Titles and Abbreviations

The following short titles and abbreviations are used in the notes:

Belmont	Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A., & Associates, *Belmont Mansion, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia: Historic Structures Report*. [Philadelphia]: Fairmount Park Council for Historic Sites for the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, [1992].
Chesapeake House	Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury, eds. *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013.
Cliveden	Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A., & Associates. *Cliveden Historic Structures Report*. 5 vols. Philadelphia, 1994.
CP	Chew Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Graeme Park	Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A., & Associates. *Historic Structures Report: Graeme Park*. [Philadelphia], 1987.
Hope Lodge	Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A., & Associates. *Historic Structures Report: Hope Lodge*. 2 vols. [Philadelphia], 1987.
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
JLP	James Logan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
LCP	Library Company of Philadelphia.
L&L	Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, and Laurie M. Wolf, eds. *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991–97.
Mount Pleasant	John M. Dickey. *Historic Structures Report: Mount Pleasant*. Philadelphia, 1987.

OED	Compact Edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.
Penn-Logan	*Correspondence Between William Penn and James Logan, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Others*. Ed. Edward Armstrong. 2 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870.
Philadelphia County Deed Books	Deed books of Philadelphia County, available on microfilm at Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in the County of Philadelphia Deed Records.
PMHB	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.
PP	Peters Family Papers, 1687–1871, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Partly bound in 13 vol.
PTP Micro	*Microfilm Edition of the Papers of Thomas Penn*. Ed. John D. Kilbourne. 10 reels. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1968.
PWP	*Papers of William Penn*. Ed. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard Dunn. 5 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981–86.
PWP Micro	*Microfilm Edition of the Papers of William Penn*. 14 reels. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1975.
Rosenbach	Rosenbach Museum & Library, Philadelphia.
Stenton	Reed Laurence Engle for John M. Dickey. *Historic Structures Report: Stenton*. Media, PA, 1982.
Stenton Furnishings	Laura C. Keim. *Stenton Room Furnishings Study*. N.p.: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 2011. Also available at http://stenton.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Stenton_RoomFurnStudy2012.pdf.
Summerseat	Martin Jay Rosenblum, R.A., & Associates, *Historic Structures Report: Summerseat*. Philadelphia, 1994.

Introduction

1. This is the theme of John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

2. James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 37–42.

3. Ibid., 43–58.

4. Ibid., 63–82.

5. *Caledonian Mercury*, 1790, quoted in John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1997), 72.

6. On taste in the eighteenth-century English world, see the introduction to *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 14–20. On dangers seen in luxury, see Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, xxii, 53.

7. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, xv. The actualization of the self in seventeenth-century English literature is discussed in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. M. H. Abrams, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Norton, 1974), 1556.

8. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, xvii, 3–6, 9, 59, 74, 182; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 17.

9. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 39; Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 162.

10. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, xix, 12, 19.

11. Ibid., 419.

12. Ibid., 71. See also chapters by Karen Lipsedge, Claire Walsh, Ann Smart Martin, and Hannah Greig in Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*.

13. Discussed thoroughly in Sarah Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008).

14. The best source on aspects of emerging urban society in England is Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), e.g., 222–23.

15. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 33.

16. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 627; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 27 (on appropriation).

17. Carl Bridenbaugh, "Patrick M'Robert's *Tour through Part of the North Provinces of America*," *PMHB* 59 (1935): 167.

18. It is for this reason that we have left out Harriton, in Lower Merion Township, built in 1704 by the Welsh Quaker Rowland Ellis on 690 acres. In 1719 Ellis sold the place to Richard Harrison, a Maryland planter who moved his family and slaves there to raise tobacco in the Tidewater style. See Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 202–5.

19. Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), 23; Hannah Greig, "Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's *Beau Monde*," in Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, 309.

20. Michael Zuckerman, ed., *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 11.

21. Ned C. Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 12.

22. Ibid., 1.

23. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 1.

CHAPTER 1 *The Bourgeois Country House in England*

1. John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 24.

2. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 7–15, 27–29; Linda Hall, "Yeoman or Gentleman? Problems in Defining Social Status in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gloucestershire," *Vernacular Architecture* 22 (1991): 2–19; Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London: University College of London Press, 1994), 12; Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, ed. and foreword by Karl D. Bülbring (London: David Nutt, 1890), xl; Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 6–7, 12; J. T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 5; John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 39. For provincial towns, see Mark Girouard, *The English Town: A History of Urban Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 112–13.

3. Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1978), 10, 16; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 103–114; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 3, 11, 253.

4. Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, 3.

5. Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 283 (quotation), 288–89, 292–93, 296, 309; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 131.

6. Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, 122–28; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 315.

7. Thomas Smith, *A Discourse on the Commonwealth of this Realm of England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Folger Library, [1969]), 83–84, quoted in Platt, *Great Rebuildings*, 2, 5.

8. Plutarch, "Life of Crassus," in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. John Dryden, ed. A. H. Clough, 5 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1906), 3:31.

9. Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman* (London, 1729), 268.

10. Roger North, *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, ed. Howard Colvin and John Newman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 4, 31.

11. George Colman the Elder and David Garrick, "The Clandestine Marriage," quoted in *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, by John Brewer (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1997), 627.

12. Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), 134–36.

13. Platt, *Great Rebuildings*, 15, 21; Shammas, *Pre-industrial Consumer*, 159; Robert Machin, "The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment," *Past and Present* 77 (November 1977): 33–56; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 19, 62–68.

14. Daniel Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* ([Newark]: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1986), 39–41.

15. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 32–38, 46, 66; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 284–85; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 55, 74.

16. Maurice W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 27, 86, 104, 148; R. W. Brunskill, *Houses* (London: Collins, 1982), 46, 60.

17. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 70–71.

18. Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 299–301; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 17; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 88; Hall, "Yeoman or Gentleman?," 8.

19. Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses*, 23–26; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 25.

20. Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995), 14.

21. Joseph Manca, in "A Matter of Style: The Questions of Mannerism in Seventeenth-Century American Furniture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 38 (Spring 2003): 1–36, questions whether the term *mannerism* should be used for such work, specifically seventeenth-century American furniture. He is undoubtedly correct that the term is misused if it is intended to suggest that English and American design possessed the deliberately ironic ambiguity, exaggerated refinement and distortion, and perhaps overcultivated connoisseurship that characterized sixteenth-century Italian work. Northern European and American artisans were simply trying to produce work that was *classical*, as they understood the term, part of their attempt to emerge from medieval style. Manca is also correct to point out that many of the details that we associate with mannerism can be found in work of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that is not identified by art historians as mannerist. However, some of the forms of the mannerist phase of Italian design did appear in work north of the Alps in the seventeenth century. Moreover, the term *mannerist* suggests the contrast between this mid- and late-seventeenth-century design and the canonical correctness and chastity of the courtly architecture of Inigo Jones before and the early-eighteenth-century English Palladians afterwards. Therefore, considerably watered down, the term still is appropriate for this phase of the Anglo-American renaissance.

22. Elizabeth V. Chew, "'A mockery of the Surveyor's style'? Alternatives to Inigo Jones in Seventeenth-Century Elite British Architecture," in *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture*, ed. Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 81.

23. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 93, 96, 98, 102–4.

24. Ibid., 11, 106, 273; Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, 16.

25. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 78, 202; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 277, 286–89.

26. Hall, "Yeoman or Gentleman?," 5; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 289–92; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 58–59, 102–3, 138; Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, 46, 54.

27. North, *Of Building*, 132–35; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 130–35; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 296–98; Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, 3; *OED*, s.v. "closet"; Maurice Barley, "A Glossary of Names for Rooms in Houses of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Culture and Environment: Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox*, ed. L. L. Foster and L. Alcock (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 481.

28. *OED*, s.v. “withdrawing”; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 292; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 57, 94, 99, 204.

29. North, *Of Building*, 134.

30. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 129, 184.

31. North, *Of Building*, 134; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 278–80; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 164, 166–70; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 121, 300; Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, 163–64; Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, 27.

32. North, *Of Building*, 68, 128, *OED*, s.v. “chamber” and “dining room”; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 288, 293; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 151, 162; Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, 26, 30.

33. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 242, 303; North, *Of Building*, 124, 130–31; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 151.

34. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 289–92; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 122, 138; North, *Of Building*, 122; Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, 71.

35. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 242, 295, 297.

36. North, *Of Building*, 123, 129; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 93; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 310–16.

37. Platt, *Great Rebuildings*, 47.

38. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 72, 307; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 151; Barley, “Glossary of Names,” 492. On the location of the kitchen, see Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 146.

39. North, *Of Building*, 94, 99, 141; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 307; Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, 1.

40. Peter Borsay has called it the “English urban renaissance.” See Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 37.

41. Anthony Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 236, 245, 249.

42. Ursula Priestley and P. J. Corfield, “Room and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580–1730,” *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982): 93–123.

43. Carl R. Lounsbury, “The English Origins of the Jamestown Rowhouses,” in *Essays in Early American Architectural History: A View from the Chesapeake* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 83–90; A. F. Kelsall, “The London House Plan in the Later 17th Century,” *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 8 (1974): 80–91; Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terrace House* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 79–100.

44. Girouard, *English Town*, 121, claims that room use was much the same in the city as in the country.

45. Sylvia Collier, *Whitehaven, 1660–1800: A New Town of the Late Seventeenth Century* (London: HMSO, 1991), 69–79; Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, 232.

46. William A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 14.

47. Peter Kalm, *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his way to America in 1748*, trans. Joseph Lucas (London: Macmillan, 1892).

48. Thomas Fairchild, *The City Gardener. Containing the most experienced method of cultivating and ordering such ever-greens, fruit-trees, flowering shrubs flowers, exotick plants, &c. as will be ornamental, and thrive best in the London gardens* (London, 1722), 13. Fairchild had an interesting “carrot” for his readers: to “delight themselves in Gardening 'tho they have never so little Room, and prepare their Understanding to enjoy the Country, when their Trade and Industry has given the Riches enough to retire for Business.”

49. James Howell, writing in 1619, quoted in Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 323; see also 163.

50. Arnold, *Georgian Country House*, 117–27.

51. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 128, 264; North, *Of Building*, 62.

52. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 129–41.

53. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 78.

54. John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), 74–75, 80; Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses*, 29, 34.

55. Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685–1712*, ed. Christopher Morris (London: MacDonald, 1982), 47.

56. Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnston, *Compass and Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England, 1500–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 83.

57. North, *Of Building*, 22; Cliffe, *World of the Country House*, 19, 71.

58. North, *Of Building*, 24.

59. Richard Neve, *City and Countrey Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (London, 1703), 59–72, 85; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 249; *OED*, s.v. "receipt"; North, *Of Building*, 89ff.

60. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 68; North, *Of Building*, 34; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 36–39.

61. North, *Of Building*, 9, 28, 63, 68–69.

62. Timothy Nourse, *Campania Foelix or, a Discourse of the Benefits and Improvements of Husbandry* (London, 1700), 297, 303–14; Platt, *Great Rebuildings*, 126–27.

63. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 150, 170–72.

64. John Bold, "The Design of a House for a Merchant, 1724," *Architectural History* 33 (1990): 75–82.

65. The development of the English compact house is the *raison d'être* of Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*.

66. Roy Strong, *Renaissance Garden* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 135.

67. William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (London, 1618); John Rea, *Flora: seu, De Florum Cultura, Or a Complete Florilege* (London, 1665); John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (London, 1629); John Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae, or The Art of Gardening* (London, 1677).

68. Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae*, 16–17.

69. David Jacques, "Garden Design in the Mid-Seventeenth Century," in "Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman," special issue, *Architectural History* (Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain) 44 (2001): 365–76.

70. John Evelyn introduced the term *avenue* in 1656, describing the "sweet and faire avenue planted with stately Lime-trees in 4 rows for neere a mile in length" at New Hall. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), entry dated 10 July 1656, quoted in Jacques, "Garden Design," 370.

71. Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, 306; Laurence Hyde Rochester, *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon* (London: H. Colburn, 1828), 238.

72. Jacques, "Garden Design," 371.

73. Sir Henry Chauncy, *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (Bristol, 1700); Timothy Mowl, "John Drapentier's Views of Gentry Gardens in Hertfordshire," *Garden History* 29, no. 2 (2001): 152–70.

74. Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, *Britannia Illustrata, or Views of Several of the Queens Palaces, also of the Principal seats of the nobility and Gentry of Great Britain* (London, 1707).

75. The foundational sources on Palladianism are Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 216–29; and Rudolph Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 95–114. More recent sources that incorporate these original studies and add to them are cited below.

76. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 37.

77. For one of the more recent discussions of the English baroque, see ibid., 71. For an earlier one, see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 125–83.

78. See, on these points, Arnold, *Georgian Country House*, 13, 107.

79. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 62–66.

80. Steven Parissien, *Palladian Style* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 85–86, 129. Other writers, including James Gibbs, also discussed proper proportions of rooms and other architectural elements.

81. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 223–25.

82. Ibid., 85.

83. John James, quoted in ibid., 90.

84. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 110.

85. Ibid., 113–15.

86. Parissien, *Palladian Style*, 129.

87. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 129.

88. Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), cited in Parissien, *Palladian Style*, 124.

89. Barbara Arciszewska, "Classicism: Constructing the Paradigm in Continental Europe and Britain," in Arciszewska and McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism*, 21.

90. See e.g., *The Marriage Settlement*, the first painting in Hogarth's series *Marriage à-la-Mode*, in which an impoverished aristocrat essentially sells his son (and thus his title) in marriage to the daughter of a wealthy member of the bourgeoisie so that he can continue building a house that copies Palladio's Villa Pisani at Montagnana. The quotation is from Alexander Pope, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington* (London, 1731).

91. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 197.

92. Barbara Burlison Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 55.

93. Parissien, *Palladian Style*, 153.

94. Inigo Jones, quoted in Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 198.

95. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 208.

96. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 155, shows a dramatic example of Kent's interiors at Houghton Hall.

97. Michael Spens, "Andrea Palladio and the New Spirit in Architecture," *Studio International*, 14 February 2009, accessed 10 July 2013, http://www.studiointernational.com/index.php/review-andrea-palladio-his-life-and-legacy/.

98. Timothy Mowl, "Directions from the Grave: The Problem with Lord Shaftesbury," *Garden History* 32, no. 1 (2004): 36.

99. Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), 35–37.

100. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftsbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, John Darby, 1714), 2:398, quoted in Mowl, "Directions from the Grave," 39.

101. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 412 (1712).

102. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988); A. J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *La theorie et la pratique du jardinage* (Paris 1709), translated into English in London in 1712; Stephen Switzer, *Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (London, 1715), enlarged as *Ichonographia Rustica: Or, the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (London: D. Browne et al., 1718). Switzer's concept of the *ferme ornée* would cross the Atlantic.

103. John Dixon Hunt deals with this background thoroughly in "'Palladian' Gardening," chap. 11 in *Garden and Grove* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1988).

104. Mavis Batey, "The Way to View Rousham by Kent's Gardener," *Garden History* 11, no. 2 (1983): 125–32.

105. See Jean O'Neill and Elizabeth P. McLean, *Peter Collinson and the Eighteenth-Century Natural History Exchange* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008).

106. John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 February 1779, in *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762–1784*, ed. L. H. Butterfield, M. Friedlaender, and Mary-Jo Kline (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 186, quoted in Corliss Knapp Engle, "John Adams, Farmer and Gardener," *Arnoldia* 61, no. 4 (2002): 11.

CHAPTER 2 *The Bourgeois Country House in the Colonies*

1. Edwin Wolf 2nd, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1751* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974), xix–xx.

2. *L&L*, vols. 1 and 2. Penn himself noted the arrivals from other colonies as early as 1683. William Penn to John Aubrey, 13 June 1683, *PWP* 2:394–97.

3. I. N. Phelphs Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915–28), 4:122; Henry H. Kessler and Eugene Rachlis, *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York* (New York: Random House, 1959), 122, 202–5, 219. The quotations are from Dominie Henricus Selyns to the Classis

of Amsterdam, 4 October 1660, http://www.gvshp.org/_gvshp/resources/doc/SNR_BOW.pdf and http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21990/21990-h/21990-h.htm, 42 and n. 14.

4. Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, 3 vols. (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1877), 1:159–60; Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 4:145.

5. Brentano's, *Old Buildings of New York City* (New York, 1907), 175; James D. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 1:406–7.

6. The same might be said of another surviving rural establishment from early New York, the Philipse Manor House in Yonkers, the oldest part of which is traditionally thought to have been built about 1682. The most recent scholar to write about this house affirms the 1682 date for the entire wing that faces south, originally onto the Hudson River, the locus of trade. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 1:411–12 (the caption to Fig. 3.60a, p. 413, contradicts the text, however). If indeed this entire wing (masonry, 25 by 62 feet, five-bay, central hall, single pile, with fireplaces at the rear of each room) is this early, Philipse Manor is a very precocious house and deserves much more attention in the history of colonial architecture than it has received. Although this house form occurred in the early and mid-eighteenth century, Kornwolf himself cites no comparable examples from the seventeenth century. However, this scenario ignores some clues in the fabric of the house—notably the asymmetry in the south wall, an apparent seam in the stonework of the south wall, and differences in the first-floor framing between sections of the south wing—that suggest that the earliest house may have been a two-story structure containing an entrance, a stairhall, and one large room on each floor, the so-called two-thirds Georgian form. (The date of this early structure could be confirmed by dendrochronology.) This early structure was probably enlarged in the first few decades of the eighteenth century by extending it west, making it a roughly symmetrical five-bay, single-pile block. Later still the east wing was added, with a brick facade, and some of the earlier interiors were redone. We thank the Philipse Manor site director, Heather Iannucci (communication 15 July 2003), for the latest research on the house.

7. Charles Arthur Hammond, "'Where the Arts and the Virtues Unite': Country Life Near Boston, 1637–1864" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1982), 18–22.

8. Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 95.

9. Will of John Endicott, quoted in *Gardens of Colony and State: Gardens and Gardeners of the American Colonies and of the Republic before 1840*, ed. Alice B. Lockwood, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons for the Garden Club of America, 1931–34), 1:63.

10. St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 20; Charles M. Endicott, "Memoir of Governor Endicott," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 1 (July 1847): 201–24.

11. Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625–1725* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Robert Blair St. George, "'Set Thine House in Order': The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England," in *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 159–88; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 103.

12. St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 83.

13. "History of New England," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., 6 (1815): 334, quoted in *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, by Fiske Kimball (1922; repr., New York: Dover, 1966), 12.

14. St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 18–82.

15. Ibid., 85; Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:1012–13.

16. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:1085; *First Period Architecture in Newbury and Salem, Massachusetts* (printed for the annual meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1992).

17. St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 268–71.

18. Abbott Lowell Cummings, "The Beginnings of Provincial Renaissance Architecture in Boston, 1690–1725," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (March 1983): 43–53.

19. The building was destroyed by fire in 1864. Kimball, *Domestic Architecture*, 44–45, 269; Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1873), 235; N. B.

Shurliff, *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill City Printers, 1891), 593–604; Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 3.

20. William Penn to James Harrison, 8 February 1687, in "The Penn Correspondence in Relation to Pennsbury," *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 41, no. 3 (July 1939): 407; William Penn to Phineas Pemberton Jr., 8 February 1687, *PWP Micro*.

21. Willie Graham et al., "Adaptation and Innovation: Archaeological and Architectural Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 64 (July 2007): 475–84.

22. For a good statement of the changes in house planning, see ibid., 496–502.

23. Henry Chandler Forman, *The Architecture of the Old South* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1948), 107–112; Forman, *Maryland Architecture* (Cambridge, MD: Tidewater, 1968), 15–16, dating the house to 1639; Silas D. Hurry (curator of collections, Historic St. Mary's City), personal communication to Mark Reinberger, 13 August 2003; R. W. Brunskill, *Houses* (London: Collins, 1982), 54–55.

24. Virginia Barrett Price, "The Making, Remaking, and Unmaking of Green Spring between 1643 and 1803" (master's thesis, University of Virginia, 2000), 33 (our thanks to Camille Wells for this reference); Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:555–57.

25. Cary Carson, "Plantation Housing: Seventeenth Century," in *Chesapeake House*, 107, 110, 112.

26. Roger Leech, personal communication to Mark Reinberger, 2005.

27. St. George, "Set Thine House in Order," 168–69, 172; Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Inside the Massachusetts House," in *Common Places*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 219–39; Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17 (Summer/Autumn 1982): 104; Carl Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 69–70, 173, 260.

28. Mark Wenger, "Town House & Country House," in *Chesapeake House*, 122–33; Cummings, "Inside the Massachusetts House," 225, 227; Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II*, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 137–49; Wenger, "The Dining Room in Early Virginia," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, III*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 149–59; Lounsbury, *Illustrated Glossary*, 83, 112–13, 211, 262, 361. For uses of the "closet" in New England, see Robert Blair St. George, "Reading Spaces in Eighteenth-Century New England," in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 93–97.

29. Peter Martin, "'Long and Assiduous Endeavors': Gardening in Early Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 113.

30. Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America, in the Years 1759 and 1760* (London: T. Payne, 1775), 39.

31. Edmund T. Delaney, *New York's Greenwich Village* (Barre, MA: Barre, 1968), 11–14; Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 3:865–66.

32. Edmund T. Delaney, *New York's Turtle Bay Old and New* (Barre, MA: Barre, 1965), 4; Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, vol. 1, map and pp. 75 and 569; Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:1140.

33. Morrison, *Early American Architecture*, 481.

34. Arthur L. Finney, "The Royal House in Medford: A Re-Evaluation of the Structural and Documentary Evidence," in *Architecture in Colonial Massachusetts*, by Abbott Lowell Cummings (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1979), 23–41; St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 273–76.

35. Lockwood, *Gardens of Colony and State*, 1:41–42.

36. Morrison, *Early American Architecture*, 484–85; Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:1101.

37. Boston Landmarks Commission, *Report on the Potential Designation of the Loring-Greenough House, 12 South Street, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, as a Landmark under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as Amended* (Boston, 1999), 10.

38. St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 271.

39. Ezra D. Hines, "Browne Hall," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* 32 (1896): 201–36; "A Stately Pleasure-House," ibid. 31 (1895): 205–12; Alexander Hamilton, *The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander*

Hamilton in 1744, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 120–21; Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:1100.

40. Bainbridge Bunting and Robert H. Nylander, *Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge, Report Four: Old Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Historical Commission, 1973), 19–20.

41. Morrison, *Early American Architecture*, 493–95; Samuel Batcheler, "Notes on Colonel Henry Vassall," *Cambridge Historical Society Collections*, January 1915, 9–15.

42. Alexander Spotswood to John Spotswood, 17 August 1710, in "Correspondence of Alexander Spotswood with John Spotswood of Edinburgh," ed. L. J. Cappon, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 60 (April 1852): 227, quoted in "Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens: Translating an Ancient Idyll," by C. Allan Brown, in *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, ed. Therese O'Malley and Marc Treib (Washington, DC: Dunbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 134.

43. Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler III, eds., "The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85 (January 1977): 18–44, quoted in Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens," 139.

44. Ludwig, Baron von Closen, *Revolutionary Journal, 1780–83* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, VA, 1958), 187–88, quoted in Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens," 138.

45. William Byrd II to Mrs. Armiger, 25 June 1729, in *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684–1776*, ed. Marion Tinling, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 1:413, quoted in Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Virginia Plantation Gardens," 137.

46. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:631–93.

47. Ibid., 2:737–46.

48. *Architecture in Annapolis: A Field Guide* (n.p.: Vernacular Architecture Forum and Maryland Historical Trust, 1998), 13; Wenger, "Town House & Country House," 141–43.

49. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:871–72, 879, 889.

50. Ibid., 2:870, 882–84.

51. John Bartram, *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734–1777*, ed. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), quoted in Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:875.

52. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:877.

53. Ibid., 2:912–21. Drayton Hall is traditionally dated to 1738, when the land was purchased. However, recent dendrochronology indicates that the roof-frame timber was cut in 1747 or 1748. Since there is no evidence that the roof was changed, this suggests a construction date in the years shortly thereafter (1748–50). Michael J. Worthington and Jane I. Seiter, "The Tree-Ring Dating of Drayton Hall, Charleston, South Carolina," Oxford Tree-Ring Laboratory, Report 2012/06 (2012).

54. Amy D. Schwartz, "Colonial New England Agriculture: Old Visions, New Directions," *Agricultural History* 69 (Summer 1995): 456.

55. William Pearsley, *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), 22.

56. It was not until the twentieth century that the solution was found: to graft European grapes onto native stock.

57. John Gerard, *The herbal or generall historie of plantes . . . very much enlarged and amended by Thomas Johnson* (London: Adam Islip, Joice Norton and Richard Whitakers, 1633); John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (London, 1629); Nicholas Culpeper, *The English physitian: or an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation* (London: Peter Cole, 1652).

58. "The lasting value of William Wood's *New Englands Prospect* [London, 1634] is threefold: as natural history, as ethnology, and as an example of early American descriptive literature," wrote Alden T. Vaughan in William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, edited with an introduction by Alden T. Vaughan (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), 7.

59. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, quoted in *Early American Gardens: "For Meate or Medicine,"* by Anne Leighton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 42. Leighton's appendix, "Plants Mentioned by Explorers, Settlers, Underwriters and Visitors as Growing in Seventeenth-Century New England, Either found Growing or Planted by those who came here to live," is particularly useful.

60. Leighton, *Early American Gardens,* 190. Winthrop's order was placed on 26 July 1631.

61. Ibid., 48.

62. Reprinted in John Josselyn, *Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of Two Voyages to New-England*, ed. Paul J. Lindholdt (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1988); see 43, 87–89, 131.

63. Hannah Penn to James Logan, summer 1700, in *Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania*, by Sophie Hutchinson Drinker (Philadelphia: privately printed under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1958), 12.

64. *South Carolina Gazette and Advertiser*, 19 January 1769.

65. Lockwood, *Gardens of Colony and State*, 1:64.

66. *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774*, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1957), 44, 90.

67. U. P. Hedrick, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860; with an Addendum of Books Published from 1861–1920 by Elisabeth Woodburn* (1950; repr., Portland, OR: Timber Press, 1988), 47.

68. Robinson's Transcripts, 1639, 216, quoted in Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, 99.

69. Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, 100.

70. Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, letter appended to William Berkeley's "Perfect description and View of Virginia," as reprinted in *Tracts and Other Papers*, ed. Peter Force (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), quoted in *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia from Jamestown to Jefferson*, by Peter Martin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 7–8.

71. "Colonel William Fitzhugh of Westmoreland County, is said to have had, in 1686, an orchard of 2500 apple trees 'of many varieties such as main, pippins rusentens, costards, marigolds, kings, magitens, and bachelors' most of them grafted and well fenced." Quoted in Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, 104.

72. Hedrick, *History of Horticulture*, 102

73. Pearsley, *Relation of Maryland*, quoted in ibid., 99.

74. For a full description of the garden at Bacon's Castle, see Nicholas Luccketti, "Archaeological Excavations at Bacon's Castle, Surry County, Virginia," in *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology*, ed. William M. Kelso and Rachel Most (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 23–42.

75. Ibid., 27.

76. William Rieley, of Rieley and Associates in Charlottesville, Virginia, believes that the rows could represent later plantings. Personal communication to Elizabeth McLean, 13 June 2013.

77. Margaret Page Bemiss, *Historic Virginia Gardens* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 3–15.

78. Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Eighteenth-Century New England Garden Design," in Maccubbin and Martin, *British and American Gardens*, 132–33. This painting by an unknown artist is owned by the Lamont Gallery, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, NH.

79. Lockwood, *Gardens of Colony and State*, 1:39–40.

80. Solomon Drown, *Diary*, quoted in "Rhode Island," by Alice Brayton, in Lockwood, *Gardens of Colony and State*, 1:217–21. Drown's later garden was Mount Hygeia, in Foster, west of Providence.

81. "By 1770 the picturesque garden had established itself from New York to South Carolina." James D. Kornwolf, "The Picturesque in the American Garden and Landscape before 1800," in Maccubbin and Martin, *British and American Gardens*, 99.

82. Eliza Lucas to Miss Bartlett, [c. 1743], in *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739–1762*, ed. Elise Pinckney (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 61.

83. "Autobiography and Diary of Mrs. Eliza Clitherall," Collection 00158, Southern Historical Collection at the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, quoted in "People and Plants: North Carolina's Garden History Revisited," by John Flowers, in Maccubbin and Martin, *British and American Gardens*, 125.

84. John Smith, *Hannah Logan's Courtship . . . as related in the diary of her lover, the Honorable John Smith*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904), 74.

85. Barbara Wells Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake, 1700–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 20–49. John Adams described Carroll's garden at Mount Clare in February 1777: "There is a most beautifull Walk from the House down to the Water. There is a descent,

not far from the House. You have a fine Garden—then you descend a few steps and have another fine Garden—you go down a few more and have another." Michael F. Trostel, *Mount Clare: Being an Account of the Seat Built by Charles Carroll, Barrister, upon his Lands at Patapsco* (Baltimore: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, 1981), 47–48.

86. William Byrd II, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, ed. John Spenser Bassett (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), 357–58, quoted in Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening*, 28–29.

CHAPTER 3 *The Rise of the Philadelphia Country House*

1. *PWP* 2:3, 3:25.

2. Harry Emerson Wildes, *William Penn* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 33–42; *PWP* 1:35; William Penn, "An account of my journey into Holland and Germany, 12 September 1677," ibid. 1:476.

3. William Penn to the Earl of Romney, 6 September 1701, *PWP* 4:80.

4. Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 22, 51, 121.

5. William Penn, *The Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims, Relating to the Conduct of Human Life*, 11th ed. (Philadelphia: Benjamin Johnson, 1794), 46–47. One of the earliest summaries of this line of thought appears in the earliest history of gardening, Stephen Switzer's *The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (London, 1715), 12–71.

6. Penn, *Fruits of Solitude*, 10–12.

7. William A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 28–29, 148–53, 160–65.

8. William Penn, *Fruits of a Father's Love: Being the Advice of William Penn to His Children*, 9th ed. (Philadelphia: Benjamin Johnson, 1794), 21.

9. William Penn to Gulielma Penn and children, 4 August 1682, *PWP* 2:269–77.

10. William Penn, *No Cross, No Crown* (London, 1669), pt. 1, 494–96, as quoted in "'For the Like Uses, as the Moor-Fields': The Politics of Penn's Squares," by Elizabeth Milroy, *PMHB* 130 (2006): 277.

11. Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 17–18.

12. Alan Tully, *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726–1755* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 75.

13. Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," *PMHB* 92 (1968): 3–47, 143–94; Sylvia Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), 103.

14. Penn's basic scheme was first outlined in "Certaine Conditions or Concessions agreed upon by William Penn" to the First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, *PWP* 2:98–102.

15. As noted on the 1687 "Mapp of ye Improved Part of Pensilvania in America," by Thomas Holme.

16. William Penn, "Instructions given by me William Penn Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania to . . . my [three] Commissioners for the settleing of the present Collony," *PWP* 2:118–23, quoted and discussed in Roach, "Planting of Philadelphia," 19–21.

17. Penn, "Instructions," *PWP* 2:120.

18. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 22, 71.

19. William Penn to John Alloway, 29 November 1683, *PWP* 2:503.

20. William Penn, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania in America* (London, 1681).

21. Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681–1726* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 25.

22. Ibid., 7, 9, 17.

23. Ibid., 52; Wildes, *William Penn*, 136–37.

24. Wildes, *William Penn*, 142–43, 156.

25. Roach, "Planting of Philadelphia," 27–30, 44. See also *PWP* 2:359.

26. Roach, "Planting of Philadelphia," 179.

27. Thomas Fairman to William Penn, 27 August 1705, *PWP* 4:385.

28. William Penn to James Harrison, 28 January 1687, ibid. 3:138.

29. Schisms among Quakers over the issue of authority within the Society were legion. See, e.g., ibid. 1:258n2 for the Mucklow controversy; and ibid. 1:327 for the Wilkinson-Story schism.

30. Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 275.

31. These words refer to all land in Pennsylvania and come from Charles II's charter to William Penn. *PWP* 2:65. See also Wildes, *William Penn*, 128.

32. Wildes, *William Penn*, 197–98.

33. Robert Turner to William Penn, 26 June 1697, *PWP Micro*.

34. On Penn's ideal of the "country life," see Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape, and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat," *Winterthur Portfolio* 32 (Winter 1997): 243–74. Terry A. McNealy notes in *History of Bucks County* ([Fallsington, PA]: Bucks County Historical-Tourist Commission, 1970), 40–41, that the full legal implications of Penn's manors were never emphasized and that Penn did not want Pennsbury to be extravagant or ostentatious.

35. Samuel Carpenter to William Penn, 19 November 1698, *PWP* 3:558; Penn to Carpenter and others, 1 December 1697, ibid. 3:531; Wildes, *William Penn*, 289.

36. *PWP* 3:565.

37. William Penn to James Logan, 22 August 1700, *PWP Micro*.

38. Wildes, *William Penn*, 319, 324–26.

39. Penn in fact deeded Pennsbury to William Jr. in 1703, although the legal status of this indenture is in doubt. See indenture between Penn and William Penn Jr., 4 May 1703, *PWP Micro*.

40. William Penn to James Logan, 1 April 1703, *PWP* 4:219; *Penn-Logan*, 1:181.

41. Indeed, Penn had used *box* even earlier to indicate a small wood-framed house, a nuance of meaning not appearing in the *OED*. William Penn to James Harrison, Robert Turner, and Thomas Holme, c. early April 1686, *PWP Micro*.

42. William Penn to James Logan, 27 February 1709, *PWP* 4:638. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1881), 1:139, also quotes three letters from Robert Fairman, brother of Thomas, to Jonathan Dickinson dating from 1711 and 1715 that deal with Penn's desire to settle at Shackamaxon.

43. William Penn to James Logan, 26 June 1709, *PWP Micro*. Pegg was a brickmaker who lived just north of Philadelphia in the Liberties.

44. Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 252–53; James Logan to William Penn, 28 May 1706, *PWP* 4:533, 538; Samuel Carpenter to Penn, 15 August 1706, ibid. 4:555.

45. *PWP* 4:707.

46. On Penn's and Quaker ideals of plainness in living, see Reinberger and McLean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill," 243–74. On Quaker negotiation of worldly wealth and calls to be plain, see J. William Frost, "From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture," in *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*, ed. Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 16–40. In the same volume, Bernard Herman, "Eighteenth-Century Quaker Houses in the Delaware Valley and the Aesthetics of Practice," 206, notes that while the houses of wealthy yeoman Quakers were well above average in size and appointment for the region, and their furnishings demonstrated "behaviors of polite sociability and gentility," they were "far from luxurious" by the standards of the day.

47. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884), 1:162–63. More recent historians have tempered the claims of Penn's stately lifestyle, though as recently as 1956 Catherine Peare spoke of his need to live in "stately elaborateness" and at least somewhat overemphasized Pennsbury as a center of hospitality. Catherine Owens Peare, *William Penn: A Biography* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1956), 368, 372.

48. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 2:101.

49. John Fanning Watson to [Robert Vaux?], 26 August 1826, Am 30163—Letters to John F. Watson, 1823–28, 151, HSP. This and other letters suggest that Watson and others traveled to Pennsbury and spoke with local people about their memories of the place. Perhaps the legends reflect local lore, exaggerated with retelling.

50. John Richardson, *An Account of the Life of that Ancient Servant of Jesus Christ, John Richardson* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1783), 133–38.

51. Penn, *Fruits of Solitude*, 22.

52. Ibid., 64–65.

53. Penn, *Fruits of a Father's Love*, 18–21.

54. George Fox to Henry Sidon, 25 May 1677, *PWP* 1:376–77.

55. Wildes, *William Penn*, 64; *PWP* 2:287–90.

56. William Penn to Hannah Callowhill, 9 February and 28 January 1696, *PWP* 3:431–35, 425–27.

57. The 1687 inventory is in the Pennsylvania Archives, Harrisburg. The 1701 inventory is published in *PWP* 4:132–35. See also Samuel Carpenter Accounts, July 1684–1709, *PWP Micro*; "William Penn's Account with Samuel Jennings, Receiver General, 1690–1693," *PMHB* 35 (1911): 199–210; and William Penn cash book, 1699–1700, *PWP Micro*.

58. See Wildes, *William Penn*, 315, for an attempt to make the barge into something like a luxury yacht.

59. On the survival of this traditional mode, see Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 35.

60. William Penn to James Harrison, 11 30 July and 3 August 1685, *PWP Micro*.

61. Richard S. Dunn, "Penny Wise and Pound Foolish: Penn as Businessman," in *The World of William Penn*, ed. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 37–52, describes Penn's naive business practices and inattention to his situation. Dunn uses somewhat different terms to describes Penn's spending, saying that he was "extravagant" but never a "voluptuary." He also explains that much of what Penn spent was in promotion of Quaker causes and lobbying.

62. Ned C. Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 75.

63. Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 87–91.

64. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 33.

65. Sir Richard Dutton, quoted in *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624–1670*, by Carl Bridenbaugh (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 269.

66. Jean-Baptiste Du Tetre, quoted in "Furniture and Furnishings in Barbados during the 17th Century," by Neville Connell, *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 24 (1956–57): 115.

67. See, e.g., *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 3 March 1768.

68. Alexander Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis, 20 January 1768, in *PMHB* 11 (1887): 277, quoted in Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 95.

69. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 114; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

70. Gabriel Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630–1707*, ed. Albert Cook Myers ([New York]: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1912), 327, quoted in Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 115.

71. Jonathan Dickinson, quoted in Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 2:266.

72. *L&L* 1:110–33.

73. John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 24.

74. Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 62; *L&L* 1:548, 673–78.

75. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962); Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*; Nash, *Quakers and Politics*.

76. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:10.

77. The deed history of this property is somewhat murky. Information here is taken from Damon Tvaryanas, student report for Professor Roger Moss, 1991, on file at Athenaeum of Philadelphia; this reports cites Philadelphia County Deed Books, E 7-10:47. "Survey of Land at Shackamaxon," JLP. The Cock family had been granted land at Shackamaxon in 1664 by the governor of New York. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:136n. There is also a 1684 deed from Peter Cock to Fairman for a tract of land at Shackamaxon, although this may simply have confirmed an earlier purchase.

78. *L&L* 1:396, 443.

79. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:135–36.

80. Philadelphia County Will Books, 1714, no. 22.

81. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:138, states that when the house was torn down in 1825 a brick bearing the inscription "Thomas Fairman September 1702" was found in the wall.

82. Ibid., 1:134, along with a sketch in Watson's sketchbook, HSP.

83. See, e.g., a house at Ryhall, Rutland (1679), and The Priory in Haydor, Lincolnshire (c. 1630), in *The English Farmhouse and Cottage*, by Maurice W. Barley (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), plates xb and xiiia, respectively. In the latter house, the bay contained the stairway, which may also have been true at Fairman's house.

84. English seventeenth-century houses similar in scale and front elevation to Fairman's can be found. A rural example is Walnut Tree Farm, Pirton, in J. T. Smith for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *English Houses, 1200–1800: The Hertfordshire Evidence* (London: HMSO, 1992), 109. A village example is a house in Colly Weston, Northamptonshire, pictured in W. G. Hoskins, "The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570–1640," in *Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 131–48. After Fairman's death, his house and land wound up in the hands of Anthony Palmer, a wealthy merchant from Barbados, who had a long career on the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. Despite his commercial and political business in the city, Palmer lived in the Fairman Mansion and called himself a "gentleman of Shackamaxon." In 1728 Palmer sold his land (about five hundred acres) to the Quaker William Ball (d. 1744), who also retired to the country, renaming the property "Hope Farm." Previous to the sale, Ball styled himself "merchant of Philadelphia"; subsequently he was called "yeoman of Shackamaxon." Deed books G 1:380 and G 3:108, in Brief of Title to the Ball Estate, Wk 3, vol. 6, HSP.

85. *L&L* 1:371–73.

86. Ibid., 2:874–81; Brief of Title to the Ball Estate, Wk 3, vol. 6, HSP.

87. *L&L* 1:257–65.

88. "Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve," *PMHB* 5 (1881): 36, quoted in *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*, by Sarah Fatherly (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 119.

89. *L&L* 1:292–97.

90. Lita H. Solis-Cohen, "Cedar Grove," in Philadelphia Museum of Art publication with unclear citation, article in museum archive.

91. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 98.

92. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 3:437.

93. Philadelphia County Deed Books, I 2:269. At Hill's death the property was sold to Lloyd Zachary. Ibid., 2:267.

94. Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia before 1800* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 155.

95. Philadelphia County Deed Books, H 4:101 and I 11:484, 520.

96. *L&L* 1:993–1001.

97. A similar house in Cranbrook, Kent, is shown in *The English House Through Seven Centuries*, by Olive Cook (London: Nelson, 1968), 147.

98. Bernard L. Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700–1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 23–24.

99. Mark Girouard, *The English Town: A History of Urban Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 114.

100. Randolph Shipley Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania across Five Generations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 11–21.

101. *L&L* 1:666–67.

102. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:368.

103. Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family*, 21–22.

104. *L&L* 1:276.

105. Ibid., 1:374.

106. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1:371.

107. Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 150.

108. Roger H. Leech, “The Garden House: Merchant Culture and Identity in the Early Modern City,” in *Archaeologies of the British*, ed. Susan Lawrence (London: Routledge, 2003), 76–86; Leech, *The St. Michael's Hill Precinct of the University of Bristol* (Bristol, UK: Bristol Record Society, 2000), 22–24.

109. This review of Pennsylvania history is taken mostly from Nash, *Quakers and Politics*.

110. The group included Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Richard Hill, John Goodson, Joseph Growdon, John Simcock, Caleb Pusey, Thomas Holme, Anthony Morris, Samuel Finney, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, and Edward Shippen. Names taken from Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 105–11, and *L&L*, vol. 1. As noted in our introduction, labels such as pro- and antiproprietary must be used with some caution. Almost any individual would have agreed with Penn at times and disagreed at others. Pennsylvania was a virtual theocracy in this period, and Penn was looked on by many as more than a proprietary owner. To many in the colony he was also a spiritual and psychological leader who had made an enormous contribution to Quakerism. But even many Quakers loyal to him were disturbed by such things as Penn's choice of deputy governors (a generally incompetent lot in this era), the behavior of Penn's son William Jr., the snide and supercilious attitude of some Penn officials, notably James Logan, and Penn's constant demands for money from the colony.

111. *L&L* 1:490–505.

112. Wayne Andrews, “A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* 40 (1956): 69–70, quoted in Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 209.

113. Dickinson Letterbook, HSP, quoted in *William Penn's “Holy Experiment”: The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681–1701*, by Edwin B. Bronner (New York: Temple University Publications, 1962), 224–25.

114. Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 332.

115. Tully, *William Penn's Legacy*, 66; Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 34.

116. *L&L* 2:9.

117. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 February 1729.

118. Robert J. Gough, “The Philadelphia Economic Elite at the End of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750–1800*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1994), 29–33. Luke Beckerdite, “An Identity Crisis: Philadelphia and Baltimore Furniture Styles of the Mid Eighteenth Century,” ibid., 244, comments on the relative wealth of Philadelphia craftsmen.

119. Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family*, 42.

120. Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, *Prices in Colonial Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), xxix.

121. Tully, *William Penn's Legacy*, 11–18; *L&L* 2:34–42.

122. Tully, *William Penn's Legacy*, 7–11.

123. For land values for Belair, see Marion W. Rivinus, *Bellair Manor, 1714* (Philadelphia: Bicentennial Women, 1976).

124. For land values for Cliveden, in Germantown, see Philadelphia County Deed Books, B 2:3ff, G 2:42, G 3:66–68, G 6:364, ADB 73:126, 136–39, 145–48, 157–60, 165–69, and H 9:267.

125. *American Weekly Mercury*, 19–26 June 1729.

126. Philadelphia County Deed Books, G 3:108. See also Brief of Title to the Ball Estate, Wk 3, vol. 6, HSP. General Land Office Records, 1724–42, 20 May 1730, refers to Ball as a “yeoman of Shackamaxum.”

127. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 May, 21 August 1740, 2, 8 February, 4 October 1744, 6 June 1745, 9 February 1748, 26 April 1750, 25 February 1752, 19 February 1761, 5 May, 2 June 1763; Philadelphia County Deed Books, G 1:380, G 3:108, E 2:237, G 2:274, D 11:438, G 3:382, G 3:387, I 7:1; Will of James Porteus, Philadelphia County Will Books, F:219; *L&L* 3:523, 662.

128. *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, vol. 4, *1759–1765*, comp. James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders ([Harrisburg]: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1899), 22, chap. 454.

129. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 159.

130. Jacob Hiltzheimer, *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia*, ed. Jacob Cox Parsons (Philadelphia: William F. Fell, 1893), 14, 16.

131. Hannah Callender, “Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender,” ed. George Vaux, *PMHB* 12 (1888): 447–48.

132. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 February 1752.

133. John Smith, *Hannah Logan's Courtship . . . as related in the diary of her lover, the Honorable John Smith*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904), 36.

134. Ibid., 34.

CHAPTER 4 *Fulfillment in the Middle and Late Colonial Periods*

1. See "Thomas Penn," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 43:553.

2. Hannah Benner Roach, "The Back Part of Germantown," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 20, no. 2 (1956): 92, 94.

3. On the Scull and Heap view of Philadelphia, see Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia before 1800* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 42–44. Such maps and views were common for English provincial cities. See Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 82.

4. On the map, see Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Scull and Heap's Map of Philadelphia," *PMHB* 81 (1957): 69–75; and Snyder, *City of Independence*, 36–41.

5. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 5 August 1749, *PTP Micro*.

6. Hockley to Penn, 15 February 1750, ibid.

7. Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, ed. Oscar Handlin and John Clive (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 48–49.

8. Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America, in the Years 1759 and 1760* (London: T. Payne, 1775), 92.

9. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 February 1754, where Joseph Sims, a Philadelphia merchant, advertised Passyunk hay for sale. The following analysis of landowning in the townships around Philadelphia derives in large part from the Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

10. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 40, 43.

11. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24 March 1763.

12. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Kingsessing. Adam Guyer and John Mease held the lease for the estate of John Blakely, along with the herd of 150 cattle and 70 sheep, an enormous number for the time.

13. William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram, Naturalist's Edition*, ed. Francis Harper (1791; repr., Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 121; Mart A. Stewart, *"What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680–1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 95.

14. Jacob Hiltzheimer, *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia*, ed. Jacob Cox Parsons (Philadelphia: William F. Fell, 1893), 10, 11, 14, 17, 27. See also Charles E. Peterson, *Robert Smith: Architect, Builder, Patriot, 1722–1777* (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 2000), 21, for Robert Smith's property, although there is no mention of the country seat, which Hiltzheimer clearly identifies. Smith is the only carpenter known to have had such a place.

15. *L&L* 3:878.

16. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 July 1764.

17. Ibid., 31 July 1766.

18. Ibid., 24 May 1759.

19. The six houses that eventually stood on former Shute land were Woodford, built in 1756–58; Laurel Hill (Francis Rawle), 1760s; Bellville (Joseph Galloway and later Edward Burd), 1760s; Rockland, 1811; Ormiston, 1810; and Shippen House, date unknown. The Shute property history is traced in the archives of the Fairmount Park Historian's Office, in files on Edgely Farm, which was the name of Shute's plantation. Much of the land history is also available in Martha Crary Halpern, *Laurel Hill: A Country Property along the Banks of the Schuylkill* (Philadelphia: Women for Greater Philadelphia, 1985). The announcement of the sale of the Shute property appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24 May 1759. The name Edgely came from the name Edgely Point, a designation that predated the Penn settlement of Pennsylvania. On Belleville, see ibid., 17 February 1773; and Hiltzheimer, *Extracts from the Diary*, 17.

20. Hannah Callender, "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," ed. George Vaux, *PMHB* 12 (1888): 453.

21. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 March 1766. Other plantations being similarly divided in this general area were announced in ibid., 30 September 1762 and 20 July 1774.

22. Ibid., 1 January 1767.

23. Callender, "Extracts from the Diary," 455; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 September 1760.

24. See, e.g., Snyder, *City of Independence*, 153.

25. See, e.g., *Philadelphia under British Encampment*, 1770, HSP.

26. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 51–52.

27. James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972).

28. *L&L* 3:1258.

29. Isaiah 35:2, 65:10.

30. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 January 1770.

31. Germantown Road actually predated Philadelphia and began at Shackamaxon.

32. Stephanie Grauman Wolf, in *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, 1683–1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 21, 37, discusses Pastorius's plan and its effect on Germantown's development. Wolf estimates that Germantown's population was 400 in 1745 but had grown to 1,400 in 1758 (43). By 1767, near the end of a later population and building boom, it had grown to 2,128, after which it did not increase appreciably until the 1790s. It is unclear whether her statistics, derived from tax data, take into account summer visitors (and then whether these were owners or renters), whose number probably increased at a faster rate than that of the permanent population.

33. Wolf, *Urban Village*, 55. Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, *Historic Structures Report: Wyck House* (Philadelphia, 1986), 115ff., illustrates the similarity in house design and town layout of early Germantown to such German Palatinate towns as Kriegsheim, from whence many early settlers came.

34. John Richards's views of Germantown in the mid-nineteenth century illustrate the contrast between the urban density and bustle of Germantown's Main Street, near the center of town, and the bucolic settings of summer homes and farms around it. Charles-Alexandre Leseuer (working c. 1824) focused on rural themes. Except for one unfinished sketch of Germantown's Market Square, all his views show agricultural activities, so that an observer might get the impression that no concentrated settlement existed. Even his view of Market Square shows the space liberally endowed with trees, possibly the popular Lombardy poplars.

35. Wolf, *Urban Village*, 24.

36. Farmers quickly moved upcountry to obtain cheaper and more productive farmland. Ibid., 68, 72, 106–7.

37. Lloyd, *Historic Structures Report: Wyck House*, 48.

38. Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 27ff.; Lloyd, *Historic Structures Report: Wyck House*, 114ff.

39. John Oldmixon, *History of the British Empire in America* (1741; repr., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 177.

40. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 53.

41. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 March 1739.

42. Ibid., 12 August 1756.

43. Ibid., 4 April 1773.

44. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

45. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 February 1764.

46. Ibid., 23 May 1765.

47. Ibid., 7 May 1752.

48. Ibid., 5 March 1751.

49. Ibid., 19 December 1771.

50. *L&L* 3:844.

51. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 January 1744.

52. Ibid., 8 August 1768.

53 Diary of Elizabeth Drinker, 2 August 1760, quoted in Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 15.

54. Callender, "Extracts from the Diary," 453.

55. Ibid., 454.

56. Dana Arnold, "The Country House and Its Publics," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society*, by Dana Arnold (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), 20–23.

57. For women and the country house, see Arnold, *Georgian Country House*, 85–90.

58. Rebecca Rawle Shoemaker Diary, September 1813, Shoemaker Papers, HSP.

59. Diary of Hannah Margaret Wharton, 7 June 1813, Wharton Family Papers, HSP.

60. Ibid., 23 July 1813.

61. Diary of Hannah Callender, 6 July 1758, George Vaux Collection, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

62. Anne M. Ousterhout, *The Most Learned Woman in America: A Life of Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 56.

63. Ann Graeme to Mrs. Campbell, 21 July 1760, Gratz Collection, case 8, box 10, HSP. This letter marks the first time the place was referred to in writing as Graeme Park.

64. Eliza Stedman to Elizabeth Graeme, 21 August 1761 and 7 August 1762, and James Young to Elizabeth Graeme, 23 July 1763, Gratz Collection, case 14, box 16, HSP; Eliza Stedman to Elizabeth Graeme, 17 May 1765, in Buck Manuscript, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

65. John Young to Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson, 22 March 1775, Society Collection, HSP.

66. Ousterhout, *Most Learned Woman in America*, 8.

67. Sarah Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 123.

68. See Thomas Livezey to Joseph Galloway, 14 December 1769, quoted in *Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and Its Neighborhood*, by Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Horace Mather Lippincott (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1912), 269.

69. See, e.g., Thomas Livezey to Elizabeth Graeme, September 1763, reprinted in *History of Montgomery County within the Schuylkill Valley*, by William J. Buck (Norristown, PA: E. L. Acker, 1859), 889. For the role of women on the estate and the importance of a dairy, see Arnold, *Georgian Country House*, 94.

70. Ousterhout, *Most Learned Woman in America*, 171.

71. Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies*, 121.

72. Ibid., 76–77, 122.

73. Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn, 24 November 1760, *PTP Micro*.

74. *L&L* 3:1157.

75. Ibid., 3:1194.

76. Ibid., 3:886.

77. The founder, Daniel King, owned a 39-acre country seat in Bristol; the carpenter, Joseph Jenkins, a 100-acre country seat in Oxford; the carriage maker, Moses Foster, 4½ acres and a dwelling in Northern Liberties East; the cooper, Hugh McCollough, a country seat in Northern Liberties East; the brewer, John Jones, a 6-acre country seat in Northern Liberties West; and the skinner, Nathan Cock, a plantation in the Northern Liberties West. All references to Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

78. *L&L* 3:689.

79. Ibid., 3:696.

80. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

81. Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies*, 162.

CHAPTER 5 *The Process of Design and Building*

1. Barbara Burlison Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 151, citing Camille Wells, "Dower Play/Power Play: Menokin and the Ordeal of Elite House Building in Colonial Virginia," in *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 9*, ed. Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breish (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 2–21.

2. John Carlyle to Dr. George Carlyle, 12 November 1752, in "The Personal and Family Correspondence of Col. John Carlyle of Alexandria, Virginia," annotated by J. F. Carlyle (n.p, n.d), quoted in Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia*, 160.

3. The situation became a little better in larger towns as the eighteenth century progressed, but craftsmen were still in short supply. See Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, VA: Holt, Rinehart & Winston for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1960), 25–44.

4. See James F. O'Gorman et al., *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732–1986* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1986), 1–4, 15–18.

5. William Penn to Commissioners of Propriety, [14 April 1689], *PWP* 3:241.

6. Besides the many maps and plats from Holme's hand, William Markham in a letter to William Penn, [21 July 1688], ibid., 3:201, notes a design and drawing by Holme for a dock in Philadelphia.

7. William Penn to James Harrison, c. February 1687, *PWP Micro*.

8. See the architectural drawings in the George Norris Family Album, Norris Family Papers, HSP. These drawings are thought to be the work of Isaac Norris Jr. See Jeffrey A. Cohen, "Early American Architectural Drawings and Philadelphia, 1730–1860," in O'Gorman et al., *Drawing Toward Building*, 36–38.

9. Isaac Norris to Peter Young, 9 December 1712 and 19 January 1713, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1709–16, HSP. Unless noted otherwise, references to Isaac Norris are to Isaac Norris Sr.

10. Raymond V. Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1968), 10–11.

11. The drawing is reproduced in Edwin Wolf 2nd, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1751* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974), plate 3.

12. See O'Gorman et al., *Drawings Toward Building*, 33–34.

13. Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 44.

14. JLP, vol. 3, Letterbooks of James Logan, 245–46.

15. See, e.g., Norman Penney, ed., *The Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story, 1724–1741* (Philadelphia: Friend's Historical Association, 1928), 30.

16. These elements in what she calls "architectural literacy" among Virginia's gentry are outlined in Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia*, 186–221.

17. Peter Furnivall to William Peters, 1 July 1741, PP, 1:57. See also Deborah Logan's 1819 description of Belmont, which mentions landscapes and seascapes that may be by Molineaux, in JLP. On painting in general in the eighteenth century, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 64, 93, 202.

18. Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 16 March 1752, *PTP Micro*.

19. Undated sketch, PP, 1:100.

20. James Gibbs, quoted in *James Gibbs*, by Terry Friedman (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 259.

21. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 18 April 1749, *PTP Micro*. This letter notes that the marble worker and architect George Harrison died about this time.

22. Drawing in CP. Identification of the handwriting was first made by Nicholas Wainwright and noted in Margaret Tinckom, "Cliveden: The Building of a Philadelphia Country Seat, 1763–1767," *PMHB* 88 (1964): 3–36. Hockley to Thomas Penn, 4 August 1749, *PTP Micro*, discusses Governor James Hamilton's new house, Bush Hill, then under construction. He mentions that Hamilton proposed "stucco and carved work" in some of the rooms. As Belmont, with its modeled hall ceiling, apparently had already been built, and as letters indicate that William Peters and Hamilton were considered the artistic experts among the proprietary group, one wonders whether Peters might have had a hand in the design of Bush Hill.

23. Hockley to Thomas Penn, 4 August 1754, *PTP Micro*.

24. Thomas Penn to Rev. Richard Peters, 31 January 1746; Thomas Penn to William Peters, 23 May, 14 November 1746, 30 March 1748; Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 16 October 1747, 31 August 1748, all in ibid.

25. Peters was paid for marble work for Bush Hill. Entry for 13 February 1751, Cash Book, 1739–1757, James Hamilton Papers, HSP.

26. Information on Harrison comes from Carl Bridenbaugh, *Peter Harrison: First American Architect* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), esp. 2–37, 75.

27. Tinckom, "Cliveden," discussed the drawings at some length. We have profited greatly from Tinckom's analysis.

28. Drawings 1 and 2 are on fairly lightweight paper that at some point was glued onto backing paper. The paper for drawing 1 bears the watermark "NB"; the paper for drawing 2 seems to be the same but bears no watermark. Drawing 1 was first drawn and lettered in pencil and then gone over in ink. Both drawings are done in brown ink lines, with a light gray wash to shade the walls. The dimensions for the second floor (drawing 2) seem to have been transferred from the plan for the first floor. The scale of both drawings is 1″ = 8′, as noted on drawing 1.

29. The identification of Tea's handwriting was corroborated by Craig Horle, one of the authors of *L&L*, and Louise Jones, of the Manuscripts Department, HSP, both highly skilled in paleography. Richard Tea was an orphan sent by Thomas Penn in 1746 from Christ Hospital (also known as the Bluecoat School) in London to be an apprentice to William Parsons, the surveyor general of Pennsylvania. After serving his seven-year apprenticeship, Tea went to work for William Peters as a clerk in the Land Office, where he undoubtedly did much drafting of land plats. Peters's correspondence indicates that he and Tea became very close. In 1764 Peters had Tea appointed a deputy surveyor in the Land Office. On Tea, see the following (all at HSP): Thomas Penn to William Peters, 18 March 1752, 3:130; Penn to Richard Peters, 9 January 1753, 3:181; Penn to Richard Peters, 10 February 1759, 6:49; Penn to Richard Peters, 15 November 1760, 6:329; and Penn to William Peters, 8 June 1764, 8:71, all in *PTP Micro*; and Samuel Weiser to William Peters, 27 April 1762, and William Peters to Weiser, 12 September 1763, in Conrad Weiser Papers, Correspondence, 2:83 and 2:193. See also papers relating to the purchase of land, now in Bedford County, by William Peters and Daniel Clarke from George Croghan, Society Collection, HSP. Other plats and land documents are listed under Tea in the manuscript card catalog at HSP.

30. Land surveying and architectural drawing, including perspectives, were related in the mid-eighteenth century. For example, the following advertisement appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*, 4 January 1734/35: "Mr. Peter Chaffereau, newly come from London, surveys Lands, and makes neat maps thereof, draws Plans and Elevations of all kinds of Buildings whatsoever." Prime File, Winterthur Library.

31. James F. O'Gorman, *The Perspective of Anglo-American Architecture* (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1995).

32. Biographical information on Nevell comes from *Mount Pleasant*, chap. 2, which in turn draws heavily on Hannah Benner Roach, "Thomas Nevell (1721–97): Carpenter, Educator, Patriot," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24 (May 1965): 153–64.

33. Penelope Hartshorne Batchelor, "Independence Hall: Its Appearance Restored," in *Building Early America*, ed. Charles E. Peterson (Radnor, PA: Chilton, 1976), 299.

34. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 22 July 1771 and 23 March 1774, Wetherill Papers, Division of Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania. The full text of his *Pennsylvania Gazette* advertisement is given in *Mount Pleasant*, 45n57, and in Roach, "Thomas Nevell," 156–57.

35. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964); Thomas Nevell Daybook; Roach, "Thomas Nevell," 156–57; *Mount Pleasant*, 38 and n. 41.

36. Roach, "Thomas Nevell," 164.

37. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 27 July 1763, 62.

38. Ibid., 7 May 1765, 73, quoted in *Mount Pleasant*, 45.

39. John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715–1842* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 799.

40. Elements from Mount Pleasant that appear in Swan's book include the following: five bays (e.g., plates 1, 6, 10); a central pedimented pavilion (plates 1, 4, 6, 8); quoins (plates 2, 3, 8); a fan-lighted doorway with elaborate muntins (plates 7, 9, 10, 13); pedimented doorways with full order (plates 1, 4, 9, 11, 14); even a modified Palladian window over the door (plate 6). Nevell may also have looked at Gibbs's

Book of Architecture (1728), where some of Mount Pleasant's details appear. For example, plate 43 shows a relatively small house with a hipped roof, a Palladian window, and a side stairhall such as appear at Mount Pleasant. *Mount Pleasant*, 56. However, except for the stair, which is not like Mount Pleasant's, these features also appear in Swan, so that a Gibbs connection is much less certain.

41. *Mount Pleasant*, 38 and n. 40.

42. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 27 July 1763, 42, quoted in ibid., 41 and n. 55.

43. Catherine Bisher, "Good and Sufficient Language for Building," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, IV*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 44–52.

44. Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 17 July 1714, 336, Norris Family Papers.

45. Cliveden Account Book, 11 October 1763, 1, CP. The transaction was witnessed by Heathcote Johnston. The Cliveden building accounts are of two sorts. First, Benjamin Chew kept a careful account book of the entire process of construction. Second, he kept lists of work by various craftsmen, often measurements by outside experts after completion of work (mensuration), the most common method of confirming fulfillment of building contracts in the eighteenth century. The originals are in the Chew Papers in the Cliveden archives and at HSP.

46. Hannah Penn to James Logan, 2 August 1700, *Penn-Logan*, 1:5–6.

47. For the Addoo contract, see Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 17 July 1714, 336, and 27 October 1712, 247.

48. William Logan Farm Journal, 48, Library of United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC, and newspaper clipping in Dr. George Logan folder, Logan Family Papers, HSP, both quoted in *Stenton*, 14–15.

49. Accounts with Thomas Coates, 12 May 1766 and 9 April 1767, Cliveden Account Book, 37–38, CP.

50. The petition to the court was dated 8 June 1726. Philadelphia County Archives, Court of Quarter Sessions, box A-303.

51. On 4 November 1763 Hesser was paid for 148 scaffold poles. Cliveden Account Book, CP.

52. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 93.

53. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 7 May 1763, 32.

54. "Carpenters Work of Jacob Knor at Cliveden, 1766," in Cliveden Account Book and independent document, both in CP, box 248.

55. The difference in saws can be seen in the marks left on structural timber.

56. The oak joists are mentioned in Norris to Thomas Lloyd, 25 May 1712, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1709–16. See also Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 24 February 1713, 264.

57. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 96.

58. James Logan Ledger Book, 1720–27, 180B and 228B, JLP, quoted in *Stenton*, 13.

59. Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–19, 16 April 1713, 272; 11 June 1713, 280; and 29 June 1713, 282.

60. Hesser was paid a little more than £21 for the excavation, and his laborers were paid 4 shillings per day.

61. Besides James Logan's ledgers at HSP, the accounts for construction are presented in Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 12–16; and *Stenton*, 8–18; a list of craftsmen and suppliers is given in ibid., 11–12. See also James Logan Ledger Book, 1720–27, JLP.

62. Bishop Berkeley, quoted in *Early Georgian Interiors*, by John Cornforth (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 30.

63. "Measured Carpenters Work of Jacob Knor at Cliveden, 1767, measured by Robert Smith," Cliveden Account Book, CP, box 248.

64. Ibid. The sum of £51 was assigned to exterior items, and £262 to "measurable work," which would have included framing, flooring, shingling, and partition construction. It is assumed that by the end of the year framing and shingling, as well as such items as windows and the wood gutter across the front, were complete.

65. Thomas Nevell Daybook, June and July 1763, quoted in *Mount Pleasant*, 40.

66. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 5 October 1763, 47, quoted in ibid., 73.

67. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 6 January 1764, 58, quoted in ibid., 78.

68. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 30 March 1764, 62, quoted in ibid., 81.

69. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 3, 16 May 1764, 63–64, quoted in ibid., 86–87.

70. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 7 December 1764, 69, quoted in ibid., 89.

71. "Benjamin Chew to Hastings & Cauthorn," in Cliveden Account Book and independent document, CP, box 248.

72. Frank S. Welsh, in *Cliveden*.

73. Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia*, 36. Crown glass was the best the eighteenth century had to offer.

74. Isaac Norris to Peter Young, 15 May 1712, 19 January and 14 May 1713, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1709–16.

75. Isaac Norris to Thomas Lloyd, 25 May 1712, ibid. By *chargeable*, Norris meant expensive. See *OED*, s.v. "chargeable."

76. Isaac Norris to Sampson Lloyd, 25 July 1712, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1709–16.

77. James Logan to Nehemiah Champion, 6 September 1728, James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 557–58, JLP, in part quoted in Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 15, and *Stenton*, 16.

78. James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 681, quoted in Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 15. On the lead for the cupola deck, see *Stenton*, 87.

79. James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 636; James Logan to Thomas Story, 29 September 1729, and James Logan to Thomas Goldney, 30 June 1730, both in James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 245 and 267.

80. James Logan to Nehemiah Champion, November 1733, James Logan Letterbook, 1731–76, quoted in Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 376.

81. See Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625–1725* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 41.

82. See, e.g., Philadelphia County Deed Books, F 1:360, G 6:418. Court petitions on which Redman appears are in JLP, Provincial Council, Large, 37.

83. The Redman family, who had arrived in Pennsylvania by 1684, probably from Virginia, produced several important early bricklayers in Philadelphia. John Redman Sr. (d. 1714) was a bricklayer and one of the first "Regulators of Party Walls and Partition Fences for the Corporation of Philadelphia." His son Thomas (d. 1724), who worked at Stenton in 1717, was a member of Philadelphia's common council and served one term in the Assembly. Thomas's brother Joseph (d. 1722) also served in the Assembly and the common council, overseeing several projects of public construction. With Thomas he drew up plans for a county prison and workhouse in 1721. In addition, the Redman family were the brickmakers and bricklayers of William Penn. *L&L* 2:884–87; Charles Morton Smith Manuscripts, 1:63, HSP; *Stenton*, 3n; Roger W. Moss Jr., "The Origins of the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia," in Peterson, *Building Early America*, 35–53. Hannah Penn to James Logan, 2 August 1700, mentions an I. (J.?) Redman making bricks for Penn, in *Penn-Logan*, 1:5.

84. The 1721 contract, or bond, between Keith and the mason John Kirk may have been for any one of several buildings on the site. Unfortunately, this document has no specific details about any construction, referring instead to a memorandum of agreement that no longer survives. Dreer Collection: American Governors, Sir William Keith, HSP.

85. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia*, 10, 14, 33; George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 54.

86. Mark Reinberger, "Jacob Knor: Cultural Interchange in Eighteenth-Century Germantown, Pennsylvania," *ARRIS: Journal of the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (2005): 12–27.

87. William Penn to James Harrison, 25 October 1685, *PWP* 3:66.

88. On Penn and his slaves, see ibid. 3:66–67, 256, and 4:113–14, 219–20; Hannah Penn to James Logan, [1701], *Penn-Logan*, 1:42; and William Penn to James Harrison, 4, 6 December 1685, *PWP Micro*. See also Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 9–14; and Harry Emerson Wildes, *William Penn* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 322–27. The research and curatorial staff at Pennsbury Manor have compiled much information on Penn's slaves, which is in the Pennsbury archives.

89. The youth of craftsmen early in a colony's history is noted for Massachusetts by Cummings in *Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay*, 40.

90. William Penn to James Harrison, 24 April 1686, *PWP* 3:89–93.

91. On Goforth, see Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 18 July 1712, 233, and 7 January 1713, 258. For the Norris-Goforth land transaction, see Philadelphia County Deed Books, E 10:20, 22. See also *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, 1704–1776* (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, Printers, 1847), entry for 20 May 1717, 127, and Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 16 April 1713, 272; 11 June 1713, 280; and 29 June 1713, 282.

92. *Mount Pleasant*, 36; Thomas Nevell Daybook, 27 November 1762, inside front cover.

93. Thomas Nevell Daybook, quoted in *Mount Pleasant*, 73 and n. 82.

94. William Penn to James Harrison, 18 March 1685, *PWP* 3:38.

95. Whitfield J. Bell Jr., ed., *Patriot-Improvers* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997), 476–80.

96. John Smith, *Hannah Logan's Courtship . . . as related in the diary of her lover, the Honorable John Smith*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904), 265.

97. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Northern Liberties West, and itemization at end of entry for Thomas Penn, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

98. Thomas Penn to James Alexander, 12 January 1758, *PTP Micro*; Alexander to Penn, 2 April 1755, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, 7:19, HSP.

99. William Allen to Robert Davis, 24 October 1764, in *Extracts from Chief Justice William Allen's Letter Book*, ed. Lewis B. Walker (Pottsville, PA: Standard, 1897), 61.

100. John Bartram to Peter Collinson, 12 June 1756, and Collinson to Bartram, 1 August 1761, in *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall*, by William Darlington (Philadelphia: Linsay & Blakiston, 1849), 202, 210, 226, 230; John Bartram, *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734–1777*, ed. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 407, 512, 530.

101. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

102. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 6 November 1746.

103. Ibid., 1 June 1738, 9 May 1765.

CHAPTER 6 *Elements of Landscape and Architecture*

1. Thomas Hancock, quoted in *Gardens of Colony and State: Gardens and Gardeners of the American Colonies and of the Republic before 1840*, ed. Alice B. Lockwood, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons for the Garden Club of America, 1931–34), 1:32.

2. William Penn to James Harrison, 17 November 1686, transcript in Pennsbury archives.

3. John Smith diary, 12 May 1746, quoted in *Hannah Logan's Courtship . . . as related in the diary of her lover, the Honorable John Smith*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904), 74–75.

4. See Barbara Wells Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake, 1700–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), chap. 2.

5. "John Hinmarsh carpenter . . . 1718 . . . By a weeks work done this week & for yt he owed and paling ye Garden 1/10/-," Isaac Norris [Sr. & Jr.] Ledger, 1709–40, Norris Family Papers, HSP.

6. In 1719 John Midwinter, a cousin whose passage Norris had paid, was let go after he agreed to "gravel my walk" to finish balancing his debts. Norris Ledger, 1709–40.

7. Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania* (London, 1698), 43.

8. "When used in the context of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gardens, the term wilderness generally referred to a planned arrangement of trees that contained an understory of vegetation, often set withn a regularly defined space." Therese O'Malley, *Keywords in American Landscape Design* (New Haven, CT: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art in association with Yale University Press, 2010), 669.

9. Deborah Norris Logan Diaries, 10 October 1826, HSP.

10. William Penn, gardening instructions to Ralph Smyth, [August?] 1684, *PWP* 2:584–85; Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950).

11. Handwritten note in Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the year of our Lord 1720* (Philadelphia, 1719), under "April," LCP.

12. Thomas Godfrey, *The Pennsylvania Almanack, for the Year of Christian Account 1734* (Philadelphia, 1733), LCP.

13. William Penn to James Harrison, 25 October 1685, *PWP* 3:66.

14. *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1733* (Philadelphia, 1732), Rosenbach.

15. Godfrey, *Pennsylvania Almanack . . . 1734*.

16. Smith, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, 90, 91, 93, 97.

17. Thomas Penn to Peter Collinson, 16 August 1738, Penn Papers, Private Correspondence, vol. 2, HSP.

18. See Jean O'Neill and Elizabeth McLean, *Peter Collinson and the Eighteenth-Century Natural History Exchange* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008).

19. Ibid., 11; Howard M. Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: privately printed; London: Headley Brothers, 1899), 101.

20. John Penn to Collinson, 23 February 1739, and Collinson to Penn, 1 and 3 March, 26 April, 13 October 1739, Penn Papers, Private Correspondence, vol. 2.

21. Thomas Penn to Collinson, 16 August 1738, and Penn to R. Partridge and Collinson, 1 August 1737, ibid.

22. William Logan, 10 June 1768, William Logan Letterbook, 1768–1792, vol. 1, Logan-Fisher-Fox Family Papers, HSP.

23. Deborah Norris Logan Diaries, 15 February 1831, HSP.

24. Daniel Wister's Garden Book (1771–1776), Eastwick Collection, box 3, item 12, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. In the mid-eighteenth century Hyacinth Gloria Mundi sold for fifty guilders in the Dutch market. Presumably the price had gone down by the time Wister bought it. See http://www.libraryindex.com/encyclopedia/pages/cpxld5p8bc/hyacinth-flowers-flowered-sorts.html.

25. See David J. Kennedy's watercolor *Edgely*, David Kennedy Collection, HSP.

26. On the numbers in the Tidewater region, see *Chesapeake House*, 255–57.

27. Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Précis des leçons d' architecture données à l'École polytechnique* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1819), l:37, 53.

28. *Hope Lodge*, 1:13–14.

29. *Belmont*, 2-6.

30. Colonial galleting is well known in examples from Maryland but does not survive extensively in the Philadelphia area. However, it was used there, perhaps more widely than is now realized. Nicholas Pickford, traveling through Philadelphia in 1765, noted it at St. James Anglican Church, Kingsessing Township, on a building near Whitby Hall, and on one designed in large part by James Coultas, the owner of Whitby Hall. Harold Donaldson Eberlein, "Passages from the Diary of Nicholas Pickford Esquire," *Architectural Review* 47 (1920): 144.

31. *Hope Lodge*, 1:106–8; *Cliveden*, 1:59.

32. *Chesapeake House*, 248.

33. Ibid., 72.

34. *Hope Lodge*, 1:38–39.

35. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 March 1766.

36. Steven Parissien, *Palladian Style* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 169.

37. These also appeared on Mount Pleasant but have recently been proven later in date.

38. William Penn to James Logan, 4 January 1700/1701, *PWP Micro*.

39. For a discussion of these treatments, see *Chesapeake House*, 326.

40. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 120.

41. Ibid., 120–21.

42. *Mount Pleasant*, 106–32.

43. On the Virginia House, see *Chesapeake House*, 206–38.

44. Penn's request for five-foot-long clapboards is in a letter to James Harrison of 18 March 1685, *PWP* 3:39. On the larger significance of the clapboard, see Cary Carson et al., "New World, Real World:

Improvising English Culture in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 74 (February 2008): 56–63, and other sources in notes therein. On the Virginia house, see William Penn to Phineas Pemberton, 8 February 1686/67, *PWP Micro*.

45. George W. Norris, "A History of the Norris Family," May 1887, 1023, Norris Family Papers.

46. *Stenton*, 59.

47. Mark Reinberger, "Jacob Knor: Cultural Interchange in Eighteenth-Century Germantown, Pennsylvania," *ARRIS: Journal of the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (2005): 23. Also in Germantown, Grumblethorpe's builders used an unusual framing detail that may also have German roots: the first-floor joists do not bear on the exterior stone walls but rather on a ledger beam, or plate, supported on stone corbels that project about a foot into the cellar approximately every five feet. The first-floor joists themselves have a very Germanic element, paling that is visible from overhead between the joists. Pales (irregular, hand-riven, 1″ × 4″ boards) are inserted into grooves on both sides of the floor joists; on top of these, similar pales are laid at right angles; finally a plasterlike mixture is poured over and around the top pales, creating a very effective insulation between the cellar and the first floor. Variations of this treatment are common in Pennsylvania-German architecture and in Germantown itself.

48. *Mount Pleasant*, 106.

49. Ibid., 120; Abraham Swan, *The British Architect*, 2nd ed. (London, 1758), plate 60.

50. Nevell billed for the roof framing on 13 January 1764. Thomas Nevell Daybook, cited in *Mount Pleasant*, 37, 56, 74.

51. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 13 January 1764, cited in ibid., 75–76.

52. Thomas Nevell Daybook, 12 December 1763, 53, cited in ibid., 75.

53. This reversal of framing directions is common in eighteenth-century double-pile houses, both in town and in the country, as the major rooms tend to have their long dimensions perpendicular to the front wall, and thus the floor joists run parallel to the front. Since the roof ridge is also usually parallel to the front, the garret-floor joists and roof rafters (almost always joined together) must run perpendicular to the front wall.

54. Jacob Knor also used this joint, also called a birdsmouth joint, in the Johnson House (1768) and in the Germantown Mennonite Meeting House (1770). In all examples he nicely beveled the edges of the dovetail.

55. More often than not, the numerals do not occur in numerical order from one end of the attic to the other. The numerals were cut into the pieces in the rafter set after they were joined on the ground so that the set could be taken apart and the pieces lifted up to the roof separately, then rejoined. At Knor's Germantown Mennonite Church the numerals on the rafter sets are in order.

56. For a discussion of this point with regard to Virginia and Maryland houses, see *Chesapeake House*, 92, 126.

57. William Murtagh, "The Philadelphia Row House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (December 1957): 8.

58. Ibid., 9–12.

59. George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 55–61.

60. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), 8.

61. Bernard Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 51–58.

62. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, 60; Herman, *Town House*, 44, 135; Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia*, 11, 28.

63. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, 8, 61, 67.

64. There are virtually no surviving top-ranked town-house interiors in Philadelphia from an earlier period. Drawings of the Slate Roof House (1699), one of the most illustrious city houses of its day, show the interiors stripped of their finest woodwork. They do indicate that the house had paneled window seats, a combination of full-wall and dado paneling, and substantial mantels with Delft-tile surrounds. These features can also be found in early colonial country seats, but the interiors of the Slate Roof House were at least the equal of those of any surviving country houses of the time.

65. *Mount Pleasant*, chap. 2, n. 15.

66. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, 72.

67. Nancy Richards, "The City Home of Benjamin Chew, Sr., and His Family: A Case Study of the Textures of Life" (unpublished manuscript, 1992, copy available at Cliveden).

68. Joshua Francis Fisher, *Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher: Written in 1864*, comp. Sophia Cadwalader (Boston: privately printed by D. B. Updike, Merrymount, 1929), 214. Presumably, the pictures were black from age.

69. *OED*, s.v. "seat."

70. John Adams, *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, ed. L. H. Butterfield, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 2:18.

71. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia*, 6.

72. Herman, *Town House*, 65, 99.

73. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia*, 37ff.

74. See Frederick B. Tolles, "Town House and Country House," *PMHB* 82 (1958): 401–10.

75. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, preface and 244.

76. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 219.

77. Thomas, *Historical and Geographical Account*, 43.

78. Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of His Own Time*, ed. John Stockton Littell (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1846), 43–44, originally published as *Memoirs of a Life, Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania, within the Last Sixty Years* (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1811). Graydon, who was born in 1752, believed that he could remember things from as early as 1758 or 1759.

79. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, 46, 85, 118–19; Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia*, 14, 32–33.

80. Deborah Norris Logan, *The Norris House* (Philadelphia: Fair-Hill, 1867), 5.

81. Ibid., 6.

CHAPTER 7 *Organizing the Fabric*

1. Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 193–204.

2. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1949).

3. Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1960).

4. Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture*, 2 vols. (London: J. Brindley, 1734–36), 2:169, quoted in *Architecture and Suburbia: From the English Villa to the American Dream House, 1690–2000*, by John Archer (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 50.

5. Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 23.

6. The best parlor measures 16′3″ × 17′10″. However, it becomes square if the front-back dimension is extended to include the wall behind the full-height ornamental display cupboards that flank the fireplaces and would have been left open for visitors.

7. Richard Neve, *City and Countrey Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (London, 1703), 63. Logan did not acquire the copy of Neve's book known to be in his library until 1729, by which time Stenton was largely finished.

8. The actual ratio is 37.7 feet to 27.8 feet, or 1.35; the ratio 4:3 is 1.33. Dimensions were taken to the outside of the exterior foundation walls.

9. Barbara Paca-Steele and St. Clair Wright, "The Mathematics of an Eighteenth-Century Wilderness Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 6 (1987): 299–320.

10. At present the eaves of the two dependencies differ by about six inches in absolute elevation. Precise measurements are impossible because the roof framing and the cornice of the carriage house have been changed. The measurements are close enough to confirm that the builders intended to make the dependencies align visually.

11. Robert, Morris, *Rural Architecture: Consisting of regular designs of plans and elevations for buildings in the country . . . Illustrated with fifty quarto copper-plates* (London, 1750).

12. The proportion was also commonly used in Virginia houses. *Chesapeake House*, 71.

13. This last is probably a matter of producing a general impression of balance, rather than of precise numbers. The actual proportions would have been difficult to read, since the roof was receding from the front wall, and the dependencies were set even further back.

14. Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism*, 202.

15. On external hierarchy in other contexts, see Bernard L. Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700–1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 42–49; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1986), 109–10; and *Chesapeake House*, 39–45, 250–55.

16. Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London: T. Osborne & J. Shipton, 1756), 469.

17. On interior hierarchy, see Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life*, 42–60; John Styles and Amanda Vickery, introduction to *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830*, ed. Styles and Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 10; and Herman, "Tabletop Conversations: Material Culture and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," ibid., 47.

18. The stucco on this elevation is almost certainly later, having neither the gray finish nor the subtle detailing that characterizes the west facade.

19. William Peters to Thomas Penn, 17 February 1758, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 9:11, 13, HSP.

20. Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Rev. William Wilmer, 10 August 1817, in *The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The Microfilm Edition*, ed. Thomas E. Jeffrey (Clifton, NJ: James T. White for Maryland Historical Society, 1976), 137 E2.

21. Benjamin Chew to Edward Tilghman Sr., 2 June 1775, quoted in *Benjamin Chew, 1722–1810: Head of the Pennsylvania Judiciary System under the Colony and Commonwealth*, by Burton Alva Konkle (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), 140.

22. Deborah Norris Logan, "Reminiscences," Norris Papers, HSP.

23. This principle is mentioned in Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 28.

24. N. W. Alcock and Linda Hall, *Fixtures and Fittings in Dated Houses, 1567–1763* (York, UK: Council for British Archaeology, 1994), 52–57.

25. A fourth, a plain board with no molding, appears in some rooms but is an inaccuracy of the 1960s restoration.

26. On the Johnson House, see Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 95–96; and Mark Reinberger, "Jacob Knor: Cultural Interchange in Eighteenth-Century Germantown, Pennsylvania," *ARRIS: Journal of the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16 (2005): 12–36.

27. William Penn to James Harrison, Robert Turner, and Thomas Holme, c. early April 1686, *PWP Micro*.

28. William Penn to James Harrison, [19 May 1685], *PWP* 3:56.

29. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 24 March 1752, *PTP Micro*. For room names as they were used in early America, see Carl Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

30. The best analysis of room use and furnishings at Stenton is *Stenton Furnishings*.

31. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 37, discusses informal dining in the hall, especially in the summer.

32. See, e.g., Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), 83.

33. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 185.

34. Lanier and Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic*, 11.

35. *Stenton Furnishings*, 24.

36. *Stenton*, 296.

37. *Stenton Furnishings*, 40.

38. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 38–40. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 182, discusses the term *little parlor*.

39. Frederick B. Tolles, "Town House and Country House," *PMHB* 82 (1958): 401–10.

40. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 43, notes that the term *dining room* was not common in England before about midcentury. Lounsbury, *Illustrated Glossary*, 112, notes the same with reference to Virginia and also discusses the presence of beds in the rooms.

41. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 44. Other woods were used for chairs. Jacob Hiltzheimer recorded in 1768 that he had bought "seven wild cherry tree chairs" from the estate of James Coultas. *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia*, ed. Jacob Cox Parsons (Philadelphia: William F. Fell, 1893), 15.

42. On the stairway's invitation to climb, see *Chesapeake House*, 335.

43. Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 135.

44. Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric Furnishings: A Philadelphia Case Study, 1700–1775," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14 (Spring 1979): 25–40.

45. Matthew J. Mosca, "Historic Paint Finishes Study—Stenton" (unpublished manuscript, 2000, available at Stenton), quoted in *Stenton Furnishings*, 17.

46. William Henry Toms, *Builder's Dictionary, or, Gentleman and Architect's Companion*, 2 vols. (1734; repr., Washington, DC: Association for Preservation Technology, 1981).

47. June Avery Snyder and Martin P. Snyder, *The Story of the Naomi Wood Collection and Woodford Mansion* (Wayne, PA: Haverford House, 1981), 43, discusses the inventory. For the original inventory, dated 20 January 1771 and numbered 26 for that year, see Philadelphia Register of Wills Archives. See also *Virginia Gazette*, 16 September 1737, 4, cited in "The Ambulatory Map: Commodity, Mobility, and Visualcy in Eighteenth-Century Colonial America," by Martin Brückner, *Winterthur Portfolio* 45 (Summer–Autumn 2011): 149.

48. Ann Graeme to Elizabeth Graeme, 17 July 1764, quoted in *History of Montgomery County within the Schuylkill Valley*, by William J. Buck (Norristown, PA: E. L. Acker, 1859), 887.

49. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 269, 285.

50. Marie G. Kimball, "The Furnishings of Lansdowne, Governor Penn's Country Estate," *Magazine Antiques* 19 (June 1931): 450–55.

CHAPTER 8 *The Logic of Service Spaces*

1. This delightful metaphor is used in *Stenton Furnishings*, 8.

2. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 February 1749. See also ibid., 8 February 1744, 21 August 1746, 9 February 1748, 25 February 1752, 5 May 1763, and 2 June 1763.

3. *Stenton Furnishings*, 9, 52–55.

4. Dorothy B. Templeton, *The Historical Narrative Research Report: Hope Lodge; Historic Structures Report* (Philadelphia: Martin J. Rosenblum & Associates, 1984), 33.

5. In the inventory of 1844, at least, the right front and rear rooms were named for two of Benjamin Chew II's younger children, Anthony and William (then grown). At that time the left rear was called the "Women's Chamber," possibly because it housed female servants.

6. *Cliveden*, 1:113.

7. On the kitchen in the South, see Carl R. Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 201. John Mortimer, *The Whole Art of Husbandry* (1716), 279, recommends that a kitchen for a country house be in a wing, rather than in the main part of the house itself, or in the cellar, so as to eliminate smells.

8. Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 32.

9. "Account of stonework with John Hessor," for the stable, coach house, and kitchen, settled 19 January 1767, Cliveden Accounts, CP.

10. See, e.g., Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London: T. Osborne & J. Shipton, 1756).

11. *Chesapeake House*, 100.

12. Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 17 July 1714, 336, HSP. The brick kitchen is mentioned in a handwritten note made by Isaac Norris Jr. in *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1748* (Philadelphia, 1747), entry for 12 October, Rosenbach. See also *Poor Richards Almanack for 1749* (Philadelphia, 1748), entry for 28 February, Rosenbach.

13. The original details of the building are difficult to discern because it was altered several times and heavily restored in the 1930s and 1976. One hypothesis is that the kitchen dependency is an earlier dwelling, but there is no documentary or physical evidence for this. Rather, the physical alignment of the two structures and their similar brickwork make it more likely that the two structures were built at the same time.

14. "Cliveden, Miscellaneous Bill of Scantling"; "Account of stonework with John Hessor," 11 January 1765; and "Accounts with Philip Warner, painter," all in Cliveden Accounts, CP.

15. 1798 UnitedStates Direct Tax, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia County, Blockley Township, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, RG 58, National Archives.

16. Hope Lodge's kitchen was 19 by 25 feet, and Mount Pleasant's was 22 feet square. Belmont's kitchen, at 18 by 21 feet, was close in size to Cliveden's.

17. Account with Christopher Hargasheimer, 5 April, 14 May 1765, CP.

18. Ibid., August 1765.

19. Going by today's water table, at this depth a digger would have hit water. However, the actual total depth of the well today is 37 feet, perhaps owing to deepening of the well at a later date.

20. *Belmont*, 2-39. Accounts record two other wells dug at Cliveden a few years later, each for a sizeable sum. In 1771 Thomas Duke worked for fifty-eight days, earning £10. Richard Bonsall worked on "sinking and blowing" the same well for £7. Duke was hired again to dig another well at Cliveden in 1774 for more than £20. Benjamin Chew receipts: 21 January 1771, 2 February 1771, and 25 January 1774. By this time Cliveden had four wells. Benjamin Chew I Account Book, 18, 19, 60, CP.

21. *Stenton*, 307.

22. Ibid., 309–17.

23. William Penn to James Harrison, 18 March 1685, *PWP* 3:38; Lounsbury, *Illustrated Glossary*, 207.

24. See Barbara Burlison Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 72, for neatly organized outbuildings on Virginia plantations.

25. William Penn to James Harrison, 17 November 1686, transcript in Pennsbury archives; Penn to Harrison, 11, 30 July and 3 August 1685, *PWP Micro*; Harrison to Penn, 3 October 1686, in "A Letter from Doctor More, with passages out of several letters from Persons of Good Credit, Relating to the State of Improvement of the Province of Pennsilvania," *PMHB* 4 (1880): 451.

26. According to Norris's "scrap list," he built the barn in 1728, but his notes in John Hughes, *An Almanack for the year of our Lord, 1725* (Philadelphia: Andrew Bradford, [1724]), LCP, indicate that "Jono Hinmarsh and boy" roofed and closed the "new barn" in December 1725.

27. "Daniel Pegg . . . for various bldgs in 1726 . . . Schoolhouse at Planta. 10,000 bricks, 19 December." Isaac Norris [Sr. & Jr.] Ledger, 1709–40, 249, Norris Family Papers, HSP.

28. Handwritten note in John Jerman, *The American Almanack for the Year of Christian Account, 1731* (Philadelphia, 1730), under "June," LCP.

29. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 May 1769.

30. *Mount Pleasant*, 110.

31. The name "wash house" appears in the 1798 tax list, in accounts of Anne Sophia Penn Chew from the 1860s into the 1880s, and in letters written by Elizabeth (Bessie) Chew in the 1930s. It was referred to as a laundry and servants' quarters in a 1922 Philadelphia Contributionship insurance survey, copy in CP.

32. Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania Architecture, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries* (Exton, PA: Schiffer, 1976), 317. Of course, this represents data from thirty years after Cliveden was built. Were washhouses more or less common, larger or smaller, in 1798 than in 1765? In Blockley Township, in western Philadelphia County, only four establishments had washhouses in 1798, and all were smaller than either Cliveden's or the average washhouse in Chester County. Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, 1683–1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 35, presents data showing that 4.1% of

Germantown residences had washhouses in 1798, making Cliveden unusual and possibly unique when constructed in 1766.

33. *Mount Pleasant*, 110; 1787 advertisement in Alice Schoolar and John Milner Associates, *Trevose Historic Structures Report*, 2 vols. ([Philadelphia], 1983), vol. 2, app. 1, p. 6.

34. *Cliveden*, 1:277–82.

35. Quoted in "The Historic Development of Hand Forged Iron Builders' Hardware," by Donald Streeter, in *The Technology of Historic American Buildings,* ed. H. Ward Jandl (Washington, DC: Foundation for Preservation Technology for the Association for Preservation Technology, 1983), 32. The *Illustrated Catalogue of American Hardware of the Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Company* (New York: Francis Hart, [1864]) shows nineteenth-century bell-pull hardware. Eighteenth-century devices are illustrated in Denis Diderot, *Recueil des planches sur les sciences, les arts libéraux et les arts méchaniques* (Paris, 1763). Henry J. Kauffman, *American Copper and Brass* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1979), 177, illustrates several advertisements for bell-pull hardware.

36. William Penn to James Logan, 30 June 1701, *Penn-Logan*, 1:43.

37. *Hope Lodge*, 1:302–6.

38. The system described was the primary one for the house. Fragments of another system exist, serving only the dining room chamber and the parlor chamber and running down into the dining-room closet. This is possibly evidence that the renovations of the interior took place over an extended period of time. See *Graeme Park*, 155–59.

39. See Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), 134–36.

40. Clarissa Dillon, "Eighteenth Century Kitchen Garden," *Historical Gardener* 2 (Spring 1993): 10.

41. James T. Lemon, "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America and Its Relationship to Production and Trade: The Situation among Farmers in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Agricultural History* 41 (January 1967): 68–69.

42. See, e.g., *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 July 1753.

43. Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874), 151.

44. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 44.

45. William Penn, gardening instructions to Ralph Smyth, [August?] 1684, *PWP* 2:584–85.

46. William Penn to James Logan, 26 June 1709, *PWP Micro.*

47. William Penn to James Harrison, 28 January 1687, *PWP* 3:138.

48. William Penn, gardening instructions to Ralph Smyth, [August?] 1684, ibid. 3:584; Penn to James Harrison, [c. February 1687], *PWP Micro.*

49. William Penn to James Harrison, 4 October 1685, transcript in Pennsbury archives.

50. James Harrison to William Penn, 3 October 1686, in "Letter from Doctor More," 451.

51. William Penn to James Harrison, [c. September or October 1686], transcript in Pennsbury archives.

52. William Penn to James Harrison, 11 July 1685, *PWP Micro.*

53. William Penn to Free Society of Traders, 16 August 1683, *PWP* 3:446–47.

54. Thomas Penn to R. Partridge and Peter Collinson, 1 August 1737, *PTP Micro.*

55. Thomas Penn to John Penn, 23 October 1738, ibid.; Accounts for the "Lodge" at the manor of Springettsbury, Penn Accounts, Large Folio, 1:56, HSP.

56. Thomas Penn to John Penn, 2 October 1739, and John Penn to Thomas Penn, 18 January 1740, *PTP Micro.*

57. John Penn to Thomas Penn, 18 January 1740, ibid.; Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 82.

58. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 13 May 1742; Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 1 March 1745; Hockley to Thomas Penn, 27 June, 13 July 1742, 2 August 1744; Lardner to Thomas Penn, 10 May 1748; Hockley to Thomas Penn, 11 May, 30 July 1748; and Thomas Penn to Lardner, 14 October 1748, all in *PTP Micro.* William Bartram, "Account of the Species, Hybrids, and Other Varieties of the Vine of North America," *Medical Repository*, 2nd ser., 1 (1804): 23. L. H. Bailey, *Sketch of the Evolution of Our Native Fruits* (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 43.

59. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 6 January 1712, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1709–16, HSP.

60. Titan Leeds, *The American Almanack for the Year of Christian Account, 1716* (Philadelphia, 1715), LCP; Norris Family Papers; Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 181, 205, 207.

61. Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 9 March 1710.

62. Daniel A. Romani Jr., "'Our *English Clover-Grass* Sowne Thrives Very Well': The Importation of English Grasses and Forages into Seventeenth-Century New England," in *Plants and People: Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 1995), 25–37.

63. John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae* (London, 1675). Inscribed on the title page "Isaac Norris" with his handwritten notes, LCP; Norris Sr. later gave this book to his brother Charles. Richard Bradley, *Survey of Ancient Husbandry and Gardening* (London, 1725), with the bookplates of George Washington & Isaac Norris, LCP.

64. Mortimer's *Whole Art of Husbandry* went through six editions. It was very thorough and "incorporated earlier writings with his own experience." G. E. Fussell, *Old English Farming Books, 1523–1793* (London, 1947), 98. Norris ordered "Mortimer Second volume of appendix to the way of improving Land/ I have ye 1st." Norris to Jona Scarth, 21 July 1718, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1716–30, HSP.

65. Handwritten note in Titan Leeds, *The American Almanack for the Year of Christian Account, 1722* (Philadelphia, 1721), under "April," LCP: "All this day Caro brew'd"; Jerman, *American Almanack . . . 1731*: "Sent 80 bushls Barley to J. Worrals to Malt."

66. These almanacs are at the LCP and the Rosenbach.

67. Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the year of our Lord 1720* (Philadelphia, 1719).

68. In 1734 Norris noted 169½ bushels of rye threshed, 49 of buckwheat, 177½ of oats, and 114¾ of wheat. These amounts seem not to have varied much in the 1730s. Thomas Godfrey, *The Pennsylvania Almanack, for the Year of Christian Account 1734* (Philadelphia, 1733), under"June," LCP.

69. "Surveys & Draft of field by New Barn" [1726?] and "Draft of some fields lying on the land to lowr plantation," both in JLP, 13:47½.

70. Handwritten notes in *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1733* (Philadelphia, 1732), Rosenbach; James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), 154. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 99, comments on the need for letting land around Philadelphia lie fallow to replenish it.

71. Jacob Taylor, *An Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1712* (Philadelphia, [1711]), under "March," Rosenbach.

72. Norris Ledger, 1709–40; Norris to John Falconer, 21 May 1718, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1716–30.

73. *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1733*, under "March."

74. Norris Ledger, 1709–40, 389.

75. *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1733*.

76. Isaac Norris to John Kinmarsh (carpenter), 1718, Norris Ledger, 1709–40.

77. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 6 January 1716, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1716–30.

78. Jacob Taylor, *An Ephemeris, of the planetary motions and aspects, for the year of our Lord, 1723* (Philadelphia, 1722), under "March" and "April."

79. Godfrey, *Pennsylvania Almanack . . . 1734*; handwritten note in Taylor, *Ephemeris*, under "April": "set 20 hills, 5 in hill."

80. Taylor, *Ephemeris*, under "May."

81. *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1733*.

82. Ibid., under "May." Isaac Norris Jr. knew the *Georgics*, because he quoted it in a letter to Charles Norris dated 22 June 1743. Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1719–56, HSP. His father-in-law, James Logan, had several copies of the works of Virgil in his library.

83. *Duke of York's Laws, 1676–1682, and the Laws of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1879), 136, quoted in *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840*, by Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), 85.

84. Collinson Read, *An Abridgement of the Laws of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1801), quoted in Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture*, 85. Evidently many ignored this law, because Kalm commented that "cattle go about the fields and in the woods both day and night, the People cannot collect much dung for manure." Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 99.

85. Isaac Norris Sr., entry for 30 May 1727, "by pasture" paid for 195 cedar posts, in Norris Family Papers, Ledger "A," 1724–31.

86. "Father's orders to be done at Planta., 2nd mo. 1733," JLP, 13:43½.

87. The quotation continues: "The mode of procedure is to inclose a certain amount of swamp with a bank thrown up quite high, so as to keep out the water (the ebb and the flood) or tides. This bank commonly rises as high as five feet; sometimes ten feet. Also to make a ditch to carry off the water which comes on it from the land, and at the same time to place drains in the bank to let the water out; and then again, a gate upon the drains, to prevent it from running in. When dry, the earth is plowed, some kind of grain is sown in it, and then it is afterwards sown with clover and other English hayseed." Israel Acrelius, *Description of the former and present condition of the Swedish Churches in What was called new Sweden afterward New Netherland, but at the present time Pennsylvania, Together with the Adjacent Places of the River De La Ware, West Jersey, and New Castle county in North America* (1759; repr., New York: Readex Microprint, 1966), 154.

88. Ibid., 155.

89. Philadelphia County Will Books, G 68:41.

90. James Logan to Thomas Story, 25 October 1724, James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, JLP.

91. James Logan to Peter Collinson, 31 May 1742, Letterbook B, JLP. Logan and other colonists did not realize that all carrots are the same species, *Daucus carota*, including the wild carrot. Carrot seed escaped from the vegetable garden into the field and became naturalized as what we know as Queen Anne's lace. The present orange carrot in its various forms developed from the native white, with yellow and violet forms wending their way from Afghanistan. The Flemish in the sixteenth century and the Dutch in the seventeenth were known for developing the orange carrot.

92. James Logan to William Logan, 23 October 1727, James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 85.

93. "I have delivered to Capt Lawrence, a Cask with five doz Bottled beer of my wife's brewing for our own use of wch I pray thy acceptance," James Logan wrote to John Hunter in May 1728. James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, vol. 3.

94. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 January 1769.

95. James Justice's *The Scots gardeners director* (Edinburgh, 1764), reprinted in the same year as *The British Gardener's Director* (Edinburgh).

96. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 January 1769.

97. Ibid.

98. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture*, 130.

99. Ibid., 132.

100. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 January 1769.

101. Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 152–53.

CHAPTER 9 *Diversity in the First Generation of Country Houses*

1. For the history of Pennsbury's reconstruction, see Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth P. McLean, "Pennsbury Manor: Reconstruction and Reality," *PMHB* 131 (2007): 263–306 and references therein.

2. Unsigned and undated drawing, Pennsbury archives.

3. "Draught of the Mannor of Pennsbury, Resurveyed in the Year 1736," HSP, reproduced in *PWP* 4:133.

4. Thomas Holme's "Map of Pennsylvania," c. 1690, contains the earliest view of Pennsbury.

5. These images must be approached with caution because they may well have simply represented "large house" to the mapmaker. Moreover, they are completely contradicted by an image on a March 1700 survey that apparently shows an entirely different structure, with double-front gable roofs and side chimneys, a common enough form in England at the time and one not unknown in the colonies. Thomas Fairman's house in Shackamaxon had two gabled front projections. Many seventeenth-century houses in New England have two or even three front gables. Examples include the Henry Bridgham House in Boston (1670) and the John Ward House in Salem, Massachusetts (1684). Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (1922; repr., New York: Dover, 1966), 14–19. It is unclear how such a form could fit the discovered foundations. Perhaps there were orig-

inally more of the foundations to the east, where the Crozier House destroyed them, so that the original Pennsbury was more than 60 feet long but still only one room deep, with at least one projection to the rear. The house depicted also apparently had half-timbered walls, unless the many vertical lines represent windows or bay windows. Again, this image may be merely a generic representation of a house.

Two other early images of the house are too small and indistinct to be of much help. One occurs in a plat in Bucks County Deed Book 23:50; the other on the George Heathcote survey of 1692, in Land Records Office, Survey Book D-68, p. 238, Pennsylvania State Archives. These images could represent almost any large-house form.

6. Five thousand shingles, assuming 36″× 5″ shingles, probably the largest possible, at only double coverage (i.e., 17″ exposure, the greatest possible), covers 2,656 square feet of roof. Triple coverage is far safer, and it had become the norm by the late eighteenth century but was not always adhered to in the earlier colonial period. Assuming a 10-in-12 roof pitch (probably the least: there were habitable garrets, and roof pitches tended to be steep in houses of this era), and 10% waste gives a horizontal coverage area of 2,043 square feet, including overhangs. Our thanks to Peter Copp, of Martin Rosenblum and Associates, architects of Philadelphia, for help in these calculations.

7. Gabriel Thomas mentioned that Penn covered Pennsbury with what Thomas called "tile-stone," produced in Pennsylvania. Gabriel Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630–1707*, ed. Albert Cook Myers ([New York]: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 320.

A legend about Pennsbury's roof deserves comment. John Fanning Watson reported that there was a fishpond on the roof—he called it a reservoir against fire—but Watson's source was Edmund Morris, an antiquarian of Bucks County, who wrote to Watson in 1826: "I have ascertained beyond a doubt that *there was a large fish pond on the top of it*: and that when [Penn] returned to England, the building being neglected, and the pond taking to leaking, the house soon fell to ruin." The source of this legend was probably the Penn's letter to James Logan asking for a plumber to fix the "leads." Edmund Morris to John F. Watson, 22 June 1826, Am 30163—Letters to John F. Watson, 1823–28, 151, HSP.

8. Linda Hall, "Yeoman or Gentleman? Problems in Defining Social Status in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gloucestershire," *Vernacular Architecture* 22 (1991): 5, 8; Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 6; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 56–58.

9. William Penn to James Harrison, 18 March 1685, *PWP* 3:40.

10. William Penn to Harrison, 24 April 1686, ibid., 3:90.

11. James D. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 2:1219, discusses Pennsbury's sash windows. For the introduction of sash windows in the colonies, see *Old-Time New England: The Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities* 14 (April 1924): 193–94; and Carl Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 316.

12. William Penn to James Harrison, 19 May 1685, *PWP* 3:56.

13. In the reconstructed Pennsbury landscape, Thomas Sears planted the native tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), which is eminently unsuitable for "beheading," that is, pollarding.

14. William Penn, gardening instructions to Ralph Smyth, [August?] 1684, *PWP* 2:584–85; Penn to James Harrison, 18 March, 19 May, 25 October 1685, ibid. 3:38–41, 55–58, 65–68; Penn to Harrison, 17, 20 November 1686, *PWP Micro*.

15. William Penn, gardening instructions to Ralph Smyth, [August?] 1684, *PWP* 2:584; Penn to James Harrison, 19 May 1685, ibid. 3:55–58; Penn to Harrison, 11 July 1685, *PWP Micro*.

16. William Penn to James Harrison, 18 March 1685, *PWP* 3:39; Penn to Harrison, 7 November 1685, *PWP Micro*.

17. William Penn to James Harrison, 9 April 1687, *PWP Micro*.

18. See Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape, and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat," *Winterthur Portfolio* 32 (Winter 1997): 243–74.

19. *L&L* 2:760–84.

20. The high ground is demonstrated even today by a city reservoir only two blocks from the former house site between York and Cumberland and 6th and 7th Streets. The topography of this part of Philadelphia is most easily seen on U.S. Geological Survey, "Philadelphia, PA Quadrangle," 1967, rev. 1994.

21. "Fairhill Brief of Title," HSP. See also Philadelphia County Deed Books, E 7-8:3. References to the older buildings are found in JLP, 13:32.

22. The drawing shows the front of the house from a high vantage point above the wide avenue and orchard that led from Germantown Road. The drawing can be tentatively attributed to Isaac Norris Jr. (1701–1766) or one of his children; the paper used for the drawing dates from between 1764 and 1793, but as the British burned the house in 1777, the drawing must show the house's state in the late 1760s or early 1770s. The drawing is in the Norris Family Scrapbook, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Museum and Library. The paper has a James Whatman II watermark. On the paper's identification and date, see Alfred H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England, 1495–1800* (Hilversum, Holland: Paper Publications Society, 1957), 378. An insurance survey from 1771 briefly describes the house, and letters and accounts of Isaac Norris Sr. provide information about its form. Finally, the house as rebuilt in 1787 survived until 1885 and was much photographed; a plan made at the time of rebuilding survives in the Norris Family Papers, HSP. The second house was constructed on the original foundations and even used much of the original first-story walls.

23. Daybook of Isaac Norris Sr., 1709–16, 14 February 1714, 359, HSP; fire insurance survey of Fairhill for John Dickinson, Esq., Philadelphia Contributionship, 2 December 1771, HSP.

24. They also visited the ancestral Lloyd home, Dolobran, in Montgomereyshire, Wales. Norris family tradition linked the design of Fairhill with that of the Lloyd family home, but surviving views of Dolobran do not support that theory. Dolobran seems to have been a three-bay, two-story, single-pile structure that was enlarged with a lean-to and an axial Jacobean arched entrance porch on one side and a two-story gable addition on another. See Rachel J. Lowe, *The Farm and Its Inhabitants: With Some Account of the Lloyds of Dolobran* ([London]: [Chiswick], 1883), 5, 18, copy at HSP. There are also views of Dolobran in the George Norris Family Album, Norris Family Papers. It may well have been similar to Fairhill in scale and perhaps general appointments, but not in form. The confusion in the family legends probably arose because on this trip the Norrises also visited the Lloyds and Pembertons of Birmingham. Sampson Lloyd [Jr.] to Elizabeth Norris, 15 July 1775, Logan Family Papers, HSP.

25. Plan of Fairhill, in Norris Family Papers, 2:40.

26. *Chesapeake House*, 106–12.

27. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 110, 147.

28. Richard Neve, *City and Countrey Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (London, 1703), 63.

29. Isaac Norris owned at least the third and fourth editions of Mortimer's *Whole Art of Husbandry* (London, 1712 and 1716). His copies are at LCP. In the third edition, p. 278, Mortimer actually recommends a square plan, although he quotes Neve on the value of the H-plan.

30. On Quaker libraries, see Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 163–77.

31. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 293–94. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Fairhill's room uses is less than might be because of the lack of probate inventories for either Isaac Norris Sr. or his son.

32. Isaac Norris Jr. mentions the oak room. See *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1748* (Philadelphia, 1747) and *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1749* (Philadelphia, 1748), Rosenbach.

33. The "blew room" was mentioned in John Hughes, *An Almanack for the year of our Lord, 1725* (Philadelphia: Andrew Bradford, [1724]), LCP. This same almanac also mentions "Jos Room." Joseph was the oldest son of Isaac and Mary Norris. Which room was his is unclear.

34. John Worlidge, *Systema Horti-culturae, or The Art of Gardening* (London, 1677), 16–17.

35. John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae* (London: printed for T. Dring, 1681).

36. *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1756* (Philadelphia, 1755), entry for 23 January 1756, Rosenbach.

37. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 19.

38. *Poor Richard's Almanack for 1733* (Philadelphia, 1732), Rosenbach.

39. Robert Barclay, *Apology for True Christian Divinity* (London, 1678), proposition 15, para. 9.

40. The best general history of greenhouses is Kenneth Lemmon, *The Covered Garden* (London: Museum Press, 1961).

41. *OED*, s.v. "closet." As described by his niece Deborah Norris Logan, the closet at Fairhill was "a low building consisting of several rooms in the garden." Deborah Norris Logan Diaries, HSP.

42. Isaac Norris Sr. to Isaac Norris Jr., 10 April 1722, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1716–30, HSP.

43. Isaac Norris to Sampson Lloyd, 2 July 1712, ibid.

44. Isaac Norris to Thomas Lloyd, 29 November 1712; Norris to John Askew, 3 June 1714 (quotation); Norris to Morda Madock, 18 February 1717; Norris to Askew, 17 June 1717; and Norris to T. Story, 21 September 1717, all in ibid.

45. See, e.g., Isaac Norris to George Knight, [between 25 May and 7 June 1717], ibid.

46. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 12 April 1714, ibid.

47. William Penn, *Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims, Relating to the Conduct of Human Life*, 11th ed. (Philadelphia: Benjamin Johnson, 1794), 22.

48. Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike, 22 June 1724, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1716–30.

49. "Rules of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1704," 11–12, manuscript copy at Quaker Special Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA.

50. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 126.

51. Ibid., 124, discusses this philosophical position and quotes Norris. The original letter is in *Penn-Logan*, 2:259.

52. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 5 February 1716/17, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1716–30.

53. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1881), 1:208, quoted in Robert F. Oaks, "Big Wheels in Philadelphia: Du Simitière's List of Carriage Owners," *PMHB* 95 (1971): 355.

54. Oaks, "Big Wheels in Philadelphia," 359–62.

55. George W. Norris, "A History of the Norris Family," May 1887, 1023, Norris Family Papers.

56. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 8 October 1715, Isaac Norris Letterbook, 1709–16.

57. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 1 September 1712, and Norris to Thomas Lloyd, 16 December 1712, 8 June 1713, ibid.

58. Isaac Norris to Thomas Lloyd, 1 February 1713/14, ibid.

59. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 12 May 1715, ibid.

60. Isaac Norris to John Askew, 6 May 1720, ibid.

61. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 110, discusses the Quakers' belief in the appropriateness of a hierarchical society.

62. Deborah Norris to Isaac Norris Jr., 3 November 1733, Norris Family Papers, 1:10.

63. Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

64. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 123–32, discusses the relative "plainness" of the lifestyle of the Quaker "grandees" of Philadelphia, including architecture. Arlene Horvath analyzes Quaker architecture in a different context in her "Vernacular Expression in Quaker Chester County, Pennsylvania: The Taylor-Parke House and Its Maker," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II*, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 150–60.

65. Isaac Norris Sr., handwritten note dated 21 December, in Titan Leeds, *The American Almanack for the Year of Christian Account, 1716* (Philadelphia, 1715), LCP.

66. Biographical information on Preston is taken mostly from *L&L* 1:861–73.

67. It has been suggested that Belair may be an early Swedish house, but besides the general grandeur of the house—unlikely among the early Swedes—deeds suggest that Samuel Preston built Belair. Samuel Preston was one of the executors of the estate of John Vaughan, who died in possession of the sixty-nine acres of land on which Belair would eventually be built. As executor, Preston could not buy the property outright, so in 1713 it was sold to Richard Moore for £140, and soon thereafter it was resold to Preston for the same price. Philadelphia County Deed Books, E 7-8:388, 9:209. In deeds from Preston, as executor, to Moore, and from Moore to Preston, the property is not called a "messuage tract of land," indicating a primary house, but rather "a certain piece or parcel of land," although messuages

are included in the customary list of improvements. Very likely there was already an old house on the site. When Samuel Preston sold the property in 1735—by which time it had grown to 142 acres, encompassing the other fields shown on the 1750 survey plus some more land to the north—it was called a "messuage, tenement and tract of land." Ibid., F 8:351. A survey at the time noted that Preston had "by sundry buildings and other considerable improvements rendered the said tract of land and plantation very valuable." How early the house was built is unclear, but events in Preston's life suggest that a date early in his ownership, by which time he had reached prominence, is likely. Also, parallels with Fairhill are very suggestive, and Preston and Norris were friends. Both were executors of William Penn's estate. Fairhill was built between 1711 and 1715/16, Belair probably in 1714 or after. Some of Norris's builders also worked for Preston. December 21 notation in Norris's copy of Leeds, *American Almanack for . . . 1716*. Further, Preston was living there as early as 1719, so the house must have been begun some years before that date. For the history of Belair and its early owners, see Marion W. Rivinus, *Bellaire Manor, 1714* (Philadelphia: Bicentennial Women, 1976).

68. Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 159.

69. Ibid., 45.

70. As Stephanie Wolf has observed, "For the most part, the appearance of the yard did little to enhance eighteenth-century American houses. Our mental picture of carefully tended flowerbeds, neat and gracious borders, graveled walks, and stately trees is a nostalgic devised on a handful of wealthy models, most of them only from the end of the century. Any land surrounding a house served such more mundane purposes by providing space for small livestock such as chickens and pigs, for growing some table food (the effect of rotting cabbages in the border is aesthetic to neither eye nor nose), and for the disposal of trash." Stephanie Graumann Wolf, *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 57.

71. Robert Turner to William Penn, 3 June 1685, quoted in *Colonial Architecture for Those about to Build*, by Herbert C. Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidleman (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1913), 16.

72. Mary Andrews will, Philadelphia County Will Books, M:70; Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 113 (mentioning the term *balcony room*); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 April 1753.

73. The Sabbatarian Meetinghouse (1739) and the Daniel Ayrault House (1729) in Newport, Rhode Island, have similar hoods, as did Massachusetts Hall at Harvard (1718). Kimball, *Domestic Architecture*, 104. A very late example is that at Tulip Hill in Maryland (c. 1756). Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:788.

74. In the cellar, only the left, or west, passage wall is undergirded with a partition, in this case brick with a single arched opening. Passage walls on the floors above are wood framed. The exterior cellar walls are stone. Fireplace supports in the cellar consist of two stone piers joined by a brick segmental barrel vault, the standard Philadelphia form for this feature. The two cellar spaces were presumably used for storage, but they may also have served as slave quarters, especially in hot weather.

Framing for the first floor, seen in the cellar, consists of summer beams (approximately 9″ × 10″) carrying joists of roughly 3″ × 6½″ spaced 16 inches apart. The framing for the garret floor consists of 2¼″ × 9″ joists framing into 7″ × 9″ summers. The rafters, 3½″ × 4¾″ are spaced 27 inches apart, joined at the ridge with a peg, and rest on a 5″ × 3″ false plate. Collar beams measuring 2¼″ × 5″ connect to each pair of rafters with a birdsmouth joint and two wrought-iron spikes. All the structural lumber was pit sawn, indicating its early date.

75. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning*, 2:554, 596.

76. David J. Kennedy, cat. nos. 2990 and 2934, David Kennedy Collection, HSP.

77. The oddity of the chimney location in Belair and the absence of side windows is mitigated by a comparison with the Glebe House of the Swedish Lutheran congregation in Passyunk. Long destroyed, it was located on the Schuylkill River about a mile from Belair, at a spot later known as Point Breeze, now occupied by an oil refinery. The Glebe House was supposedly built just after Belair, following a 1717 fire that destroyed the former parsonage. It was astonishingly like Preston's house in scale and plan, likely a gesture of competition on the part of the Swedes, who had long occupied the land in that area, in the face of this English Quaker interloper. Although the house lacked much of the architectural finery of Belair, its front block was nearly identical to that of Preston's house (a rear kitchen ell at the Glebe House was probably built later), except that its depth was one foot less. Notably, its fireplaces were

on the rear wall and were symmetrically placed within each room, and it had windows on both side elevations. In other words, the Swedes made what they might have seen (as we do) as improvements on the original. At the Glebe House, the Flemish bond, the plaster cove, and the stringcourse occurred only on the front. Inside, the only architectural ornamentation was an arch in the entry similar to Belair's. The similarities in plan and woodwork and the closeness in time and space suggest that some of the same carpenters, perhaps Swedish, worked on both houses. On the Glebe House, see Historic American Building Survey drawings, PA-139; Rev. John Craig Roak, *An Historical Sketch of Gloria Dei Church (Old Swedes') Philadelphia*, 3rd ed. ([Philadelphia: Gloria Dei Church], 1947); *The 176th Anniversary Sermons: Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church, Philadelphia, 1700–1876* (Philadelphia: Edmund Deacon, Franklin Printing House, 1876); *The Swedes' Church and House of Sven Sener* (Philadelphia: G. E. Callahan & D. S. Callahan, 1907), reprinted from John F. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1830), 133–38; and Campbell Collection, 16:134, HSP.

78. Examples of the Queen Anne style in city houses are shown in Bernard Herman, "Tabletop Conversations: Material Culture and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 47.

79. Here and throughout the public spaces of the house, the woodwork now is naturally finished. Layers of paint, believed to be from the nineteenth century, were removed during the restoration of the 1930s. In a further restoration in 1976 linseed oil was applied. To our knowledge, scientific paint analysis has never been done at Belair. Restoration records in Fairmount Park Historian's Office; and *Philadelphia Ledger*, 24 October 1939.

80. *Graeme Park* forms the basis for the history and analysis of Fountain Low / Graeme Park. Much of the information on the early form of the house is available in Mark Reinberger, "Graeme Park and the Three-Cell Plan: A Lost Type in Colonial Architecture," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, IV*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 146–54.

81. Earlier sources for Keith's biography are Nancy Wosstroff, "Graeme Park: An Eighteenth Century Country Estate in Horsham, Pennsylvania" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1958); Charles Harper Smith, "The Keith Estate in Horsham," *Hatboro (PA) Public Spirit*, 18 February 1937; and at greater length, Thomas H. Wendel, "The Life and Writings of Sir William Keith" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1964). These have been joined by the more recent and authoritative *L&L* 2:561–89.

82. Keith's experience as surveyor general led to the publication of his *History of Virginia*, the first volume of a multivolume work on the American colonies, *The History of the British Plantations in America* (London: S. Richardson, 1738).

83. Wendel, "Sir William Keith," 120.

84. Ibid., 95–96.

85. On Carpenter's ownership, see Philadelphia County Deed Books, E-9:220, and Patent Book A, 4:40, as noted in Lucia E. Esther, "Graeme Park, 1700–1801" (paper for American Civilization 770, University of Pennsylvania), in Graeme Park archives. See also Charles Harper Smith, "Sidelights on the History of Graeme Park," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania* 4 (April 1945): 259.

86. The deed was from Andrew Hamilton, as attorney general, to William Keith, Philadelphia County Deed Books, G 9:441, 6:142, discussed in Wosstroff, "Graeme Park," 1; Esther, "Graeme Park"; and Smith, "Keith Estate."

87. Smith, "Keith Estate"; Wosstroff, "Graeme Park," 1. Some of the earliest land records are either missing from or inaccessible in the Philadelphia County Archives, so that secondary sources must be relied upon.

88. Cadwallader Colden, *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, 9 vols. (1918; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1973), 1:138.

89. Keith's scheme was remarkably similar to one that Governor Alexander Spotswood hatched for his Germanna, in Virginia, at exactly the same time. As Keith had ties to Virginia, perhaps the two men knew of each other's projects. On Germanna, see Barbara Burlison Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 276–78.

90. Steven Parissien, *Palladian Style* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 33.

91. A 1721 contract or bond between Keith and the mason John Kirk may be for the construction of the malthouse. Unfortunately, this document has no specific details about any construction, referring instead to a memorandum of agreement that no longer survives. Dreer Collection: American Governors, Sir William Keith, HSP.

92. Diary of William Rawle, [23 August] 1786, in "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 23 (1899): 533–34.

93. John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 383–88; reports in Graeme Park archives.

94. In the nineteenth century a weathervane stood on the roof of one of Graeme Park's outbuildings, probably the longhouse (formerly the malthouse). The wrought-iron weathervane was 38 inches high and 17 inches long and stenciled "W. K. 1722." William J. Buck, *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1884). Buck's original manuscript material on Graeme Park survives in a bound volume at the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

95. See Wendel, "Sir William Keith," 185, and, more briefly, Wosstroff, "Graeme Park," 7.

96. The inventory is reproduced in Wosstroff, "Graeme Park"; and *Graeme Park*.

97. Matthew J. Mosca, "Graeme Park Historic Paint and Finishes Report," in *Graeme Park*, app. 2.

98. See *Graeme Park* for details of the complicated transfer of the land from Keith to Graeme.

99. Thomas Graeme to John Penn, 1 July 1755, HSP.

100. Wendel, "Sir William Keith," 38.

101. Sir Robert Keith to Mrs. Yules (his sister), 4 January 1764, original in possession of Sidney B. Williams.

102. Diary of William Rawle, [23 August] 1786, "Notes and Queries," 533–34.

103. The unclassical nature of Graeme Park's exterior form and plan have given rise to disparate theories of its origin. Specifically, noting its uncanonical form, several historians have proposed that it was built as the malthouse and only later converted to a country house. However, archaeology and documentary sources identify a former structure in front of the mansion as the original malthouse. For the theory that interpreted the mansion as a malthouse, see Wosstroff, "Graeme Park"; Smith, "Keith Estate"; and Smith, "Sidelights . . . Graeme Park," 259. The evidence against the malthouse theory is presented in *Graeme Park*. The most important documents proving that the malthouse and the mansion were different buildings are the extract from William Rawle's diary in "Notes and Queries"; and 1798 United States Direct Tax, Pennsylvania, Montgomery County, Horsham Township, Third Division, Third District, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, RG 58, National Archives. A Historical American Buildings Survey of 2000 returned to the malthouse theory but without adding any new information to the arguments of its original proponents or countering the arguments presented in *Graeme Park*. Another line of thinking hypothesizes that the Graeme Park's plan originated in Swedish planning traditions, specifically the Swedish *parstuga* form. However, a review of Swedish sources reveals only the most rudimentary similarities between the *parstuga* and Graeme Park. Thomas T. Waterman, *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 125–26. See also Sigurd Erixon, *Byggnadskultur* [Building culture] (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1953), 320. Moreover, the similarities with the Swedish plan apply only to the plan as altered, not to the original plan.

104. The partition that now divides the middle room from the entry is later. It rests awkwardly on a joist below, the studs being irregularly notched as if to accommodate a preexisting situation. Most tellingly, the partition carries a header above that originally was joined to and borne by joists framed into the chimney blocks, and at least one stud of the partition joins to the header in a manner that would have been impossible originally.

105. The stylistic analysis of stair balusters uses information from Penelope Hartshorne Batchelor, "An Architectural Analysis of Hope Lodge, Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania" (unpublished manuscript, October 1961, available at Independence National Historic Park, Philadelphia).

106. On the hall-parlor plan type in the mid-Atlantic, see Bernard Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700–1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 19–22. For the Tidewater region, see *Chesapeake House*, 93–102.

107. Historic American Buildings Survey, Number (HABS), PA, 1067, 1961. Other information on the house and its builders comes from Kate Hamilton Osborne, *An Historical and Genealogical Account of*

Andrew Robeson of Scotland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania and of His Descendants from 1653 to 1916 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1916), 1–20. The dating of this house is problematic. The Robesons, a wealthy family, were living on the site at least as early as 1702, and their mill was operating there by 1693. See Reinberger, "Graeme Park and the Three-Cell Plan," for other local examples.

108. The overhangs and returns seen in many photographs of the house date from an 1879 roof renovation. Earlier photographs reveal the original form, which guided a restoration done in the late 1980s.

CHAPTER 10 *Establishing an Architectural Norm*

1. Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957), 6–16; Raymond V. Shepherd Jr., "James Logan's Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1968), 1.

2. Tolles, *James Logan*, 18, 25, 51, 60–67, 78–79.

3. Ibid., 81–93.

4. Patent Book A, 5:237; Philadelphia County Deed Books, G 2:246. Logan Account Book, 1712–20, 75, JLP, records the purchase as occurring on 26 July 1714. For the entire list of parcels that make up Stenton, see *Stenton*, 2–3.

5. James Logan to Thomas Story, 1717, James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, JLP, quoted in *Stenton*, 1.

6. Logan Account Book, 1712–20, 85.

7. Opinion expressed by Logan as presiding judge of the Philadelphia County Court of Quarter Sessions, quoted in Tolles, *James Logan*, 99.

8. James Logan to Thomas Story, 5 November 1722, James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 267–68.

9. James Logan to Thomas Story, 29 September 1729, ibid., 245–46.

10. Tolles, *James Logan*, 129–30.

11. James Logan to John Greenfield, 2 January 1725/26, JLP, microfilm, reel 3, p. 51.

12. For the petition to the court, dated 8 June 1726, see Philadelphia County Archives, Court of Quarter Sessions, box A-303.

13. Tolles, *James Logan*, 14.

14. Ibid., 154–55.

15. Ibid., 198.

16. Logan's great experiment on corn was made in his city garden. Peter Collinson arranged to have Logan's report published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 39 (1735–36): 192–95. An enlarged version in Latin was published in 1739 by Gronovius in Leiden, followed by an English translation of the Latin version published in London in 1749. Logan's reputation as a scientist was made; his correspondents included Linnaeus and Sir Hans Sloane. See Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 535–39.

17. Tolles, *James Logan*, 205; Ned C. Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 147.

18. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 138, mentions the role of science in furnishing some English country houses, particularly with regard to a library, which Stenton famously possessed.

19. Rick Kennedy, "Thomas Brattle, Mathematician-Architect in the Transition of the New England Mind, 1690–1700," *Winterthur Portfolio* 24 (Winter 1989): 231–45; Matthew Walker, "Architecture, Anatomy, and the New Science in Early Modern London: Robert Hooke's College of Physicans," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 72 (December 2013): 483.

20. James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 245, quoted in Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 14; Logan to Thomas Penn, 25 October 1728, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 2:41, HSP, quoted in *Stenton*, 15.

21. Norman Penney, ed., *The Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story, 1724–1741* (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association, 1928), 28, 30, and James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30, 208, both quoted in Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 16.

22. Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 16–17.

23. Tolles, *James Logan*, 149–53, 167–75.

24. James Logan Inventory, 1752, Philadelphia Register of Wills Archives.

25. William Dillwyn to Susanna Dillwyn, 20 November 1786, box 1, folder 5, Correspondence of William and Susanna Dillwyn (Emlen), 1770–1818, LCP.

26. *Stenton*, 25.

27. James Logan to Thomas Story, 29 July 1729, James Logan Letterbook, 1717–30.

28. Shepherd, "James Logan's Stenton," 9, 60, 95n93; Peter Collinson to John Bartram, 1 February 1738/39, and James Logan to Collinson, 25 July 1747, James Logan Letterbook B, JLP. Lucerne is alfalfa or Burgundy trefoil, or *Medicago sativa*. John Bartram, *Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734–1777*, ed. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 108.

29. James Logan to Peter Collinson, 14 November 1743, James Logan Letterbook B, JLP.

30. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 201, gives an English plan with identical fireplaces, that of Burton Hall, Cheshire, which dates from c. 1600, far earlier than the Trent House.

31. Tolles, *James Logan*, 43; "The Diary of Samuel Sewall," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 5th ser., 6 (1879): 148–49; Daniel Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* ([Newark]: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1986), 111.

32. John Bold, "The Design of a House for a Merchant, 1724," *Architectural History* 33 (1990): 75–82.

33. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 23; album, "Sir John Vanbrugh's Designs for King Weston," Bristol Record Office.

34. Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings: The Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), 312; Brian De Breffny and Rosemary Folliott, *The Houses of Ireland: Domestic Architecture from the Medieval Castle to the Edwardian Villa* (New York: Viking, 1975), 60, 85.

35. James D. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonia North America*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 2:877, 907, 967, 1101, 1195.

36. John Mortimer, *The Whole Art of Husbandry*, 4th ed. (London, 1716), 278, LCP.

37. Paint analysis has differed on Stenton's original exterior color. The earliest indicated Spanish brown; more recent analysis has suggested an off-white, but with the proviso that the evidence is inconclusive and that the white may be from the later eighteenth century, all earlier evidence having been destroyed. Frank Welsh found that the Trent House trim was Spanish brown and advanced the view that this was the standard color for pre-1750 exterior paint. Complicating the situation is the fact that Spanish brown was frequently, perhaps universally, used as a primer, so that early evidence for the color may have been based on identification of the primer as the finish coat that has long disappeared. Stephen G. Hague (director of Stenton), personal communication to Mark Reinberger, 8 October 2007.

38. *Stenton*, 23, 196.

39. Alverthorpe Letterbook D, 141, JLP, quoted in ibid., 91.

40. *Stenton*, 96.

41. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 233, discusses the cupola as a mark of distinction in provincial English towns.

42. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 191, 203.

43. Ibid., 18.

44 Matthew J. Mosca, "Historic Paint Finishes Study—Stenton" (unpublished manuscript, 2000, available at Stenton), 7.

45. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 120, notes the use of the same color along a route of parade.

46. Ibid., 119–21.

47. *Stenton*, 255–61.

48. Our thanks to Stephen G. Hague for this suggestion. Kimberley Skelton, "Redefining Hospitality: The Leisured World of the 1650s English Country House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68 (December 2009): 496–513, discusses the use of the enfilade as a vital factor in the evolution of the country house. She also mentions the use of a mirror instead of a window to terminate a vista (507).

49. Mosca, "Historic Paint Finishes Study—Stenton," 12.

50. *Stenton Furnishings*, 23.

51. *Stenton*, 166.

52. Stephen Hague, personal communication to Mark Reinberger, 8 October 2007.

53. Mosca, "Historic Paint Finishes Study—Stenton," 23, 31.

54. Deborah Norris Logan Diaries, February–June 1827, HSP, quoted in *Stenton*, 187.

55. Mosca, "Historic Paint Finishes Study—Stenton," 36.

56. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 91, 121.

57. Mosca, "Historic Paint Finishes Study—Stenton," 54.

58. *Stenton Furnishings*, 44.

59. The historic structures report made a convincing reconstruction of how Logan's roughly 200 feet of shelving would have fit into the space. *Stenton*, 263–69.

60. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 68.

61. Sarah Logan Fisher Diary, 9 September 1778, HSP, quoted in *Stenton*, 272.

62. *Stenton*, 99.

63. Ibid., 280–87.

64. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 October 1765.

65. *L&L* 2:820; Philadelphia County Deed Books, D 47:73.

66. Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House*, 138.

67. The original tract of 1,084 acres was sold to Jonathan Dickinson by Penn's land commissioners. From Dickinson, the land descended to his daughter Mary and subsequently to her husband, Francis Jones, whose nephew Edward Jones lived there. Edward Jones was a ranger for Philadelphia County, that is, he was responsible for picking up and holding stray animals, especially horses. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 March 1748, 14 March 1765. Jones was collecting strays at the vineyard as late as 1769. Ibid., 19 October 1769.

68. The Scull and Heap map of 1752 shows the country seat of Tench Francis Sr. (d. 1758), a lawyer and Attorney General, higher up on the Schuylkill River near the falls. For the title history of the Vineyard Tract, see "Brief of the Titles of Robert Morris Esquire to His Country Seat in the Township of the Northern Liberties," copy in Fairmount Park Historian's Office. Others included the nearby house of Edward Jones (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 February 1749, 8 February 1744, 21 August 1740, 9 February 1748, 25 February 1752, 5 May 1763, 2 June 1763) and that of Thomas Green (ibid., 19 February 1754). The David J. Kennedy watercolor, cat. no. 4508, is in the David Kennedy Collection at HSP.

69. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 November 1782.

70. *Hope Lodge*, 1:2.

71. Ibid., 1:13, 20–22.

72. Ibid., 1:23–24.

73. Dorothy B. Templeton, "Historical Narrative Research Report: Hope Lodge, White Marsh, Pennsylvania" (unpublished manuscript, Philadelphia, 1984), 22.

74. Page Talbott and Martha Crary Halpern, "An Historical Report for Furnishing Hope Lodge, Flourtown, Pennsylvania" (unpublished report, 1992, available at Hope Lodge), 20.

75. The Samuel Morris Account Book is at HSP.

76. *Hope Lodge*, 1:29.

77. Most tantalizing are a plethora of transactions between Morris and Edmund Woolley, a noted carpenter-builder responsible for the design and construction of the State House in the mid-1730s and the early 1750s. The earliest transaction between Woolley and Morris dates from 1743, the year Hope Lodge was begun. The entries for these transactions are all for small amounts of agricultural goods and nowhere mention carpentry or any other aspect of construction. Perhaps most tellingly, when the fragmentary account ends in 1746, Woolley owed Morris £187, which certainly does not suggest that he did major carpentry work. The account indicates visits to the Whitemarsh mill by Woolley, so perhaps he was there to oversee construction on a house he had designed. Several features of Whitemarsh House make it far more stylish than a typical rural house would have been and indicate a strong grasp of classicism and knowledge of pattern books. Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 180–83.

78. *Hope Lodge*, 1:46.

79. The present door hood dates from the 1920s but is close to the original at least in size and general character. On the steps, see ibid., 1:86.

80. Ibid., 1:22.

81. Ibid., 1:28.

82. Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania Architecture, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries* (Exton, PA: Schiffer, 1976), 68–71, 385–87.

83. *Hope Lodge*, 1:47, 56–57, 67–69, 73.

84. A good example is the William Miller House, Avondale, Chester County, Pennsylvania (1730). Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania Architecture*, 61.

85. *Hope Lodge*, 1:136.

86. Ibid., 1:211–12.

87. Talbott and Halpern, "Furnishing Hope Lodge," 46, 49, 51, 60–61.

88. Ibid., 97.

89. Ibid.; *Hope Lodge*, 1:184.

90. Although the bolection was disappearing, it remained in use until late in the eighteenth century, as shown by its inclusion in the 1786 Carpenters' Company Rule Book. *Hope Lodge*, 1:183.

91. Ibid., 1:144.

92. George H. Eckhardt, "The Weight-and-Pendulum Clock in a Tall Case in Philadelphia and the Valley of the River Delaware," in *Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania Antique Show Catalogue* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1962), 39, quoted in Talbott and Halpern, "Furnishing Hope Lodge," 114.

93. Talbott and Halpern, "Furnishing Hope Lodge," 98, 119, 122, 129.

94. *Hope Lodge*, 1:141. Mount Vernon's dining room was verdigris green; so was Graeme Park's. The service stair at Hope Lodge, like the central hall and the main stair, was painted yellow ochre. It was painted only from the first to the second story, not above. Ibid., 1:215.

95. The space was painted yellow ochre, a continuation of the color below. Ibid., 1:193–95.

96. Ibid., 1:186–89.

97. Talbott and Halpern, "Furnishing Hope Lodge," 140, 146, 154, 165, 179, 190, 193.

CHAPTER 11 *The New Ideal of the Villa*

1. Thomas Penn to Richard Penn, 17 September 1735; John Penn to Thomas Penn, 20 February, 10 October 1736, 17 February 1737; John Penn to Andrew Hamilton, 17 February 1737; John Penn to Thomas Penn, 4 and 6 June 1737, *PTP Micro*.

2. Thomas Penn accounts with Samuel Johnson, 1734–40, Penn-Physick Papers, vol. 4; Thomas Penn account with Thomas Godfrey, 1737–38, *PTP Micro*; and bill from Gustavus Hesselius to Thomas Penn, 19 August 1741, all HSP. "Sundry Items of Expenses of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, 1733–1759," *PMHB* 38 (1914): 244.

3. Springettsbury's T-plan may owe something to Pennsbury.

4. The structure can be seen in John Hills, "A Plan of Springettsbury Manor . . . ," 1787, Cadwalader Papers, Maps, HSP; and "View of the City of Philadelphia," c. 1796, drawn by John Joseph Holland and etched by Gilbert Fox, in *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia before 1800*, by Martin P. Snyder (New York: Praeger, 1975), 196.

5. "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher, 1755," *PMHB* 17 (1893): 268.

6. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1881), 2:478–79.

7. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 16 September 1742, and Hockley to Penn, 5 May 1743, *PTP Micro*.

8. Thomas Penn to John Penn, 29 January 1754, ibid.

9. "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher," 263–70; Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 20 June 1743, *PTP Micro*.

10. Ezra Stiles Diary, 30 September 1754, in "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 16 (1892): 375.

11. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 5 March 1745, 20 June 1743, 27 May 1742, *PTP Micro.*

12. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 22 December 1744, ibid.

13. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 5 March, 3 May 1745, ibid.

14. Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 18 June 1745, ibid.

15. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 14 March 1747, ibid.

16. Barbara Sarudy, personal communication to authors, March 2014; Gary S. Dunbar, "Deer-Keeping in Early South Carolina," *Agricultural History* 36 (April 1962): 108–9.

17. Examples include Gerardus Duyckinck's portraits of a De Peyster boy and John Van Cortlandt, both from the 1730s, and Frederick Tellschaw's portrait of Thomas Shaw, 1745.

18. "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher," 268.

19. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 4 September 1744, *PTP Micro.*

20. On the problems with the dogs, see Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 16 June, 29 October 1747, and Lardner to Penn, 10 May 1748, ibid.

21. Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 16 June 1747; Lardner to Penn, 10 May 1748; Penn to Lardner, 4 August 1749; Thomas Penn to John Penn, 30 January 1753, ibid.

22. Accounts, Edmund Physick to Thomas Penn, 6 November 1769, ibid. The huntsman's house was paid for in June 1741.

23. On shipments of deer, see John Penn to Thomas Penn, 20 October 1740; Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 20 October 1742; Hockley to Thomas Penn, 5 May 1743; and Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 26 February 1743 and 29 October 1747, ibid. Many letters from Hockley to Thomas Penn report on the deer's progress, their reproduction, and ultimately their escape. After 1752 there seem to have been no deer kept at Springettsbury. John Penn to Thomas Penn, 18 April 1752, ibid. Letters mentioning pheasants and turkeys are Thomas Penn to Hockley, 12 June, 20 October 1742; Hockley to Thomas Penn, 5 May 1743; Thomas Penn to Lardner, 16 June 1747; Hockley to Thomas Penn, 26 October 1751, 18 March 1752; and Thomas Penn to John Penn, 30 Jan 1753, ibid.

24. James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, 19 August 1753, ibid.

25. See Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), esp. 68–74.

26. Parterres are mentioned in "Order to pay for painting at Springettsbury," 19 August 1741, *PTP Micro*, and in Richard Peters to John Penn, 1 March 1742, PP, 1:76.

27. Thomas Penn to John Penn, 23 October 1738, *PTP Micro.* On importing citrus trees, see John Penn to Thomas Penn, 29 August 1737 and 8 February 1738; and Thomas Penn to John Penn, 17 November 1739, ibid.

28. Penn Accounts, Large Folio, 2:65, HSP. Early references to the greenhouse include Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 16 April 1742, and Hockley to Thomas Penn, 22 December 1744, *PTP Micro.*

29. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 16 April 1742, ibid.

30. John Smith, *Hannah Logan's Courtship . . . as related in the diary of her lover, the Honorable John Smith*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904), 71–72.

31. Burton Alva Konkle, *Benjamin Chew, 1722–1810: Head of the Pennsylvania Judiciary System under the Colony and Commonwealth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), 20; Isaac C. Price, *Abstract of Title, to that part of the Bush Hill Estate, allotted to James Hamilton O'Beirne* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1860).

32. Hamilton's political rival and fellow Scotsman William Keith called him "the scabby Offspring of a Scotch Moggy begot upon his cleanly Mother by a scratching Pedlar, against a famous Rubbing-Post in North Britain." On Hamilton's marriages, Keith wrote: "Having a better Nose for a trodden Hen than a Virgin Pullet, . . . [he] happen'd to blunder unawares upon the warm Scent of another buxom Widow whose Fortune was more considerable than either of the former." Quoted in "Andrew Hamilton," *L&L* 2:417.

33. *L&L* 2:418–41.

34. "Laurestunis" was Penn's misspelling of *laurestinus*, now known as *Viburnum tinus*. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 12 June 1742, *PTP Micro.*

35. *L&L* 2:449–55.

36. James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, 6 July 1742, *PTP Micro.*

37. James Hamilton Letterbook, entry for 3 July 1749, quoted in *Robert Smith: Architect, Builder, Patriot, 1722–1777*, by Charles E. Peterson (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 2000), 29.

38. Peterson, *Robert Smith*.

39. Entries for July 1749, Cash Book, 1739–1757, James Hamilton Papers, HSP.

40. Entries for 1, 7 , 30 September 1749 and 3 January 1750, ibid.

41. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 30 April and 4 August 1749, *PTP Micro*.

42. Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 2 March 1750, ibid.

43. Entries for 11 and 19 July, 17 August, 14 September, 11 October, and 18 December 1750 and 3 January, 13 February, 28 March, and 11 June 1751, Cash Book, 1739–1757, Hamilton Papers.

44. Entries for 26 September and 20 October 1753, ibid.

45. Abigail Adams to Mrs. Smith, 21 November 1790, in Abigail Adams, *Letters of Mrs. Adams* (Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown, 1840), 348.

46. "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher," 267; Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 2:479.

47. Barbara Wells Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake, 1700–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 48.

48. As the engravings are from late in the century (1780s), this structure might represent a replacement by James Hamilton's nephew and heir, William Hamilton, who had a great interest in horticulture.

49. Thomas Penn to Lynford Lardner, 4 August 1749, *PTP Micro*.

50. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 25 October 1749, ibid.

51. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 30 April 1749, ibid. Elsewhere Hockley stated that Hamilton "proposes stucco & carved work in several of the rooms [at Bush Hill]." Hockley to Thomas Penn, 4 August 1749, ibid.

52. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 192.

53. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 14 March 1747, *PTP Micro*.

54. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 24 September 1751, ibid.

55. Thomas Penn to John Penn, 14 August 1753, ibid.

56. John Penn to Thomas Penn, 18 April 1752, ibid.

57. Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 1 March 1755, ibid.

58. Charleston was somewhat ahead in fashion, for paper was sold there as early as 1749. Carl Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 258.

59. See, e.g., *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 28 September 1752, 4 July, 3 October 1754.

60. Ezra Stiles, "Notebook of Itineraries," quoted in Peterson, *Robert Smith*, 30.

61. Hannah Callender, "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," ed. George Vaux, *PMHB* 12 (1888): 433.

62. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 30 April 1749, *PTP Micro*.

63. Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), 28.

64. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 239, 312.

65. On the Meschianza, see Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 2:290–93, 3:470–72.

66. David J. Kennedy dated Bush Hill 1748 on his watercolor of it.

67. Reports on Walnut Grove by Ron Koenig (1991) and Jennifer G. Goodman (1988) for a class taught by Roger Moss, University of Pennsylvania, copies at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia; Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with Some Notice of Their Owners and Occupants* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 466–80. The Wharton deeds are extremely problematic and have yet to be fully deciphered, making dating difficult. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 2:477–78.

68. The long chain of title for Belmont is summarized in *Belmont*, copy in Fairmount Park archives, 1-1–1-5. An older summary is *Brief of Title to the Mantua Farm: Late Belonging to Richard Peters* (Philadelphia, 1849), HSP.

69. The background of the Peters family comes from R. Stewart Brown, "An Account of the Oil Painting 'Liverpool in 1680' with Notes on the Peters Family of Platbridge and Liverpool," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 60 (1908): 35–69.

70. William Peters to Rev. Richard Peters, 4 February 1754, PP, 3:83.

71. Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 2 June 1753, *PTP Micro*. Hubertis Maurice Cummings, *Richard Peters: Provincial Secretary and Cleric, 1704–1776* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944). Richard Peters Jr. to William Rawle, 1825, *PMHB* 23 (1899): 205–9. James Logan to John Penn, 26 September 1736, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 3:15, HSP. Jeremiah Langhorne to William Peters, 20 May 1736; William Peters to Rev. Richard Peters, 18 January 1735; Levin Gale to William Allen, 24 March 1735; "Transcription of a conversation between Richard Peters and Mr. Cummings," 17 July 1737; Rev. Richard Peters to Bishop of London, 29 November 1737; and James Logan to Rev. Richard Peters, 8 June 1736, PP, 1:23, 21, 22, 29, 33, 24. Thomas Penn to Ferdinand John Paris, 25 April 1741, *PTP Micro*.

72. The biography of William Peters is related fully in *Belmont*, 1-8–1-32. See also Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 13 February 1740, *PTP Micro*; Thomas Penn to William Peters, 17 September 1742, ibid.; and S. Jenkins to William Peters, 1 November 1740, PP, 1:48.

73. Thomas Penn to Ferdinand John Paris, 25 April 1741, *PTP Micro*; Ferdinand John Paris to William Peters, 22 June, 1 August 1741, 20 January, 3 March 1742, PP, 1:54, 58, 71, 78; Lawrence Growden to William Peters, and Jeremiah Langhorne to William Peters, both 21 April 1742, Streper Papers, Bucks County, 157, 159, HSP; Thomas Penn to William Peters, 2 June, 22 August 1744, *PTP Micro*.

74. Alan Tully, *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726–1755* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 21.

75. Thomas Penn to William Peters, 22 August 1743, *PTP Micro*.

76. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 June 1744.

77. *Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, 6:74, and Breintnall-Sharp folder, HSP.

78. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 10 March 1744, *PTP Micro*. That Peters kept Mary Breintnall at Belmont is confirmed by two facts: Belmont was Peters's only known country property at the time; and family tradition from as early as 1800 recorded that William's sons had been born at Belmont.

79. Trinity Church Oxford Records, HSP. These same records also contain a cryptic reference to the baptism in April 1744 of two unnamed children of William and Mary Peters.

80. Areas of the original cottage walls that were not to be exposed remain ungalleted.

81. Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995), 167.

82. Colin Avery, ed., *Period Houses and Their Details* (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1974), 26–28. Hogarth was fond of including bay windows in his prints; examples include "Canvassing for Votes," plate 2, and "The Times," plate 1.

83. Peter Furnivall to William Peters, 1 July 1741, 5 April 1742, PP, 1:57, 81.

84. R. Manby to William Peters, 12 June 1742, 15 February 1743, 10 May 1744, ibid., 1:86, 107, and 2:10.

85. Receipt for payment from the Library Company of Philadelphia, 7 May 1750, PP, 2:80.

86. Robert Suite to William Peters, 27 February 1742, PP, 1:74; Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 19 August 1743, *PTP Micro*; Richard L. Bushman and Claudia L. Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America," *Journal of American History* 74 (March 1988): 1213–38, cited in "An Historical Report for Furnishing Hope Lodge, Flourtown, Pennsylvania," by Page Talbott and Martha Crary Halpern (unpublished report, 1992, available at Hope Lodge), 222.

87. Holidays by the sea are mentioned in Arnold, *Georgian Country House*, 138.

88. Ralph Suite to William Peters, 9 January 1742, PP, 1:69.

89. Thomas Penn to William Peters, 17 September 1742, *PTP Micro*.

90. List of bills paid, for 14 May 1740, PP, 1:42, records the importation of seventeen music books, as well as Milton's *Paradise Lost*. See also Alexander Graydon to William Peters, 6 March 1748, Bucks County 1745–1850 Papers, 5, HSP.

91. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 121–25. On music in Philadelphia in this period, see JoAnn Taricani, "Music in Colonial Philadelphia: Some New Documents," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 185–92; and Taricani, "Musical Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *PMHB* 113 (1989): 609–25.

92. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1997); John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

93. Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 20 June 1752, *PTP Micro.*

94. William Peters to Thomas Penn, 10 February 1759, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 9:69.

95. Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 20 June 1752, and William Peters to Thomas Penn, 29 August 1752, *PTP Micro.*

96. Thomas Penn to Governor Hamilton, 22 August 1760; Thomas Penn to Rev. Richard Peters, 15 November 1760; Thomas Penn to Governor Hamilton, 12 December 1760, ibid.

97. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Blockley Township, 65, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

98. The assessed value of Peters's estate was £359, which was figured as 60% of actual value. This figure represented values, not actual cash receipts. For example, two Negroes were accorded an annual value of £12 8s., although Peters of course did not receive this in cash. Ibid.

99. Ibid., 65 (Peters), 251 (the Penns), 1436 (Hamilton). Income or equivalent values listed include rents, income from public offices, livestock, slaves, and the value of property inhabited. Taxpayers' occupations were not included.

100. Peters's fall from grace is complex. Relevant documents include: John Penn to Thomas Penn, 18 December 1763; Thomas Penn to John Penn, 10 February 1764; Richard Penn to Thomas Penn, 15 June 1764; John Penn to Thomas Penn, 16 June 1764; William Peters to Governor Hamilton, 22 February 1763; John Penn to Thomas Penn, 1 September 1764; John Penn to Thomas Penn, 19 October 1764; William Allen to Thomas Penn, 13 March 1765; John Penn to Thomas Penn, 20 May 1765; and John Penn to Thomas Penn, 14 October 1765, in Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 9:190, 210, 228, 276, 292, 296, and 10:3, 17. Thomas Penn to William Penn, 10 August 1763, 14 July 1764; Thomas Penn to William Peters, 12 November 1762, 14 July 1764; Thomas Penn to John Penn, 13 July 1764; Thomas Penn to William Peters, 22 September 1764; and Thomas Penn to John Penn, 14 September 1765, all in *PTP Micro.* Memorandum of agreement between William Coxe, William Peters, and William Trent, 9 January 1762, Gratz Collection, case 4, box 9 (under Trent), HSP. Papers relating to purchase of land by William Peters and Daniel Clarke from George Croghan, Society Collection, HSP. "In re: lands of George Croghan and William Peters," 22 April 1773, Etting Collection, 38:32, HSP.

101. Thomas Penn to William Peters, 17 July 1766, *PTP Micro.*

102. Peters's youngest son, Thomas, wrote to him at Northampton, Pennsylvania, in July 1767. Thomas Peters to William Peters, 16 July 1767, PP, 6:50. See also William Peters to Thomas Penn, 24 December 1767, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 10:122.

103. Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, 26 February, 25 August 1770, *PTP Micro*; William Peters to Rev. Richard Peters, 27 May, 28 July 1769, PP, 6:78, 84; Elizabeth Peters to Rev. Richard Peters, 9 February 1770, PP, 6:101; William Peters to Thomas Penn, 11 February 1771, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 10:234; William Peters to Rev. Richard Peters, 2 March 1772, 7 November 1783, PP, 7:111, 9:70.

104. Philadelphia Tax Roll of 1767, Blockley Township, Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania.

105. Callender, "Extracts from the Diary," 454.

106. A pedestal for one of these statues is probably recorded in a view by James E. Taylor of 1861 at Winterthur Library. Until the Revolution this pedestal held a lead statue that was subsequently melted down for shot by Judge Richard Peters.

107. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 220.

108. Callender, "Extracts from the Diary," 444–45; William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (London, 1753), 25.

109. Deborah Logan, "A companion to the Afternoon Visit [to Belmont]," 11 November 1819, in Deborah Norris Logan Diaries, HSP.

110. Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," *Eighteenth Century Life* 8 (1983): 136–45.

111. On the Palladian movement's ideas about gardens, see David Leatherbarrow, "Character, Geometry and Perspective: The Third Earl of Shaftesbury's Principles of Garden Design," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (1984): 332–58.

112. Belair's floor area was about the same as Belmont's, but it had three stories.

113. For examples in the early republic, see Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

114. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 19.

115. Ibid., 209–10.

116. Ibid., 4, 204, 209–10.

117. Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 189.

118. Analysis of Shirley is difficult because it was altered once and possibly twice, then moved and altered again, and restored to various periods. Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (1952; repr., New York: Dover, 1987), 484–85, notes Shirley's importance and uniqueness and attributes it to Peter Harrison, not unreasonably because of a family connection between Mrs. Shirley and Mrs. Harrison. However, if Harrison was the designer, and if the current research on its original plan is accurate, then it was not Harrison's finest hour. The original plan as currently hypothesized was truly bizarre, with many small rooms and narrow corridors and connections, as well as partitions that hit at the middle of window openings. See HABS, MASS, 275.

119. Mark Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II*, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 148.

120. See Daniel Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* ([Newark]: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1986).

121. Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture, and An Essay upon Harmony, London 1739* ([Farnborough, Hants., UK]: Gregg International, 1971), plate on 208.

122. James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London, 1739), plates 59 and 68. The *OED* gives an early definition of *closet* as "a room for privacy or retirement; a private room; an inner chamber."

123. On Marble Hill, see John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), 217; D. S. MacColl, "Richmond Hill and Marble Hill," *Architectural Review* 10 (1901): 23–29; and Ingleson C. Goodison, "English Interior Decoration: The Early Georgian or Palladian Period," ibid. 34 (1913): 2. On Pope's villa, see Diana Balmori, "Architecture, Landscape, and the Intermediate Structure: Eighteenth Century Experiments in Mediation," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (March 1991): 45. John Summerson has identified the one-three-one facade composition as characteristic of English eighteenth-century "villas." The term *villa* in this context is Summerson's, although it reflects one aspect of the word's use in England at the time. See John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715–1842* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 59.

124. Another Philadelphia example is the stairway of the Samuel Powel House.

125. In his preface to *The British Architect*, 2nd ed. (London, 1758), Abraham Swan stressed the importance of stairways to his work and noted that Palladio had neglected this aspect of design. He did note Palladio's statement about stairs: "Great care ought to be taken in the placing of stair-cases, because it is no small difficulty to find a situation fit for them, and that doth not impede the remaining part of the fabric . . . and it would please me much, if it was in a place, where before that one comes to it, the most beautiful part of the house was seen; because it makes the house (although it should be little) seem very large" (iii). Quoted from Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, trans. Isaac Ware (1738; repr., Dover, 1965), bk. 1, chap. 28.

126. Earlier houses in other colonies include the Thomas Nelson House, at Yorktown, Virginia (c. 1710–30), and the Thomas Hancock House, at Boston (1739–40). A well-known example is Mount Airy, in Richmond County, Virginia (1760).

127. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, x, 69; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 53–55.

128. Broadside dated between 1850 and 1855, Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

129. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 61, 63.

130. Ibid., 95.

131. Ibid., 196.

132. Ibid.

133. Steven Parissien, *Palladian Style* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 204.

134. Ibid., 203.

135. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 8, 170; Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, 192.

136. Robert C. Smith, "Philadelphia Architecture," in *Historic Philadelphia*, ed. Luther P. Eisenhardt (Philadelphia, 1953), 294.

137. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 30 April 1749, *PTP Micro*.

138. On English decorative plaster the standard reference is Geoffrey Beard, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain* (London: Phaidon, 1975).

139. Peter Fleetwood-Hesketh, "Alkrington Hall, Lancashire," in *The Country Seat*, ed. Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Penguin, 1970), 143.

140. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 196.

141. Beard, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain*, v, makes this point.

142. The earliest known modeled plaster ceiling was that discovered by archaeologists in the Jamestown governor's house as remodeled about 1680. See Cary Carson et al., "New World, Real World: Improvising English Culture in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 74 (February 2008): 83.

143. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 119, 121.

144. According to Helen Park, *A List of Architectural Books Available in America before the Revolution* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls,, 1973), Pain's book first appeared in the colonies in 1760.

145. Thomas Penn to William Peters, 22 August 1743, and Penn to Rev. Richard Peters, 15 November 1760, *PTP Micro*.

146. Robert Morris, quoted in Parissien, *Palladian Style*, 114.

147. On the ideal of retirement and the purposes of the bourgeois villa in England in this period, see Archer, *Literature of British Domestic Architecture*, 56–70; Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 147–69; and James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 35–41. Robert Morris is quoted in Parissien, *Palladian Style*, 114.

148. The distinction between gardening for ornamentation and gardening for food was made in mid-eighteenth-century Philadelphia. The Englishman Daniel Fisher, who described many Philadelphia gardens (including Springettsbury) on a trip in 1755, said of William Allen's older and modest country seat in Germantown that its garden "consisted of Edibles only." "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher," 269.

149. See, e.g., the editors' introduction to *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700–1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 3, 15.

150. William A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 43, 113–17, 122.

151. Both quoted in Sarah Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 64–65. The minister was Elizabeth Wilkinson of Britain.

152. The opposition to Quaker interests is a recurrent theme among members of the proprietary group. Examples of correspondence involving Peters include William Plumstead to William Peters, 25 December 1740, Society Collection, HSP; William Peters to Thomas Penn, 14 January 1756, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 8:3; William Peters to Thomas Penn, 19 October 1757, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 8:281; Thomas Penn to William Peters, 7 July 1756, *PTP Micro*; William Peters to Thomas Penn, 17 February 1758, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 9:11, 13.

153. Mark Girouard, *The English Town: A History of Urban Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 109–11, discusses the importance of attorneys for town life and new aspects of culture in the eighteenth century. Their legal skills were necessary in new fields, and they engaged in nonlegal activities, such as architecture, which would eventually be taken over by other experts. Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance*, 205, concurs and notes the general importance of all the professions, many of which were just emerging in this period.

154. On using fashion to reinforce group membership in the eighteenth century, see Hannah Grieg, "Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's *Beau Monde*," in Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, esp. 307.

CHAPTER 12 *An Explosion and Variety of Country Houses at Midcentury*

1. Coleman paid £96 for the land, or £8 per acre, which suggests minimally improved land. The land evidently had a house on it at the time of Coleman's purchase in 1756 (the deed calls it "a messuage or tenement and piece of land"), probably one of the farmhouses belonging to Thomas Shute. Among many other deeds that lead to this conclusion, the following can be cited: £10 per acre for a tract of unimproved land in Passyunk, Joseph Turner to Joseph Sims, 1752, Philadelphia County Deed Books, H 3:374; £18.75 per acre for improved land in Passyunk, Francis Manny to John Pole, 1753, ibid., D 13:298; and £8.5 per acre for unimproved land at Richmond in Northern Liberties, Samuel Holme et al. to Joseph Lynn et al., 1740, ibid., G 2:274.

2. Biographical information on Coleman is from June Avery Snyder and Martin P. Snyder, *The Story of the Naomi Wood Collection and Woodford Mansion* (Wayne, PA: Haverford House, 1981), 25–29.

3. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 January 1769.

4. "Ledger Accounts of William Coleman," Am 9108, HSP.

5. Samuel Wetherill Jr., Woodford fire insurance survey, 5 September 1769, Philadelphia Contributionship. The evolution of the house is presented in Mark Reinberger, "The Evolution of Woodford, an Eighteenth-Century 'Retirement,'" *PMHB* 121 (1997): 29–51.

6. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 May 1769, supp., given in full in Snyder and Snyder, *Naomi Wood Collection and Woodford*, 34.

7. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 March 1771.

8. James Logan to Thomas Penn, 5 November 1743, *PTP Micro*. The house was part of a general change in Kinsey's character upon elevation to the highest judicial post in the colony. Formerly a well-respected Quaker, Kinsey became noted for heavy drinking and a general decline in his moral foundations. Richard Peters wrote to Thomas Penn in 1747 that Kinsey's "Conduct is to be sure unbecoming a man in his Station; he is quite gay, affects young Company, . . . is perpetually galanting the Ladies, lives in the utmost profusion at home, his Children, or at least the Eldest, is full of Money & extravagant." Richard Peters Letterbook, 1747–1750, 2–3, HSP. Indeed, the extravagant living was beyond Kinsey's income, and after he died suddenly an investigation showed that he had embezzled money from the public coffers. *L&L* 2:600. Kinsey's country house and forty-six-acre property were valuable: James Pemberton paid the impressive price of £1,250 for them in 1758.

Not far to the east of the Kinsey-Pemberton property, and across the road from Gray's Ferry, was another Pemberton country seat, Evergreen, built by Israel Pemberton Sr. (1685–1754) on a seventy-six-acre parcel and willed to his son Israel Pemberton Jr. (1715–1779). Israel Jr. served as an executor for Kinsey and may have paved the way for his brother James to buy Kinsey's nearby house. We know that Evergreen possessed a chaise house, a stable, and a garden, but the appearance of the house was not recorded. *L&L* 3:1006, 1008, 1023.

9. Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with Some Notice of Their Owners and Occupants* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 503.

10. Outside corner fireplaces are relatively odd but do occur in the Delaware valley in more vernacular structures, such as farmhouses. An example is the Smith-Cadbury House, in Moorestown, New Jersey (1738), which had diagonally opposed corner fireplaces in its original hall-parlor plan. Traditionally, corner fireplaces, especially those on outside corners, have been seen in the Delaware valley as examples of Swedish influence.

11. Frank Welsh to Martha Moffat, 18 December 2003, located at Woodford.

12. Frank S. Welsh, "Woodford Mansion: A Comparative Microscopical Paint and Color Analysis: Phase One" (unpublished report, 1992, available at Woodford).

13. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 7.

14. Ibid., 55.

15. Robert Morris, *Rural Architecture: Consisting of regular designs of plans and elevations for buildings in the country . . . Illustrated with fifty quarto copper-plates* (London, 1750), plate 37.

16. See, e.g., William Halfpenny, *Useful Architecture in Twenty-one Designs* (London, 1752).

17. In one case—Little Manor, in Littleton, North Carolina (1804)—the main block of the facade comprised five bays topped by a giant modillioned pediment, as in the Marks House. On the North Carolina and Virginia form, see Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: North Carolina* (Savannah, GA: Beehive, 1985), 111–22; and Catherine Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 88–96. An extant example, pictured in ibid., 93, is the Hinton-Morgan House, in Pasuqotank County, North Carolina (1826).

18. A Philadelphia-area house of the Federal period that had this form was Mount Pleasant, in East Nantmeal Township, Chester County (1783). Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania Architecture, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries* (Exton, PA: Schiffer, 1976), 67. Other Federal houses with a large front pediment include the Moses-Myers House, in Norfolk, Virginia, and the Hunt-Morgan House, in Lexington, Kentucky. These two examples, like most in the Federal era, were considerably deeper than the Marks House. More relevant to houses in Philadelphia is Rose Hill, just outside Chestertown, Maryland, built in the 1760s by a branch of the Chew family and thus having a Philadelphia connection. But again, Rose Hill is later than the Marks House, so that if there was any influence, it had to flow from Philadelphia southward.

19. Much of the history of Whitby is taken from an unpublished paper by Brooke D. Wortham, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992, copy in Athenaeum of Philadelphia, and documents and sources cited therein.

20. H. Louis Duhring, "Whitby Hall, Kingsessing," in *The Year Book of the Twenty Seventh Annual Architectural Exhibition: Philadelphia, 1924* (n.p., n.d).

21. The property was described as comprising a lot, a house, a garden, a coach house, and a stable. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 October 1758.

22. Many notices in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* recorded Coultas's ships clearing the harbor.

23. Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, quoted in *Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia, 1670–1838*, by Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1939), 252.

24. Ibid., 245.

25. The door may well date from the Federal period, when the piazza presumably was added. That the piazza shown in old photographs dates from the Federal era and not from the colonial is suggested by its floor nearly covering cellar windows. These windows would originally have been exposed and above grade.

26. *Mount Pleasant*, 42, 98.

27. The date of the Jacob Duché House comes from the 1767 Philadelphia County Tax Roll of 1767, where Jacob Duché, of Walnut Ward, is recorded as taxed for a "new house unfinished," assessed at £17. Rare Book Library, University of Pennsylvania. The painting of the Duché House shows the interest in Philadelphia of lightning striking houses, a product, no doubt, of Franklin's experiments. The du Simitière painting of Belmont illustrates prominent lightning rods on that house's chimneys.

28. *Mount Pleasant*, 80.

29. Some millwork remained with other elements of the house in the move to Haverford, but the finest, in two rooms and the stairhall, went to the Detroit Institute of Arts, where it was altered during installation.

30. Herbert C. Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidleman, *Colonial Architecture for Those About to Build* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1913), 42.

31. Elizabeth V. Chew, "'A mockery of the Surveyor's style'? Alternatives to Inigo Jones in Seventeenth-Century Elite British Architecture," in *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture*, ed. Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 67.

32. Lita H. Solis-Cohen, "Cedar Grove," *Magazine Antiques* 82 (November 1962): 511–14.

33. Ellen G. Gartrell, "Domestic Medicine in Colonial Philadelphia: The Manuscript Receipt Book of Elizabeth Coates Paschall" (unpublished paper, 1981, written for Dr. Charles Rosenberg's History 700, University of Pennsylvania), copy at HSP, along with Paschall's receipt book.

34. Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 86–89; Solis-Cohen, "Cedar Grove"; Fiske Kimball, "Cedar Grove," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, February 1928, 5–14.

35. Anna Wharton Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family, 1682–1896* (Philadelphia, 1896), 14–15. Fisher had moved to Philadelphia about 1745 from the Three Lower Counties. "Brief of Title to 'The Cliffs,'" copies in Fairmount Park archives and Philadelphia Historical Commission archives; Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City*, 310; F. Corlies Morgan to Fiske Kimball, 15 May 1931, in Fairmount Park archives; William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 2 (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, 1938), 523; Hannah Logan Smith, "Memorials and Reminiscences in Private Life" (1839), 244–45, Thomas Gilpin Papers, HSP.

36. By the time of its demolition, The Cliffs had stucco on all four elevations, but this was not original. When the Historic American Building Survey recorded the house in the 1930s, it had no stucco on the end walls. The doorway on the rear (away from the river) definitely was not original to the colonial period, while the entrance on the front—with a broad, single-faced, eared architrave and a heavily molded pediment—appeared more authentically colonial. However, its door was set at the inside face of the wall with paneled jambs outside, which was unknown in Philadelphia colonial work before the 1760s and unusual before the Revolution. It might be suggested, then, that the exterior of The Cliffs received a general upgrading in the Federal period, at which time the stucco was added to cover the unfashionable rubble stonework. The small pediments on both fronts probably also date from this period.

37. There has never been an in-depth examination of early Germantown houses with respect to typical Pennsylvania German floor plans, perhaps because so few have survived. Rather, studies have focused on Lancaster, Berks, and Lebanon Counties in rural Pennsylvania.

38. On these examples of Germantown architecture, see Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, *Historic Structures Report: Wyck House* (Philadelphia, 1986), 46, 114; and Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955).

39. Charles Jones Wister Sr., the head of the third generation to inhabit the house, named it after an English manor house depicted in *Thinks-I-to-Myself, A Serio-Ludico, Tragico-Comico Tale*, by Edward Nares (New York: Richard Scott, 1812), with whose family he identified. Bruce Cooper Gill, "Grumblethorpe," *Magazine Antiques* 124 (August 1983): 296–300.

40. Tinckom, Tinckom, and Simon, *Historic Germantown*, 8, 28, 34, 56–57, 77.

41. Charles Jones Wister, Jr. Diary, 1854, Eastwick Collection, box 4, no. 10, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

42. Daniel Wister's Garden Book (1771–1776), Eastwick Collection, box 3, item 12, American Philosophical Society.

43. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (1748; Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 53, 100.

44. The house was restored by G. Edwin Brumbaugh from 1957 to 1967; as there was good documentation, including a surviving scale model of the house made by Charles Jones Wister Jr., we assume a high degree of accuracy in the restoration. The pent roof and balconies were part of the restoration. The rear balcony is useless, as is the stair now, but this is an early-nineteenth-century stair that replaced the original.

45. Gill, "Grumblethorpe," 298.

46. Charles Lang Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988), chap. 1; Cynthia G. Falk, *Architecture and Artifacts of the Pennsylvania Germans: Constructing Identity in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 183.

47. As early as 1732 Allen had bought land for a farm or country seat in Bucks County, near Pennsbury; it was recorded in July 1736 that Allen, his mother, his wife, and their children were there harvesting and fishing. Although the place had a house, it apparently was not anything beyond a farm dwelling. After establishing Mount Airy, he sold this land. Allen's son Andrew (c. 1740–1825), a Philadelphia attorney, also had a country seat or farm in Bucks County. *L&L* 3:209.

48. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 May 1753.

49. *L&L* 3:232–39.

50. Ibid., 3:243.

51. William Allen to D. Barclay & Sons, 14 October 1765, in *Extracts from Chief Justice William Allen's Letter Book*, ed. Lewis B. Walker (Pottsville, PA: Standard, 1897).

52. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 29 March 1748, 26 April 1750. Our thanks to James Duffin for these references.

53. "Extracts from the Diary of Daniel Fisher, 1755," *PMHB* 17 (1893): 269, noted in Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, 1683–1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 37.

54. *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 April 1785.

55. *William Allen's Letter Book*, 26–34.

56. Ibid., 78–79.

57. In 1785 the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Agriculture was created in Philadelphia.

58. Joel Fry, "John Bartram House and Garden," Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS), PA-1, 2004, 27–28.

59. For further background on Bartram, see esp. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram from Lake Ontario to the River St. John* (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1982); Nancy E. Hoffman and John C. Van Horne, eds., *America's Curious Botanist: A Tercentennial Reappraisal of John Bartram, 1699–1777* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society in cooperation with the Library Company of Philadelphia and the John Bartram Association, 2004); and John Bartram, *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734–1777*, ed. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992).

60. Until very recently it was widely believed that Bartram's house began with this older Swedish home. However, this notion is thoroughly disputed in Fry, "John Bartram House and Garden," and James A. Jacobs, "John Bartram House and Garden," HALS, PA-1-A (2001).

61. This per Jonathan Burgess, a professor of classics at the University of Toronto, as told to Mark Reinberger in 2012 by Joel Fry, of Bartram's Garden.

62. Michael J. Chiarappa, "The Social Context of Eighteenth-Century West New Jersey Brick Artisanry," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, IV*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 31–43.

63. Ned C. Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 148.

64. The best source for the physical history of the house is Jacobs, "John Bartram House and Garden," 15.

65. John Bartram to Jared Eliot, 24 January 1757, in Bartram, *Correspondence of John Bartram*.

66. Joel T. Fry, "John Bartram and His Garden: Would John Bartram Recognize His Garden Today?" in Hoffman and Van Horne, *America's Curious Botanist*, 156–58.

67. William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall*, facsimile of the 1849 edition with an introduction by Joseph Ewan (New York: Hafner, 1967), 39. The medical interest was also reflected in Bartram's introduction, appendix, and commentary to Thomas Short, *Medicina Britannica or a Treatise of such Plants as are Generally to be found in the Fields or Gardens in Great-Britain* (Philadelphia, 1751).

68. A 1996 HALS soil survey concluded that "the garden . . . [has] eight or more distinct soils," from silt loam loess to silty clay to sandy gravel. Fry, "John Bartram House and Garden," 3–4. We are particularly indebted to Joel Fry's careful research on the history of Bartram's garden in this and many other articles. Bartram told J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur that it was "certain debts and want of meadows" at the family farm that had held him back. Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1904; repr., Carlisle, MA: Applewood Books, [2007]), 270–71.

69. Fry, "John Bartram House and Garden," 3, citing Laurel F. Mueller, "Soil Mapping and Classification, Historic Bartram's Garden, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania" (unpublished report, Soil Services Company, Philadelphia, 1997, available at Bartram's Garden).

70. William Bartram, "Some Account of the Late Mr. John Bartram of Pennsylvania," *Medical and Physical Journal* 1 (1804), quoted in Darlington, *Memorials*, 39.

71. Alexander Garden to Cadwallader Colden, 4 November 1754, in *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, 9 vols. (1918; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1973), 4:471–72. Joel Fry excuses Bartram as sowing a "naturalistic garden aesthetic," but suffocating weeds are neither a good farming nor a good garden practice. However, Crevecoeur did not write about the garden itself, but just the larger farm. It is a question as to whether Bartram would recognize his garden today. Fry, "John Bartram and His Garden," 164.

72. The best illustrations of Bartram's travels are Joel Fry's maps in Hoffman and Van Horne, *American' Curious Botanist*, xiii, xv, xix, xxi.

73. Fry, "John Bartram and His Garden," 173.

74. Joel Fry gives an excellent summary of some of the representative plants in Bartram's garden in ibid., 173–83.

75. Alfred E. Schuyler and Elizabeth P. McLean, "The Versatile Bartrams and Their Enduring Botanical Legacy," in Hoffman and Van Horne, *America's Curious Botanist*, 185–201.

76. See, for example, an illustration of a delphinium in Philip Miller, *Figures of the Most Beautiful, Useful, and Uncommon Plants Described in the Gardener's Dictionary* (London, 1760).

77. Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 129, 267.

78. James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), 153; Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 268.

79. "The proprietors of these grounds [along the Schuylkill] are now incorporated; we yearly pay to the treasurer of the company a certain sum, which makes an aggregate, superior to the casualties that generally happen either by inundations or the musk squash. It is owing to this happy contrivance that so many thousand acres of meadow have been rescued from the Schuylkill, which now both enriches and embellishes so much of the neighbourhood of our city. . . . The expenses are very considerable, particularly when we have land, brooks, trees and brush to clear away. But such is the excellence of these bottoms and the goodness of the grass for fattening of cattle, that the produce of three years pays all advances." Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 263.

80. Bartram used a combination of old lime, ashes, horse manure, old hay, mud, and straw. Ibid., 268.

81. Ibid., 267, 278. We do not know what fruit Bartram grew in his orchard, but it was enough to supply a cider press. He also sent a barrel of Newtown Pippins, an American native popular for making hard cider, to Benjamin Franklin in 1759, when the latter was in London. Franklin extolled its keeping properties.

82. Sources for Graeme's biography include Charles Harper Smith, "The Keith Estate in Horsham," *Hatboro (PA) Public Spirit*, 18 February 1937; Nancy Wosstroff, "Graeme Park: An Eighteenth Century Country Estate in Horsham, Pennsylvania" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1958); and William J. Buck, *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1884). Buck's original manuscript material on Graeme Park survives in a bound volume at the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA. Record of Graeme's medical degree is in the records of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

83. Thomas Graeme to John Penn, 9 November 1746, Penn Papers, Private Correspondence, 3:63, HSP.

84. Thomas Penn to Thomas Graeme, 31 July 1754, *PTP Micro*.

85. James Young to the Graemes, 18 September 1755, in Buck, *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, 887.

86. Thomas Graeme to John Penn, 1 July 1755, *PTP Micro*.

87. Susan Kardas and Edward Larrabee, "Exploratory Garden Archaeology at Three Historic Sites: Graeme Park, Pennsbury Manor, and the Moon Williamson House" (unpublished report, Historic Sites Research, Princeton, NJ, 1986, available at Graeme Park). A depiction of a very comparable English front garden is provided by a fire screen at Peckover House, Wisbech, embroidered by Jane Jessup about 1750. Published in Steven Parissien, *Palladian Style* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 188.

88. Matthew J. Mosca, "Graeme Park Historic Paint and Finishes Report," *Graeme Park*, app. 2.

89. These dates were determined from circumstantial evidence and paint analysis. See *Graeme Park*, 133.

90. Diary of William Rawle, [23 August] 1786, in "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 23 (1889): 533–34.

91. The kitchen was reconstructed in 1969 with a single room in the loft. However, the original may have been somewhat larger, for an advertisement described it as "a good stone kitchen near the mansion house, with convenient rooms adjoining it for a housekeeper and servants." *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, 29 August 1787. These rooms may have been in the mansion house, but they could have been wings or an extension of the kitchen building, in the manner of Stenton or Hope Lodge.

92. The paper is an eighteenth-century laid paper and has two coats of paint: an undercoat of whiting (chalk) in a gum-arabic and isinglass (fish gelatin) medium; and the finish coat of verdigris (cupric

acetate) mixed with whiting. Mosca, "Graeme Park Historic Paint and Finishes Report," *Graeme Park*, app. 2, p. 19.

93. "Inventory of property of High and Elizabeth Fergusson, 1778," *PMHB* 39 (1915): 294. Although this inventory dates from after Thomas Graeme's death, it clearly reflected room use during his lifetime. Elizabeth did not have the money to buy new furnishings after her father died, nor did her husband have much money.

94. Paneled rooms painted in a light color to brighten them were common in this period. See Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 130.

95. The connection between the parlor and the dining room was not so elegant, with the low passage under the stair landing, where tall persons would have had to duck to avoid hitting their heads.

96. Ann Graeme to Elizabeth Graeme, 20 August 1762, in Buck, *History of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, 887.

CHAPTER 13 *The Flowering of the 1760s*

1. Mount Pleasant appears prominently in all the major surveys of colonial architecture. Fiske Kimball, who directed a restoration of the house, included it as a touchstone of fully developed Georgian style in *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 101. Hugh Morrison was somewhat offended by it: he called it "pretentious" and "*nouveau-riche*" and criticized the design of several details. Morrison, *Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 526–28. William H. Pierson Jr. used it as a prime example of the influence of James Gibbs in colonial America. Pierson, *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-classical Styles* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1976), 125. Finally, James D. Kornwolf calls it the "most architecturally distinguished of Philadelphia's surviving suburban houses" in *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 2:1232–34.

2. John Adams, quoted in Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with Some Notice of Their Owners and Occupants* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 214.

3. *Mount Pleasant*, 7; *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 23 May 1771.

4. Philadelphia County Deed Books, D 6:503–5.

5. Ibid., D 2:359, 32:355; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16, 23 May, 11 July 1771.

6. Mount Pleasant was advertised as follows in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 12 January 1769:

> To be Lett or Sold by
> JOHN MACPHERSON
> (Who expects soon to go abroad)
>
> A PLANTATION in the Northern Liberties (with great propriety called MOUNT PLEASANT) on the river Schuylkill, about 4 miles from Philadelphia, containing 160 acres of land, about 68 acres of which are in good grass great part of which is watered by constant springs, and from which were cut last year at least 80 tons of the best hay, and is tho't will produce much more next year, as 12 acres of the 68 were put in red clover and not mowed. There are a great variety and number of the best inoculated and grafted fruit trees, viz. apples, apricots, cherries, peaches, pears, plumbs, quinces, and a number of chestnut and shell-bark trees. The kitchen garden is large and within a stone wall, it contains a fine variety of fruit trees, above 50 beds of asparagus, as many of strawberries, and one of artichokes; there are three covered dung pits, with sundry other conveniences for collecting manure, a large covered fold for sheep, and a very convenient moveable pen for manuring the land by cattle. It is needless to mention the many genteel, regular and convenient buildings on it, as they are well known they are at least equal if not surpassing anything of the kind in North America; the situation is remarkably healthy and beautiful and the convenience of fishing and fowling are excellent. The plantation may easily be divided into 5 small ones, on 3 of which are already built houses, etc. for tenants. It will be lett with or without the principal or mansion house, as can be agreed upon.
>
> Also for sale, with or without the mansion, 100 sheep, 12 cows, 3 steers, one bull, 3 horses, and several stout healthy negroes. One of which is a coachman, carter, and ploughman, one a

> gardener, one a cook and dairymaid, which 3 may be lett with the place. To be sold also, a scow, a battle, carts, ploughs, harrows, and all sorts of utensils for the plantation, garden, quarry, and dairy. There are several quarries of very good stone, which a tenant may work, as can be agreed upon. The place is under good post and rail fence, great part of which is ditched. If it is let, the tenant may have all the hay, and the straw left upon it at a reasonable value, for the said McPherson is determined not to permit either of these articles. To be sent from the place, while it is his property, which is mentioned to prevent trouble. No person need apply as a tenant unless he can give proper security for complying with his part of the agreement.
>
> Said McPherson has also for sale, a plantation next the Rising Sun, on Germantown road containing 40 acres of land,
>
> There are on it, a good stone dwelling-house, log barn, stable and cow-house.

7. *Mount Pleasant*, 61. The dormers have recently been restored to their original appearance: gabled with keystones and flared (but not carved) at each side.

8. The dark quoining and similarities between Mount Pleasant and the work of the Scottish architect William Adam have caused some observers to posit a Franco-Scottish origin for Mount Pleasant, as Macpherson was a Scot. This hypothesis was first suggested in a lecture by Beatrice Garvan and formalized in a note by Martha Halpern, "The French Connection at Mount Pleasant" (1996, files of Philadelphia Museum of Art); and also repeated in Roger Kennedy, *Orders from France: the Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780–1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 14–20. However, there is English precedent for this feature, which occurs as early as John Webb's Ashdown House, Berkshire (c. 1650). Moreover, supposed Scottish features really reflect English Palladianism's impact on its neighbor to the north. *Mount Pleasant*, 61, 104.

9. Batty Langley, *City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* (London, 1750), plate 52, noted in *Mount Pleasant*, 61; Abraham Swan, *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (London, 1757), bk. 1, plate 6, and bk. 2, plates 11, 28; Swan, *The British Architect* (London, 1758), plate 22.

10. *Mount Pleasant*, 103.

11. Ibid., p. 51.

12. Elements from Swan, *British Architect*, that could have been combined to create the frontispiece design might be, for example, the fanlight and keystone from plate 13, the pediment from plate 14, and the rustication inside a Doric order of plate 15, all from bk. 1. Swan also has several doorways that could have helped Nevell, such as those in plates 21 and 23.

13. John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004), 203.

14. Swan, *British Architect*, iii.

15. *Mount Pleasant*, 133.

16. Ibid., 48.

17. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 93.

18. Swan, *Collection of Designs*, bk. 2, plate 35.

19. Ibid., bk. 1, plates 26, 30, 34, and 51, and bk. 2, plates 21–23. The partition between the dining room and the hall was removed below the cornice in 1871, when the house was operated as a restaurant. It was rebuilt by 1913, and at least the cornice is original to the house. It is unclear whether the niche in this wall is purely a product of the Colonial Revival or is original. The breaks in the cornice above the niche suggest the corbel blocks on the chimney break opposite. *Mount Pleasant*, 151, 168.

20. The left cupboard is false.

21. *Mount Pleasant*, 20 and n. 24.

22. Ibid., chap. 2, n. 110, citing Thomas Nevell Daybook, 123.

23. "Port Royal," HABS/HAER, PA, 51-PHILA, data sheets.

24. The rear wing appears in photographs and dated from the early nineteenth century; it held a kitchen and a dining room.

25. Like much woodwork at Winterthur, Port Royal's was "stretched" to fill much larger rooms than those in the original house.

26. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 12 April 1768, quoted in *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century*, by Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles

Simon (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 10. Though an 1811 guide book promoted Germantown as a quiet summer retreat (see Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, 1683–1800* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976], 55), both the level of industry and the density of residential development increased throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the first half of the twentieth.

27. Germantown residents showed little interest in politics, an attitude that lasted into the Federal era. See Wolf, *Urban Village*, 179–80; Tinckom, Tinckom, and Simon, *Historic Germantown*, 17.

28. Burton Alva Konkle, *Benjamin Chew, 1722–1810: Head of the Pennsylvania Judiciary System under the Colony and Commonwealth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), 12, 27.

29. Ibid., 34, 36.

30. Ibid., 51, 69–70, 90.

31. Ibid., 56, 64, 81.

32. Ibid., 96.

33. Ibid., 118 (quotation), 127, 133, 136.

34. This statement assumes that the present topography at least roughly follows the original. However, because of cutting and filling during the nineteenth-century construction of streets, the exact nature of the original grades cannot be determined.

35. The best evidence for the eighteenth-century landscape at Cliveden comes from documents for work done in the 1760s and early 1770s, accounts of the battle of Germantown, and illustrations of the battle, particularly the battle medal, which bears one of the earliest images of the battle produced and provides detail that seems unexplainable unless it is based on a fairly accurate recollection of fact. Konkle, *Benjamin Chew*, opposite 170. To these items can be added features suggested by exploratory archaeology.

36. Account between Jacob Knor and Benjamin Chew, 2 December 1769, CP, box 248. There definitely was a milkhouse by the Federal period.

37. "Carpenters Work of Jacob Knor at Cliveden, 1766," in Cliveden Account Book and independent document, both in CP, box 248.

38. Drawing 3 is on heavier paper than that of drawings 1 and 2 and carries the watermark "GR" with a crest of the English monarchy. We find this paper used for other documents with Chew and Peters connections. The lines are in brown ink, and the walls are shaded in medium gray ink. The scale of the drawing is 1″ = 10′, as noted.

39. Drawing 4 is on lightweight paper with no watermark. It is drawn with lines in brown ink, a light brown wash on the side pavilion and on the first-floor central pavilion, a dark gray wash on the roof and windows, and a medium dark brown wash on the roof balustrade and the front steps (with a smear to the left). The height of the first-floor order is noted at the right edge of the sheet: 10′6″ for the area between the water table and entablature, and 2′7½″ for the height of the entablature, a specificity that suggests the use of a book with rules of proportions for the orders. The scale of the drawing is 1″ = 10′.

40. Drawing 4 does not come from plate 14 of the reprinted and best-known version of Swan's *Collection of Designs in Architecture*, nor from any other pattern books that we have found to date. According to John Archer, there were many versions of Swan, with different plate numbering, so a Swan source is still possible. *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715–1842* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 796–800. Unless there were at least fourteen different elevation schemes for Cliveden, which is unlikely, it probably represents a plate from an unidentified book.

41. Like drawing 3, drawing 6 is on paper with a watermark of the English royal crest and "GR." It is drawn with brown ink lines, a light gray wash on the mansion walls and chimneys, medium gray on the dependencies, roof, and shadows, and dark gray on the windows. The paper is folded at the top of the image. The reverse has several notations of "L" and "The," as if the writer were practicing or testing a pen. The scale of the drawing is 1″= 10′, as noted.

42. Philip Warner was paid £20 for "painting the roof 405 yds, 8 ft., 5 in. with 2 coats @ 1/0." "Accounts with Philip Warner, painter," Cliveden Account Book, CP. It is known from physical evidence that the later colonnade roof was gray, so it can be assumed that the mansion's was as well. See *Cliveden*, 1:150 and notes.

43. Thomas J. McGuire, "Cliveden and the Battle of Germantown" (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), Cliveden archives.

44. See account with Leonard Stoneburner and accounts of stonework with John Hesser for dwelling house, both in CP, box 248.

45. See entry for 19 July 1765 in "Carpenters Work of Jacob Knor at Cliveden, 1766," ibid.: "a trip for red ceader for colums . . . for frontice."

46. Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, trans. Isaac Ware (1738; repr., Dover, 1965), bk. 1, p. 17.

47. The basic dormer cost £5. There was an additional charge for the Gothic sash and the material of the cheeks.

48. William Henry Toms, *Builder's Dictionary, or, Gentleman and Architect's Companion*, 2 vols. (1734; repr., Washington, DC: Association for Preservation Technology, 1981), vol. 2, s.v. "Stone."

49. Benjamin Chew to William Fisher, 12 December 1766, CP.

50. For Cliveden as a premonition of neoclassical severity, see David L. Barquist, "'The Honours of a Court' or 'the Severity of Virtue': Household Furnishings and Cultural Aspirations in Philadelphia," in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750–1800*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1994), 320.

51. Morrison Heckscher, "Philadelphia Chippendale: The Influence of the *Director* in America," *Furniture History: The Journal of the Furniture History Society* 21 (1985): 287.

52. Probably because of his own envy of Chew's position, William Peters stoked the fires of suspicion about Chew. William Peters to Thomas Penn, 17 February 1758, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 9:11, 13. See also Richard Penn to Thomas Penn, 15 June 1764, ibid., 9:228.

53. See William Peters to Thomas Penn, 17 February 1758, ibid., 9:11, 13.

54. Cornforth notes a somewhat similar arrangement at Chicheley Hall, Buckinghamshire (early 1720s). *Early Georgian Interiors*, 287.

55. Carter's Grove, near Williamsburg, Virginia (1750–53), furnishes another colonial example of a synthesis of central-hall traditions that is close to Cliveden's. Here too the front hall is widened laterally, separated by a screen from the rear stairhall, and treated with a level of finish equal to or greater than that of any other space in the house. Another is Cleve, King George County, Virginia (1754).

56. Mark Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, II*, ed. Camille Wells (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 139n8; Ann Sophia Penn Chew, memo, 12 June 1871, CP, box 200.

57. Flush-board dados also occur in rooms 103 and 104 at Cliveden, but these were added in the Federal period.

58. Luke Beckerdite, "Philadelphia Carving Shops, Part II: Bernard and Jugiez," *Magazine Antiques* 128 (September 1985): 498–513. Bernard and Jugiez's earliest known advertisement in Philadelphia appeared in 1762. They may have worked on Mount Pleasant. After Cliveden they definitely worked at the Powel House and the John Cadwalader House and collaborated with the furniture maker Thomas Affleck.

59. Arthur T. Bolton, *Architecture of Robert and James Adam (1758–1794)* ([London]: Antique Collectors' Club, 1984), quoted in *The Looking Glass in America, 1700–1825*, by Helen Comstock (New York: Viking, 1967), 13.

60. These features are indicated by paint analysis that uncovered wrought-iron tacks that outlined the aedicules and had fragments of canvas under their heads. Holes for tacks were discovered under the plaster skim coat of other parlor walls. Canvas was commonly used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a backer for wallpaper. The location of some of the tack holes around the aedicules also suggests that they may have served to hold a papier-mâché border.

61. The recorded items in "Measured Carpenters Work of Jacob Knor at Cliveden, 1767, measured by Robert Smith," Cliveden Account Book, CP, box 248, total £157. To this has been added an estimate for cornices and doors not recorded.

62. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, 109.

63. Quoted in Konkle, *Benjamin Chew*, 136.

64. See Wolf, *Urban Village*, 179–80.

65. Thomas Nedrow and wife to Benjamin Chew, 1 August 1776, Philadelphia County Deed Books, I 15:561.

66. "Estimate of the Cost of my Colonnade at Cliveden," Cliveden Accounts, CP.

67. An 1856 insurance survey and a nineteenth-century sketch indicate that the east side of the colonnade had a continuous curve, apparently parallel with the curved west wall that intersected the rear mansion wall between the door and rear window of the dining room. The piazza had a low-sloping roof and a finished ceiling.

68. Philadelphia County Deed Books, D 12:517; mortgage to Blair MacClenachan, CP, box 248.

69. In 1797 the Chew family bought back Cliveden from MacClenachan.

CHAPTER 14 *Denouement*

1. John Penn to Julianna Penn, 28 February 1775, *PTP Micro*.

2. Robert J. Gough has commented on the modesty of many Philadelphia country houses even at this late date in "The Philadelphia Economic Elite at the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750–1800*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Museum, 1994), 22.

3. Martha Crary Halpern, *Laurel Hill: A Country Property along the Banks of the Schuylkill* (Philadelphia: Women of Greater Philadelphia, 1985), 7–11.

4. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 May 1760.

5. Philadelphia County, Exemplification Record Book 8:81, quoted in Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 3.

6. Edgely, as it existed in the late eighteenth century, may be depicted in an oil painting by William Groombridge dated 1800 at HSP. It is reproduced in Martin Snyder, *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia before 1800* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 219, where the house shown is identified as the early Strawberry Mansion; the house indeed looks like the first phase of Strawberry Mansion, but the setting, at a sharp bend in the river, does not accord with Strawberry's site.

7. Edward Warner was one of Thomas Shute's executors, and the Warner family had much to do with the distribution of land. Warner was a carpenter who had served an apprenticeship with the famous Joseph Porteus; although no records prove it, perhaps he had something to do with the building of one or more of these country houses. Maria M. Thompson, "Evolution of a Country Property: 'Laurel Hill'" (1982), 4, typescript, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

8. *L&L* 3:1287.

9. Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 12–16.

10. Peggy Rawle to Sally Wister, 7 September 1776, in *Sally Wister's Journal*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1902), 204, quoted in Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 21.

11. See, e.g., Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 29–30.

12. Joseph Galloway, quoted in *L&L* 3:1297n40.

13. Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 70; Reed L. Engle, *Historic Structures Report: Laurel Hill Mansion* (Media, PA: John M. Dickey, 1983), 61, 81.

14. Engle, *Laurel Hill Mansion*, 107.

15. The present chimney on the left side of the central block serves the later wing. Our thanks to Peter Copp for these observations. An early date for a piazza comes from a 1781 entry in the Rebecca Rawle Shoemaker Diary, Shoemaker Papers, HSP.

16. Diary of William Rawle, 10 September 1819, quoted in Halpern, *Laurel Hill*, 54.

17. See William Rawle to Rebecca Shoemaker, 14 September 1779, Letters of William Rawle, 3 vols., William Rawle Papers, HSP, 3:28, quoted in ibid., 25.

18. The plantation had a coach house and barn with accommodation for many horses, which was not usual on a typical Pennsylvania farm of the era, and the location would have appealed to gentry. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 March 1761. Presumably this is the "Walln" house indicated on the Scull and Heap map.

19. John W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia* (New York: Lewis, 1911), 200–225.

20. Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia, 1670–1838* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1939), 398.

21. Seventeen eighty-seven is the traditional date, but one that makes sense given that Robert Sr. died in 1784, whereupon Robert Jr. inherited the property, and given that it is a date when much building began again after the Revolution.

22. Philadelphia Contributionship insurance survey, policy no. 5035, 1834.

23. Priscilla H. Roberts and James N. Tull, "Adam Hoops, Thomas Barclay, and the House in Morrisville Known as Summerseat, 1764–1791," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 90, no. 5 (2000): 4–7.

24. Ibid., 8–13.

25. Ibid., 17, 20.

26. Thomas Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 104.

27. Roberts and Tull, "Adam Hoops," 26, 55.

28. Ibid., 27–28.

29. Ibid., 57.

30. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 April 1772.

31. *Summerseat*, 106.

32. Roberts and Tull, "Adam Hoops," 76–80.

33. "Visit of Miss Marion Otter of Doylestown to Washington Headquarters Morrisville, Pa. on 1 October 1892," manuscript dated 12 December 1892, MSL-Summerseat-F1, Spruance Library, Bucks County Historical Society, quoted in Roberts and Tull, "Adam Hoops," 61.

34. "A Schedule of Property within the State of Pennsylvania Conveyed by Robert Morris . . . ," 18 March 1797, Bucks County Historical Society, Manuscript Collection 164, folder 50, quoted in *Summerseat*, 7.

35. *Summerseat*, 4.

36. Ibid., 54.

37. Most Philadelphia country houses had interior chimneys, while it is a commonplace of colonial architecture that a majority of Virginia houses had chimneys on the end walls. There are many exceptions to this rule, and certainly end chimneys were more common in farmhouses in the Delaware valley than in polite country seats. It might be noted that Hoops had ties with Virginia through trade in the back country and through the marriages of several of his children.

38. File no. 6489, Bucks County Recorder of Wills, Doylestown, PA, quoted in *Summerseat*, 11.

39. *Summerseat*, 4; inventory accompanying Philadelphia County Will Administration, 1771:79.

40. Exactly which room is intended on the inventory is a bone of contention. The left front room originally had three windows, though the one on the south elevation was later blocked. The right front room now has three windows, but the side window appears to date from the Federal period. If only the first-floor left front room had three windows, either the inventory is wrong or the inventory takers listed the left front rooms on both stories first and then proceeded to the rest of the house, a very odd arrangement. Our reading of the inventory gives page 1 to the first floor and page 2 to the second. No window curtains at all are listed for several spaces on page 2, so these spaces may include the large southeast space. At the crux of the issue is the purpose of the large left front room on the second floor (southeast corner); if it was used and furnished as a ballroom, it might have had the best furnishings in the house and been listed first on the inventory. However, as noted, no room had really valuable furniture; moreover, because of the size of Hoops's family, bedchambers seem to have been at a premium in the house. The inventory suggests that even two of the first-floor spaces had beds in them; in other words, beds were found in six of the eight major spaces in the house.

41. In 1892 Marion Otter noted that these lions were then at St. George's Hall in Philadelphia. Now gone, they can be seen in Robert F. Looney, *Old Philadelphia in Early Photographs, 1839–1914: 215 Prints from the Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia* (New York: Dover in cooperation with Free Library of Philadelphia, 1976), plate 106, p. 109.

42. *Summerseat*, 70.

43. Ibid., 16.

44. For general information on the house, see Doris D. Fanelli, "The Deshler-Morris House," *Magazine Antiques* 124 (August 1983): 284–89.

45. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24 April 1782. The deeds of purchase are George Bringhurst and wife to David Deshler, 7 September 1751, and Executors of George Bringhurst, 13 April 1752, Philadelphia County Deed Books, H 1:646, 3:157.

46. Karl Theis Weger, "The Deshler Story," *Germantown Crier* 7 (September 1955): 8–27, cited in Anna Coxe Toogood, "Independence Deshler-Morris House/Bringhurst House Historic Structures/Furnishings/Grounds" (unpublished report, National Park Service, Denver, 1980, available at Independence National Historic Park), 12–14.

47. Toogood, "Independence Deshler-Morris House," 56, claims that many Germantown builders began with the kitchen and added the main block later. On the kitchen fireplace, see Michael Adlerstein, "Independence Deshler-Morris House Historic Structures Report" (unpublished report, National Park Service, Denver, 1982, available at Independence National Historic Park), 25.

48. The Philadelphia Contributionship policy is no. 1745. The bill for painting is David Deshler to David Dominick, first entry May 1772, Accounts, 1772–1773, Germantown Historical Society.

49. Adlerstein, "Independence Deshler-Morris House Historic Structures Report," 4, 10, 19–24; Toogood, "Independence Deshler-Morris House," 21.

50. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 April 1782, quoted in "A Study and Interpretation the Desher-Morris House," by Alexus Chantel Stephens (master's thesis in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 2007).

51. John T. Faris, *Old Gardens In and Around Philadelphia* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1932), 102; Charles Francis Jenkins, *Guide Book to Historic Germantown* (Philadelphia: Germantown Site and Relic Society, 1926), 66.

52. Harry M. Tinckom, Margaret B. Tinckom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 67, thought it did not conform to Germantown types. Adlerstein, "Independence Deshler-Morris House Historic Structures Report," 31, thought it typical of local norms.

53. If we work from the plans in Tinckom, Tinckom, and Simon, *Historic Germantown*, the following addresses on Germantown Avenue have comparable plans for their main blocks: 5140, 5226, 5434, 6205, and 6514, to which may be added 107 West Schoolhouse Lane.

54. Adlerstein, "Independence Deshler-Morris House Historic Structures Report," 6, 147.

55. Since the north wall stood close to another property, its stucco was left roughly textured and unscored. Ibid., 7.

56. Ibid., 29.

57. Ibid. 33, 151–52.

58. This house was depicted by William Birch in *Country Seats of the United States of North America* (1808; repr., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), where it was titled "Fountain Green Pennsylvania the Seat of Mr. S. Meeker." For the land associated with this Fountain Green, see *Brief of Title to the Real Estate of the Mifflin Land Association in the Twentieth Ward of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: A. Ketterlinus, 1858).

59. Confusingly, Thomas Mifflin's house at the falls was briefly called Fountain Green, and then Fountain Park in the early nineteenth century. *Philadelphia Daily Chronicle*, 15 June 1833; Edwin Iwanicki, "The Mifflin Mansion at the Falls of the Schuylkill," *Germantown Crier* 17 (1965): 56.

60. Quoted in Iwanicki, "Mifflin Mansion," 53.

61. John Houston Merrill, *Memoranda Relating to the Mifflin Family* ([Philadelphia]: privately printed, 1890), 18.

62. Deed from Sarah Lewis to Thomas Mifflin, 19 August 1778, Philadelphia County Deed Books, D 60:104.

63. Jacob Hiltzheimer, *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia*, ed. Jacob Cox Parsons (Philadelphia: William F. Fell, 1893), 61.

64. An advertisement for the Thomas Bond country seat in the Northern Liberties included mention of an "ice house, on the best construction, which will contain 100 tons." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 September 1789. The first reference to selling ice appeared in ibid., 13 July 1785.

65. *Philadelphia Ledger*, 1 December 1907; Iwanicki, "Mifflin Mansion," 54, 57–58.

66. David Kennedy Collection, HSP. Kennedy's inscription on his watercolor states that Birch painted his view in 1776, surely a mistake because Birch had not even arrived in Philadelphia at that date; S. Robert Teitelman, introduction to *Birch's Views of Philadelphia*, ed. Teitelman (1800; repr., Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, 1982).

67. Philadelphia County Deed Books, H 15:206, I 4:360, H 12:483.

68. Snyder, *City of Independence*, 221–24.

69. The structure is also included (to the left of the foreground tree) in George Isham Parkyns's *Falls of the Schuylkill*, painted in 1800. Ibid., 222–24.

70. Charles V. Hagner, *Early History of the Falls of the Schuylkill, Manayunk, Schuylkill and Lehigh Navigation Companies, Fairmount Waterworks, etc.* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, 1869), frontispiece; Francis Burke Brandt and Henry Volkmar Gummere, *Byways and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Corn Exchange National Bank, 1925), 144; Marion W. Rivinus, *Lights along the Schuylkill* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1967), 69–70.

71. James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1728), plates 69, 71.

72. See Robert Morris, *Rural Architecture: Consisting of regular designs of plans and elevations for buildings in the country . . . Illustrated with fifty quarto copper-plates* (London, 1750), plates 2, 8, 12, 30, 50.

73. Ibid., plate 50 and p. 8.

74. The first purchase of fifteen acres on Frankford Creek is recorded in Philadelphia County Deed Books, I 6:459. More purchases were made in 1720, 1722, and 1734, to reach a total of 125 acres. Information on the deeds is from Sharon Ayn McHugh, "Chalkley Hall," University of Pennsylvania graduate student report, copy in Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

75. At the time of Chalkley's death the property had two houses. Philadelphia County Will Books, 1741, no. 258. Martha's will is in ibid., 1749, no. 99.

76. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 April 1769. Perhaps the masons were working on the "extraordinary firm and durable stone wall in front" of the forty-three acres of "well embanked" meadows at the estate. Ibid., 20 October 1784. James went to England on business late in 1769 and stayed for a year, but he could have overseen the exterior construction before departing. "Effects of the 'Non-Importation Agreement' in Philadelphia, 1769–1770," *PMHB* 14 (1890): 41.

77. *L&L* 3:769.

78. Tench Francis Jr. was one of the first to realize the value of subdividing suburban land in choice spots. A few years before his scheme at the Vineyard, he subdivided his father's old country seat near the falls of the Schuylkill and Robin Hood Inn. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 March 1766. This would have been roughly in the area above Woodford, where the Laurel Hill and Mount Vernon cemeteries are now.

79. "Brief of the Titles of Robert Morris Esquire to His Country Seat in the Township of the Northern Liberties," copy in Fairmount Park Historian's Office. The most relevant deed references are Patent Book A, 5:341, and Philadelphia County Deed Books, I 5:339, I 7:350, 537, F 16:359, I 10:148, I 7:408.

80. The best recounting of the documents related to Morris and The Hills is Owen Tasker Robbins, "Towards a Preservation of the Grounds of Lemon Hill in Light of Their Past and Present Significance for Philadelphians" (master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1987), 8–18.

81. "Memoirs of Joshua Francis Fisher," Cadwalader Papers, box 552, HSP.

82. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier* (New York: Macmillan, 1903).

83. The history of The Hills is problematic. A valuable recent attempt to make sense of the documents is Elizabeth Milroy, "A Correction to Martha Halpern's 'Questions Regarding the Burning of Robert Morris's The Hills'" (unpublished paper in Philadelphia Museum of Art files and author's copy).

84. Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with Some Notice of Their Owners and Occupants* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 369; Virginia Norton Naude, "Lemon Hill," *Magazine Antiques* 82 (November 1962): 532.

85. William S. Baker, "Washington after the Revolution, 1784–1799," *PMHB* 19 (1895): 177.

86. Manasseh Cutler, "New York and Philadelphia: Extracts from the Journals of Manasseh Cutler," ibid. 12 (1888): 105.

87. Robert Morris to James Marshall, Esq., 12 October 1795, Robert Morris Private Letterbooks, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 546, Library of Congress.

88. Reproduced in Snyder, *City of Independence*, 188.

89. William W. Morris to unknown addressee, 1 June 1795, *PTP Micro*.

90. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. "John Penn", also available at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view

/article/21849. Relevant Penn letters include Henry Wilmot to Thomas Penn, 16 July 1771, and John Penn to Thomas Penn, 8 September 1773, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 10:256 and 11:99, HSP.

91. Jacob Duché to Thomas Penn, 7 June 1771, Penn Papers, Private Correspondence, 5:173, HSP.

92. John Penn to Julianna Penn, 28 October 1773, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 11:103.

93. "Plan of Lansdowne," Penn Papers Proprietary Manors, No. 7, HSP; Philadelphia County Deed Books, I 11:491, 494.

94. Robert Gilmor, *Memorandums Made in a Tour to the Eastern States in the Year 1797* (Boston, 1892), 5.

95. As determined by David J. Kennedy. See Roger W. Moss, *The American Country House* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), 98.

96. Snyder, *City of Independence*, 173.

97. John Adams to Abigail Adams, 1795, in *Historic Houses of Philadelphia*, by Roger W. Moss (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 64.

98. John F. Watson wrote that the portico had the Ionic order on both stories. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1881), 3:272. But this seems contradicted by both the Birch engraving and the fact that in Palladian architecture the orders were almost always stacked, with Ionic over Doric.

99. Bills and receipts, 5 June 1793, Shippen Papers, vol. 33, HSP.

100. Views of the house vary as to the position of the bays, whether closer to the river front or to the rear. The earliest and probably most accurate view is the Birch engraving, which clearly shows the bays toward the front. This is confirmed by Georgia Lehman's watercolor of c. 1835. The Kennedy view, done after the house had burned and been demolished, shows the bays away from the river front.

101. Carl Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 325, notes documents referring to a servants' hall in Charleston in 1777 and one in Virginia in 1782. He defines the space as a "common room in the cellar of a large dwelling or a subsidiary outbuilding such as a kitchen where servants gathered and dined." On Thomas Penn's house, see Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 24 March 1752, *PTP Micro* ("One alteration I must have made in my house is, to turn the cellar under my servants hall into a servants hall and have a way into it out of the yard. I desire you will consult workmen about it, and order it to be done, and a chimney made in it. The room above must be for a housekeeper"); Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 17 November 1752, ibid. ("Instead of altering the cellar they are building a 12′ x 16′ room adjoining the kitchen and the door to the servants hall, so as not to interrupt carriages passing into the yard. The housekeeper and victuals only will have to pass thru the door"); and Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, mid-1753, probably 29 June, ibid. ("I did not think you had built the servants hall beyond the wash house, but between the kitchen and housekeepers room, but it may do very well where it is").

102. Gilmor, *Memorandums*, 22.

103. Henry Wansey, *An Excursion to the United States of North America, in the Summer of 1794*, 2nd ed. (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1798), 123–25, quoted in "Mr. and Mrs. William Bingham of Philadelphia: Rulers of the Republican Court," by Margaret L. Brown, *PMHB* 61 (1937): 297. Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752–1804* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), is a full-length treatment of the Binghams.

104. "Diary of Ann Warder," entry for 26 September 1786, *PMHB* 18 (1894): 52.

105. J.-P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America Performed in 1788* (New York, 1792), 175–76, quoted in Brown, "Mr. and Mrs. William Bingham," 298.

106. Brown, "Mr. and Mrs. William Bingham," 316–17.

107. "Memoir of John Ross, Merchant, of Philadelphia," *PMHB* 22 (1898): 82.

108. For the fragmentary knowledge of this earlier version of The Woodlands, see James A. Jacobs, "William Hamilton and the Woodlands: A Construction of Refinement in Philadelphia," ibid. 130 (2006): 191; Richard J. Betts, "The Woodlands," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14 (Autumn 1979): 223; and Timothy Preston Long, "The Woodlands: A 'Matchless Place'" (master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 80.

Conclusion

1. John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 69, discusses the pleasure of having fewer visitors in the country.

2. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 257, 263–65.

3. John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715–1842* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985); Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 2 (on the shift from decorum, the principle behind hierarchy, to character).

4. For these Federal country houses, see Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 66–71, 78–81.

5. Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series*, vol. 1, ed. J. Jefferson Looney (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 191–92.

6. *Belmont*, 1-47.

7. Michael Zuckerman, “Review Essay, Benjamin Franklin at 300,” *PMHB* 131 (2007): 182.

8. Morton White, *The Intellectual versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1981), 1–5.

9. Bernard Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 19–20, 65.

10. Owen Barfield, *History in English Words*, rev. ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 146. On the self in relation to the English villa, see Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 1–4 and pt. 1, “Eighteenth-Century England: The Genesis of the Bourgeois Dwelling.”

11. Stephen Switzer, *Ichonographia Rustica: Or, the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener’s Recreation*, 3 vols. (London: D. Browne et al., 1718), 3:iii, quoted in Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia*, 47.

Essay on Sources

The world of the Anglo-American country house is a well-trodden field in which new material is constantly appearing. Some earlier studies are still valuable, such as John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954); Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1978); and James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990). John Brewer's *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1997) has insightful material on all of eighteenth-century English culture. John Archer's work, both the earlier *Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985) and the more recent *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690-2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), is essential reading for the area. Recent volumes by Yale University Press expand discussion considerably, especially Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (1999); John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (2004, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art); J. T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (1999); Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (1995, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art); and Andor Gomme and Alison Maguire, *Design and Plan in the Country House: From Castle Donjons to Palladian Boxes* (2008). Finally, Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 1998), and Daniel Reiff, *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* ([Newark]: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1986), are useful.

The English appreciation of their landscape history is shown in the number and depth of books on the subject. The Honorable Alicia Amherst's *A History of Gardening in England* (London: B. Quaritch, 1896) has stood the test of time, as has Miles Hadfield's *A History of British Gardening* (London: J. Murray, 1979). More recent is Tom Turner's *English Garden Design History and Styles since 1650 British Gardens: History, Philosophy and Design* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Antique Collector's Club, 1986). For discussions of period gardens, John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600-1750* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1986), provides early background, while the period covered in David Jacques and Arendt Van der Horse's *The Gardens of William and Mary* (Bromley, UK: Helm, 1988) coincides with the beginning of the period covered in this book. There is a plethora of excellent books dealing with eighteenth-century British landscape and gardens. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988); Douglas D. C. Chambers, *The Planters of the English Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); and Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud, Gloucestershire. UK: Sutton, 2000), give some of the cultural context, as does Tom Williamson's *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). Mark Laird's *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) provides a detailed picture of how flowering shrubs and flowers were used in the eighteenth-century English landscape.

The other context of the Philadelphia country house and landscape is the built environment of the colonies. Several works of importance stand out here: James D. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Carl Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Bernard L. Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); Barbara Burlison Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008); Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury, eds., *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013).

With the notable exception of the Virginians, Americans have not shared England's passionate interest in landscape history. The two volumes of Alice B. Lockwood, ed., *Gardens of Colony and State: Gardens and Gardeners of the American Colonies and of the Republic before 1840* (Charles Scribner's Sons for the Garden Club of America, 1931), are still excellent resources. The first two books of Anne Leighton's trilogy, *Early American Gardens: "For Meate or Medicine"* and *American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century: "For Use or for Delight"* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970, 1976), give a good introduction to American garden history through the eighteenth century. Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin's *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984) gives a cross-Atlantic picture of late-eighteenth-century gardens. Alan Emmett's *So Fine a Prospect: Historic New England Gardens* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996); Barbara Wells Sarudy's *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake, 1700-1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Peter Martin's *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia from Jamestown to Jefferson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991) are fine regional introductions. U. P. Hedrick, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860* (1950; repr., Portland, OR: Timber Press, 1988), is a good introduction to early American plants of garden and farm.

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By far the largest reservoir of material for this book came from two types of unpublished sources. The first consists of historic-structure and historic-landscape reports written on individual sites, mostly between 1976 and 1995. These sites include Stenton, Hope Lodge, Graeme Park, Mount Pleasant, Cliveden, Laurel Hill, and Belmont. Details of these reports can be found in the notes. Archival sources include a few published works, notably *The Papers of William Penn*, ed. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard Dunn, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981-86), but most are collections in archives such as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia. The largest collections used in this study include the Papers of Thomas Penn, the Norris Papers, the James Logan Papers, the Chew Papers, and the Peters Papers. Details of the collections used appear in the notes.

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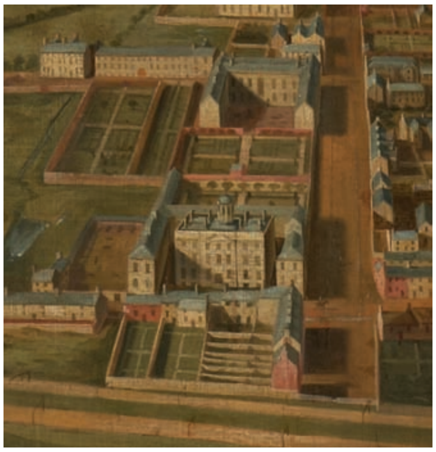
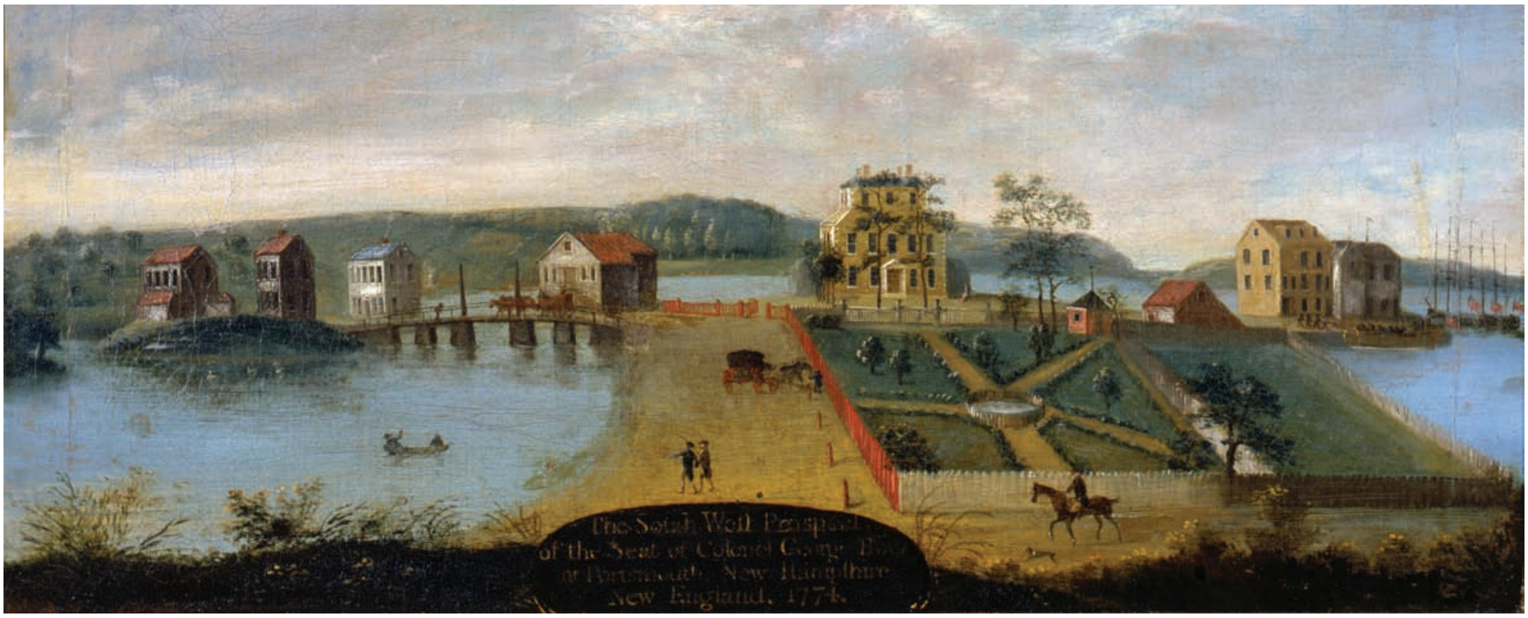
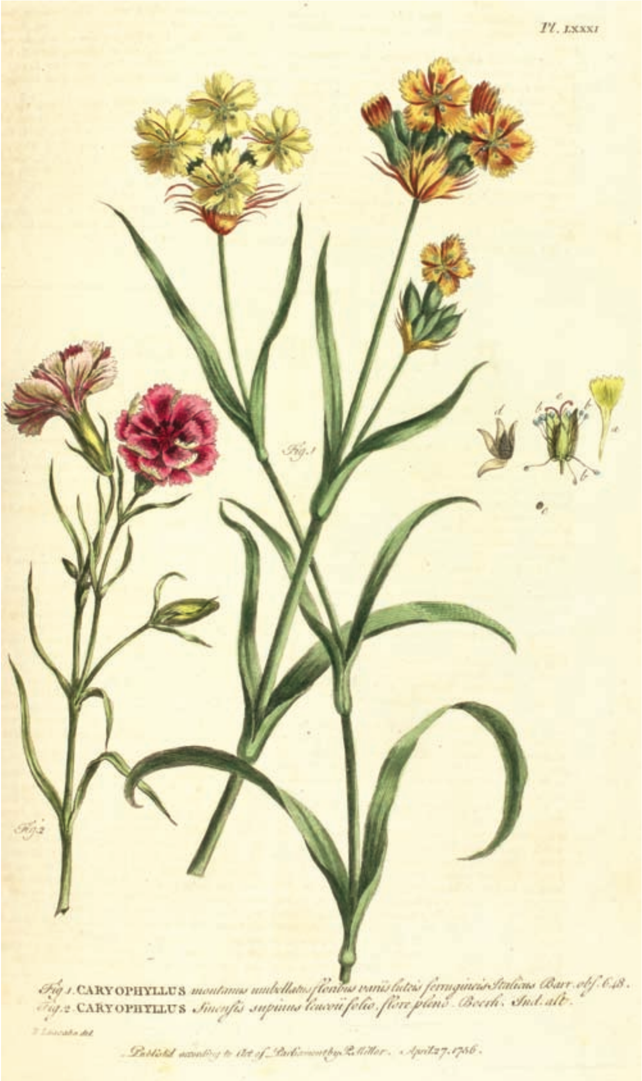
City gardens: detail of *Prospect of Whitehaven*, by Matthias Read (1736). Courtesy of Copeland Borough Council, The Beacon Museum, Whitehaven, Cumbria

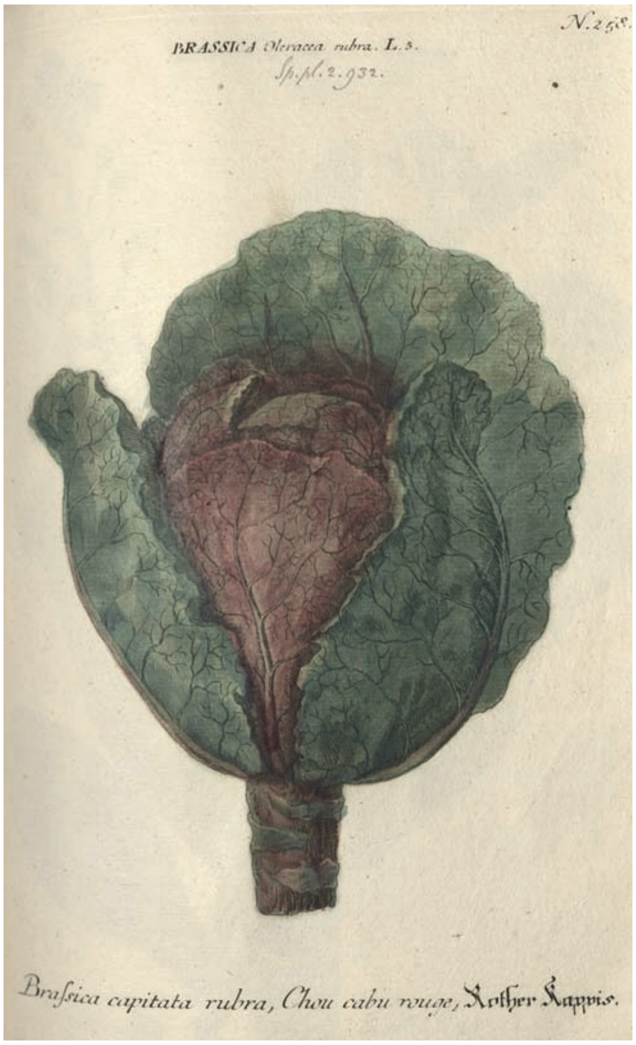



The South West Prospect
of the Seat of Colonel George Boyd
at Portsmouth, New Hampshire
New England, 1774.

Southwest Prospect of the Seat of Colonel George Boyd at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, New England, 1774. Lamont Gallery, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, NH

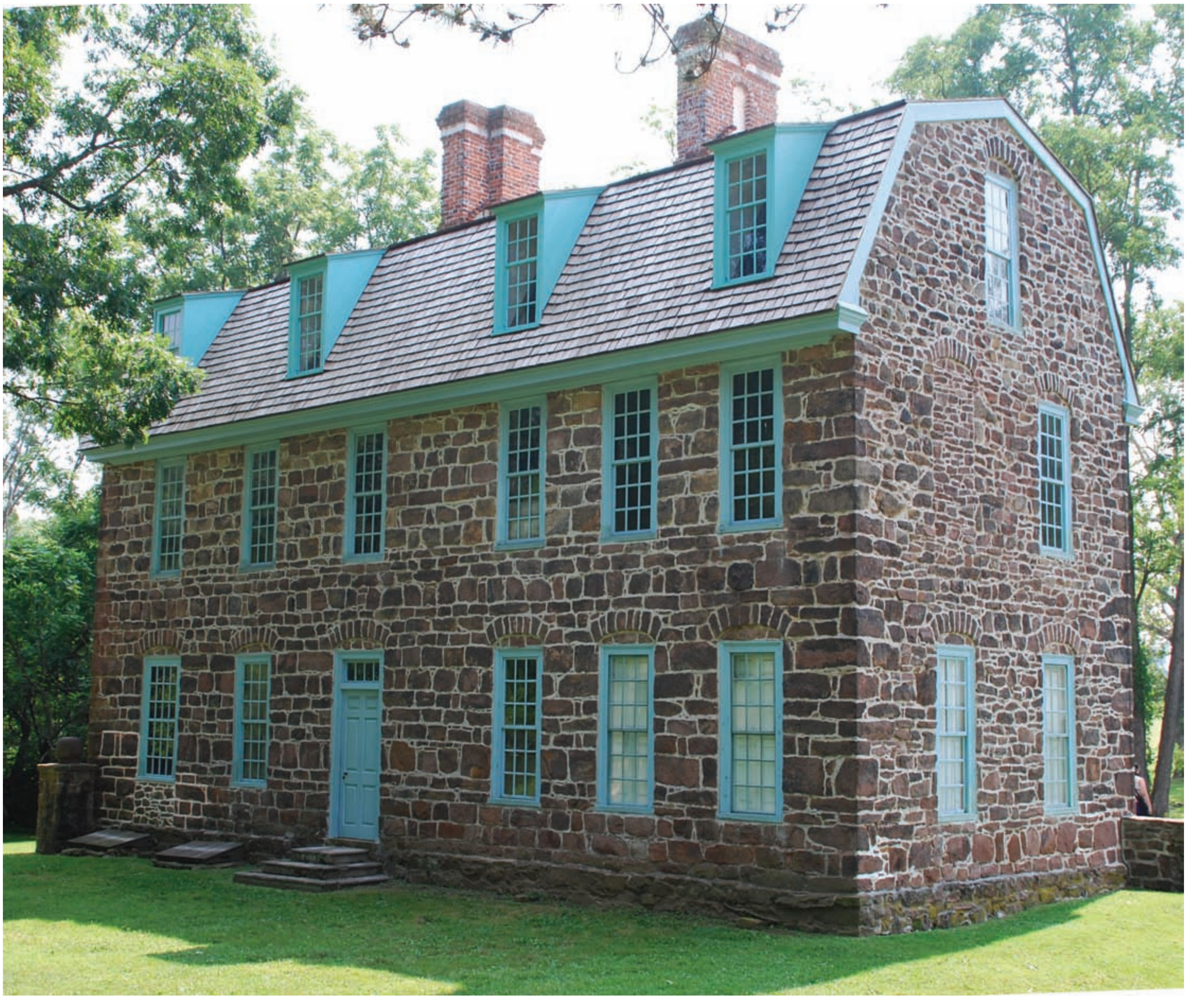

Pl. LXXXI
Fig. 1
Fig. 2
Fig. 1 CARYOPHYLLUS montanus umbellatus floribus variis luteis ferrugineis Italicus Barr. obs. 648.
Fig. 2 CARYOPHYLLUS Sinensis supinus leucoii folio, flore pleno. Boerh. Ind. alt.
Published according to Act of Parliament by P. Miller. April 27. 1756.

Pinks (*Carophyllus*), a flower grown by many colonial gardeners. From Philip Miller, *Figures of Plants*, vol. 1 (1760), collection of Elizabeth McLean

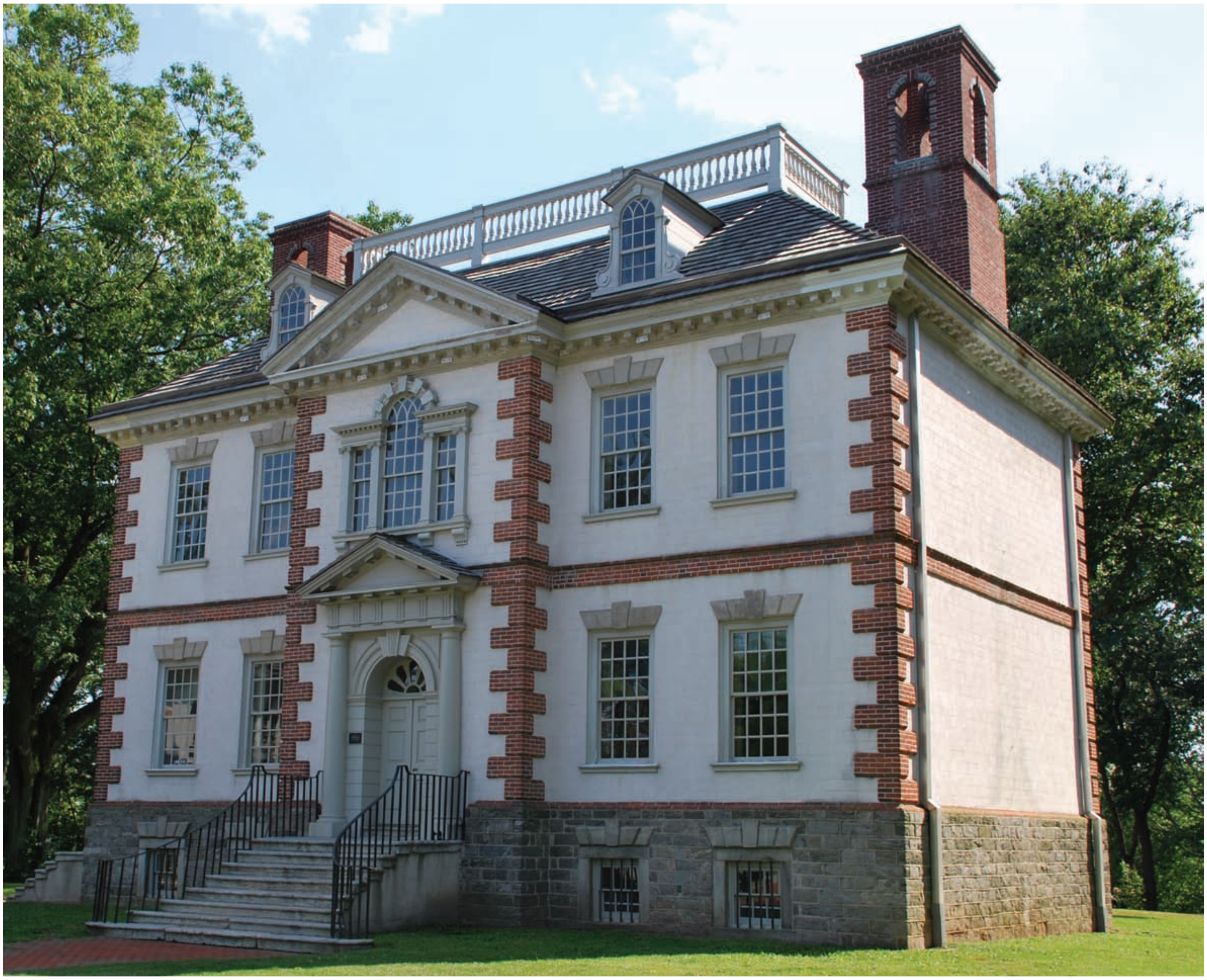

N. 258.
BRASSICA Oleracea rubra. L. 3.
Sp. pl. 2. 932.
Braſsica capitata rubra, Chou cabu rouge, Rother Kappis.

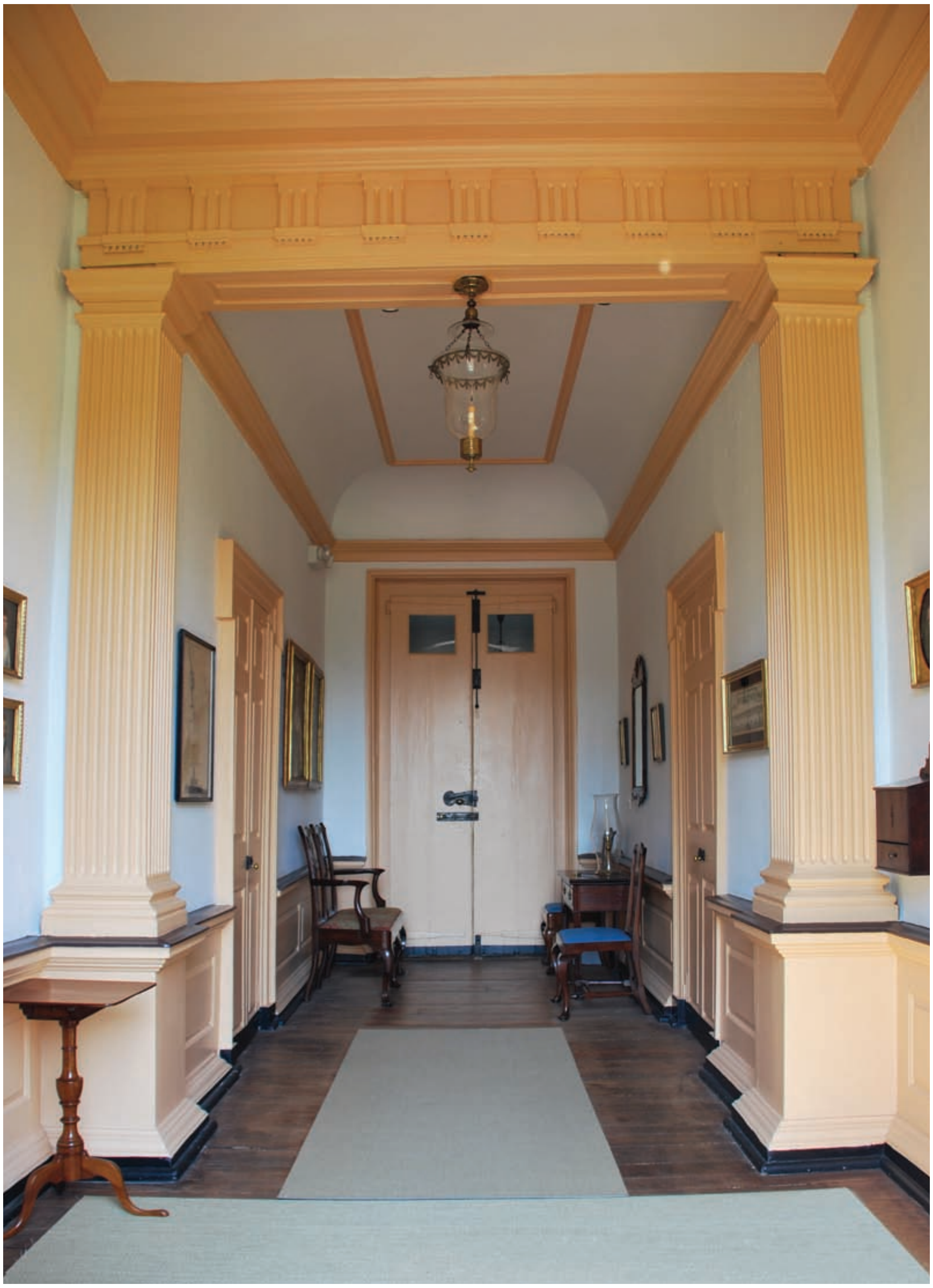
Cabbage of the type William Logan ordered, *Brassica capitata rubra*, red cabbage. From Johann Wilhelm Weinmann, *Phytanthoza iconographia: Sive conspectus aliquot millium, tam indigenarum quam exoticarum, ex quatuor mundi partibus* (Strasbourg, 1742), ANSP

Coursed ashlar stonework
on the north front of the house
at Fountain Low/Graeme Park.
Photograph by Mark Reinberger

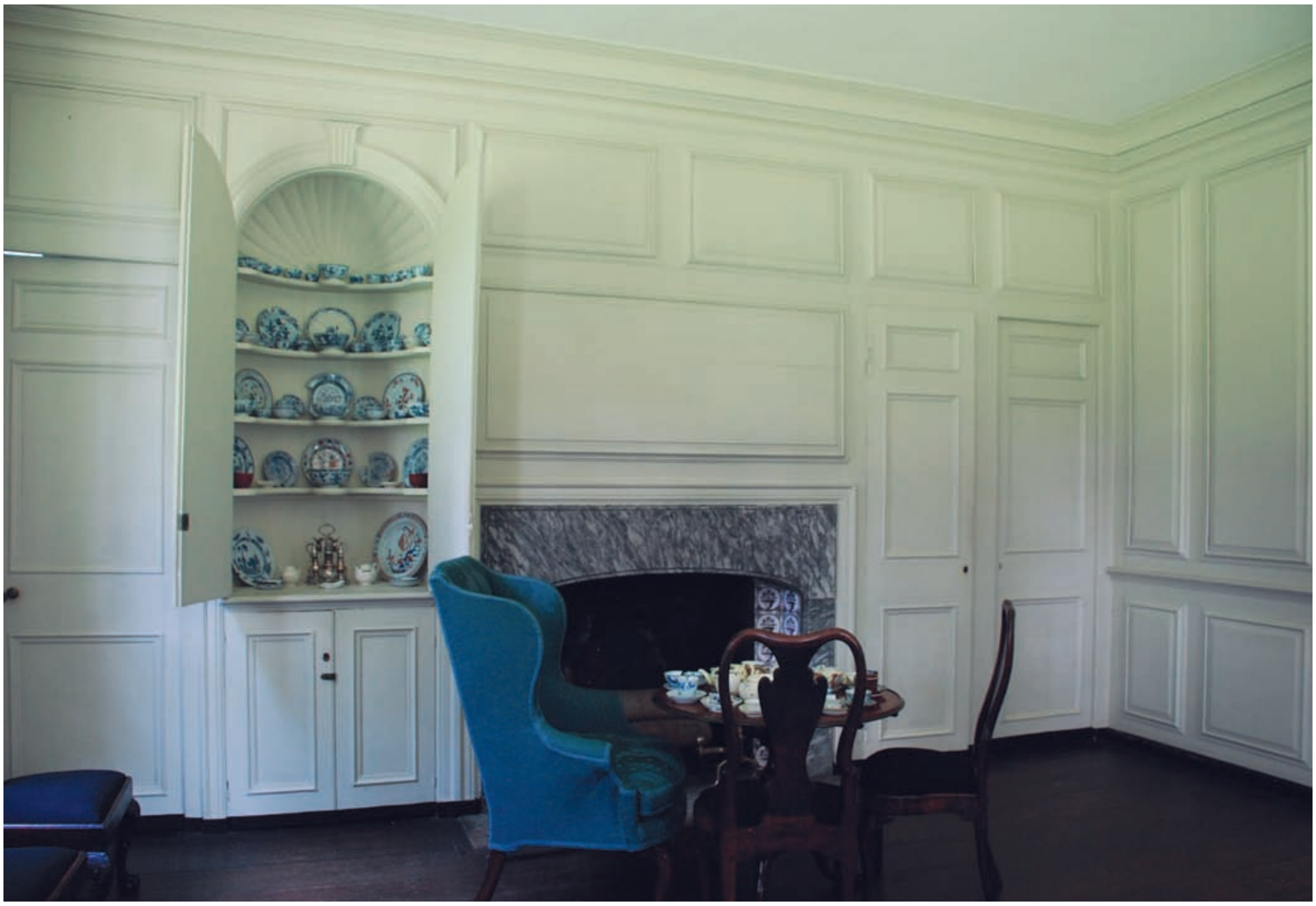


Mount Pleasant, land front (1761). Photograph by Mark Reinberger

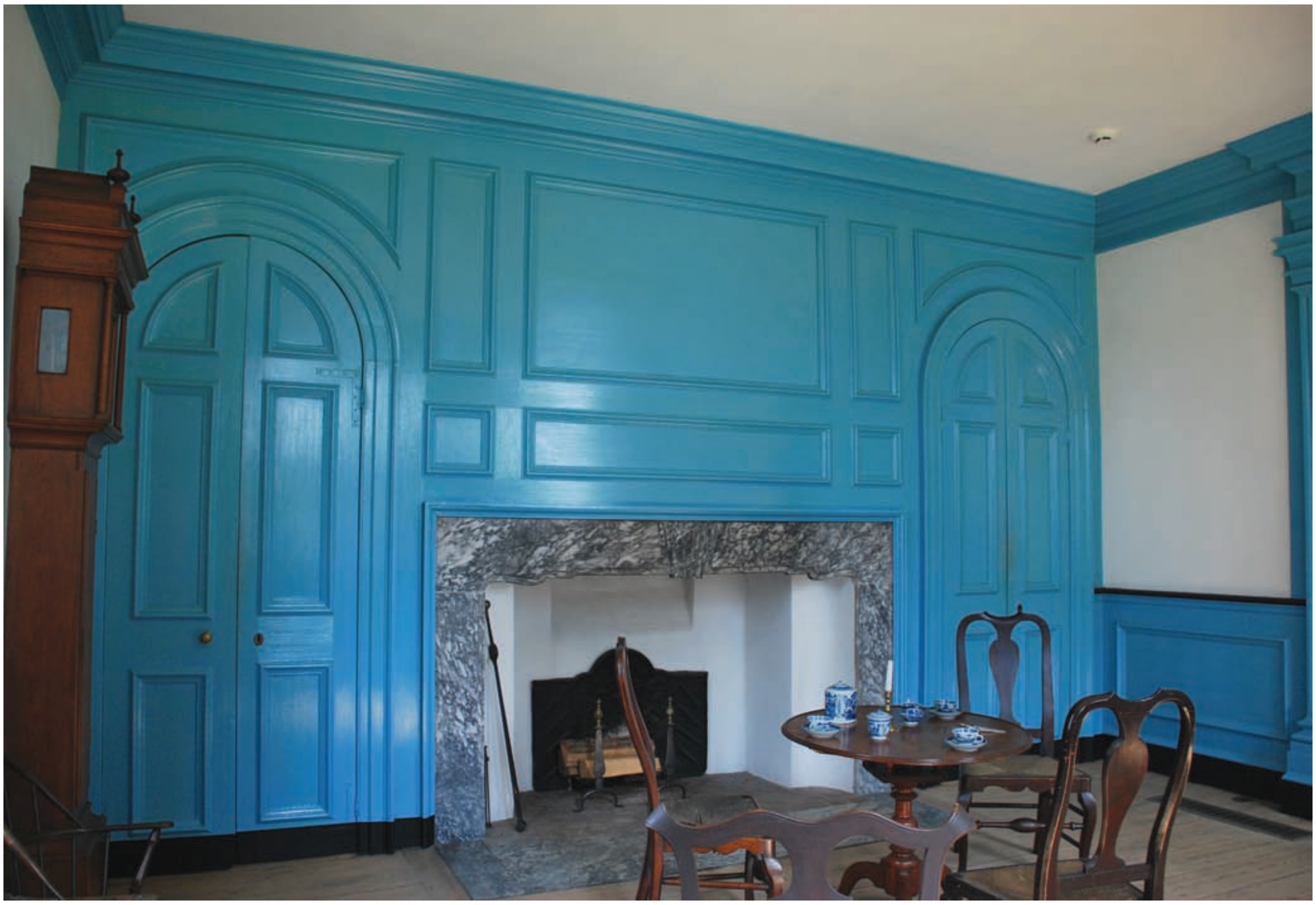




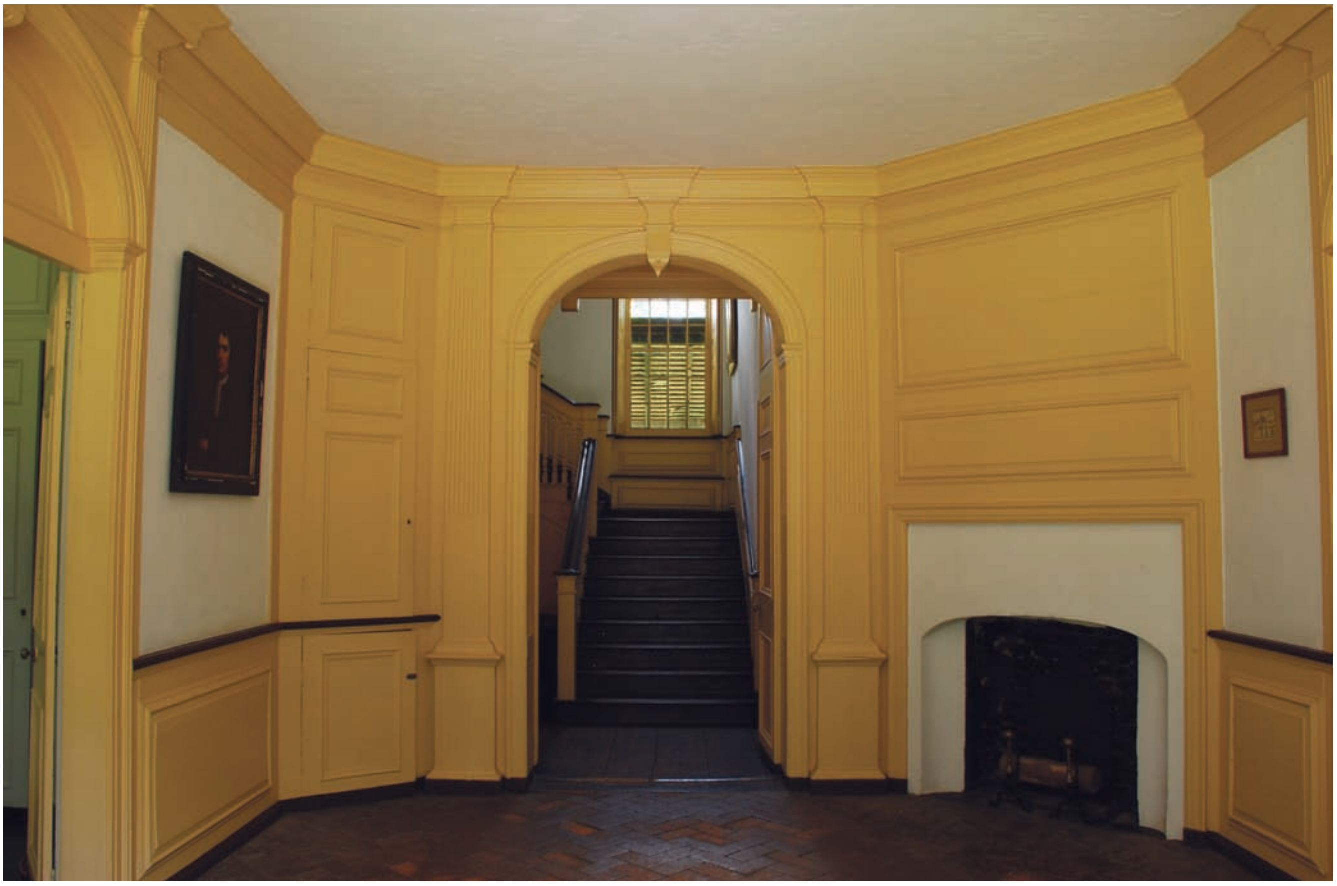
Woodford hall, with woodwork painted with yellow ochre, the most common pigment in colonial country houses. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



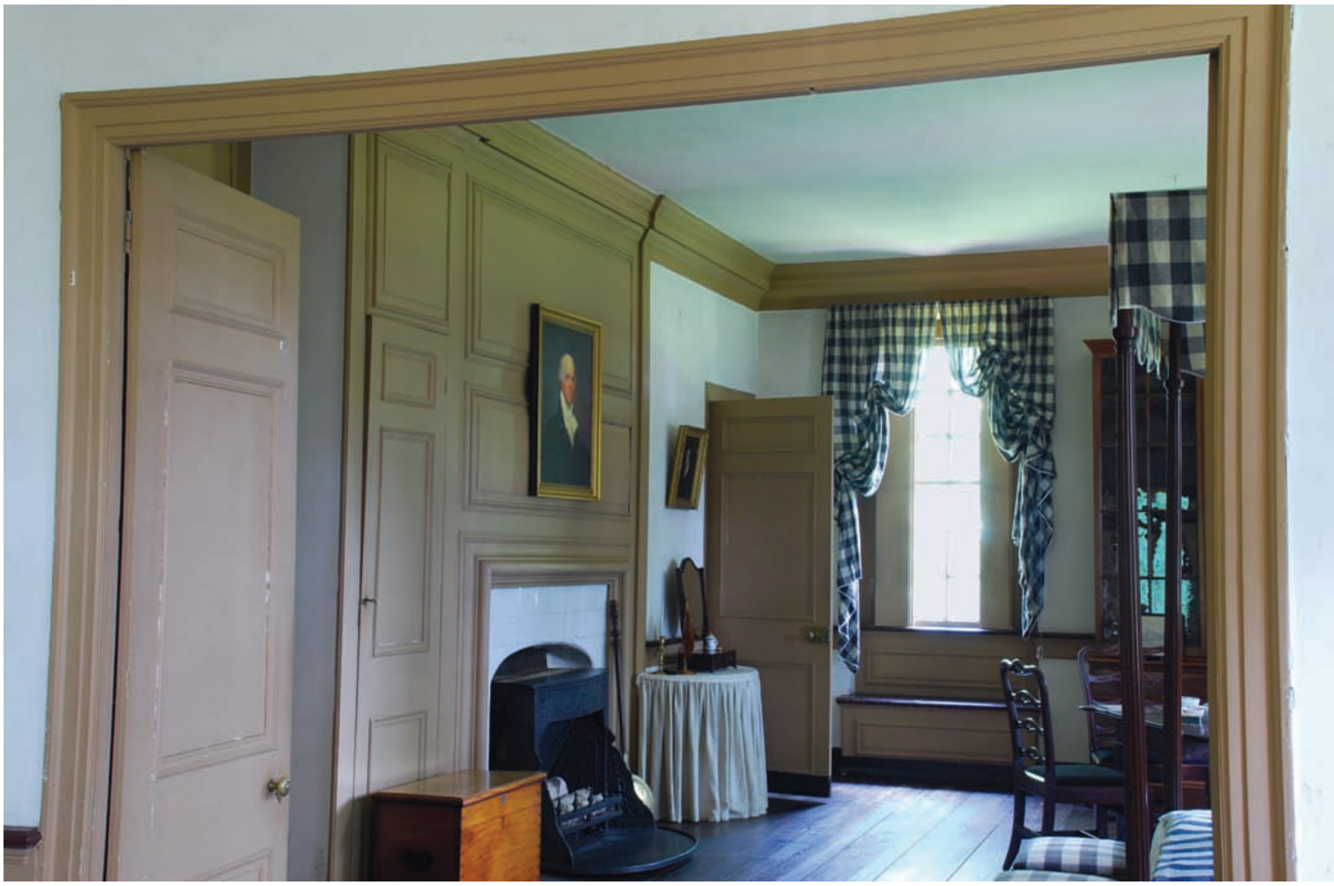
The parlor at Stenton, painted in the second most popular color, gray. Photograph by Mark Reinberger



The parlor at Hope Lodge, painted Prussian blue, a fairly expensive pigment that demonstrated wealth in the eighteenth century. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

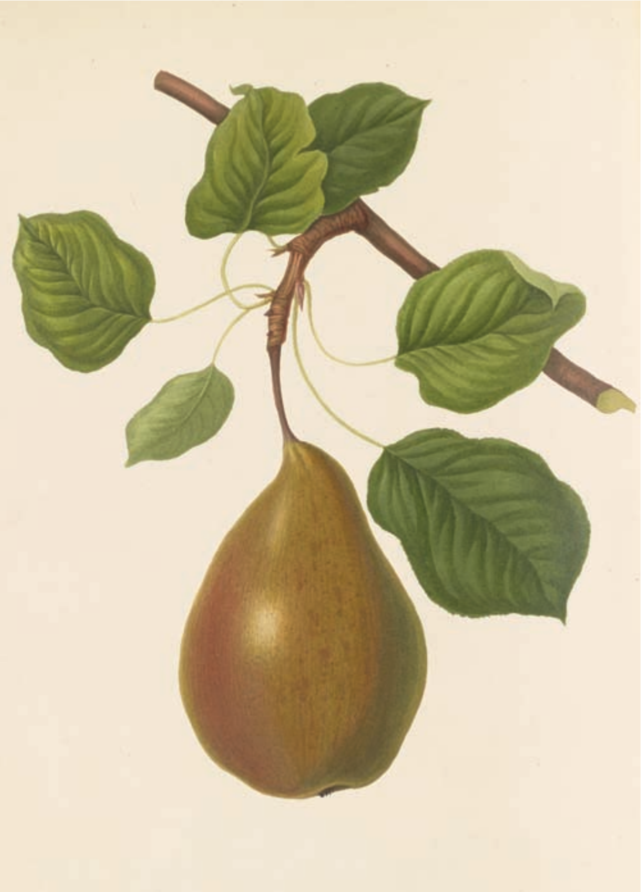


Stenton, entry or hall.
Photograph by Mark
Reinberger

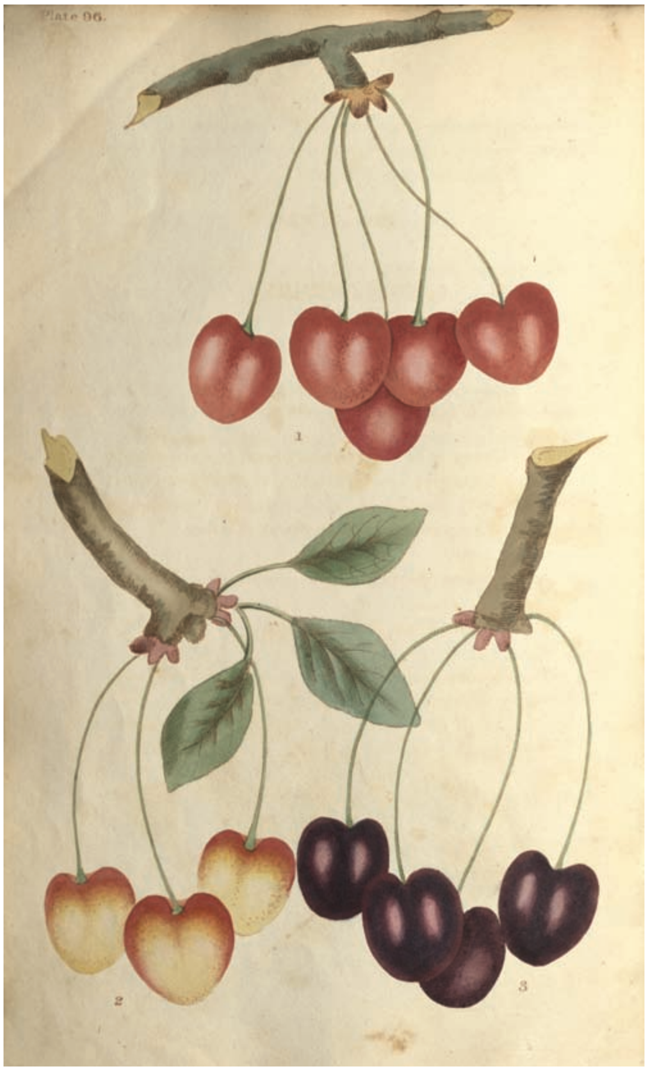


Stenton, second-floor chamber, sometimes called the library. Photograph by Mark Reinberger

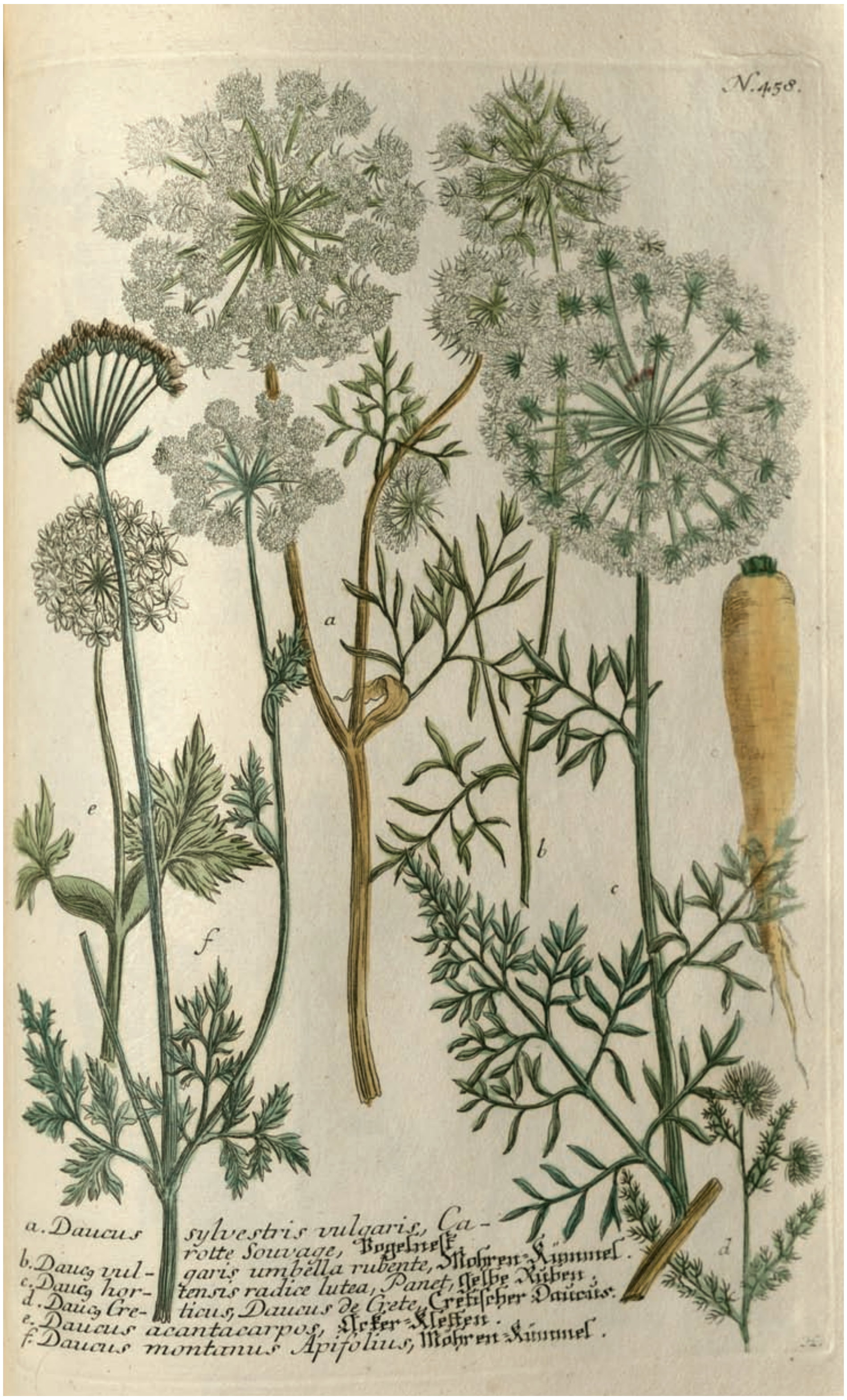
Windsor broad beans, a vegetable ordered by William Logan and others. Photograph courtesy of William Woys Weaver



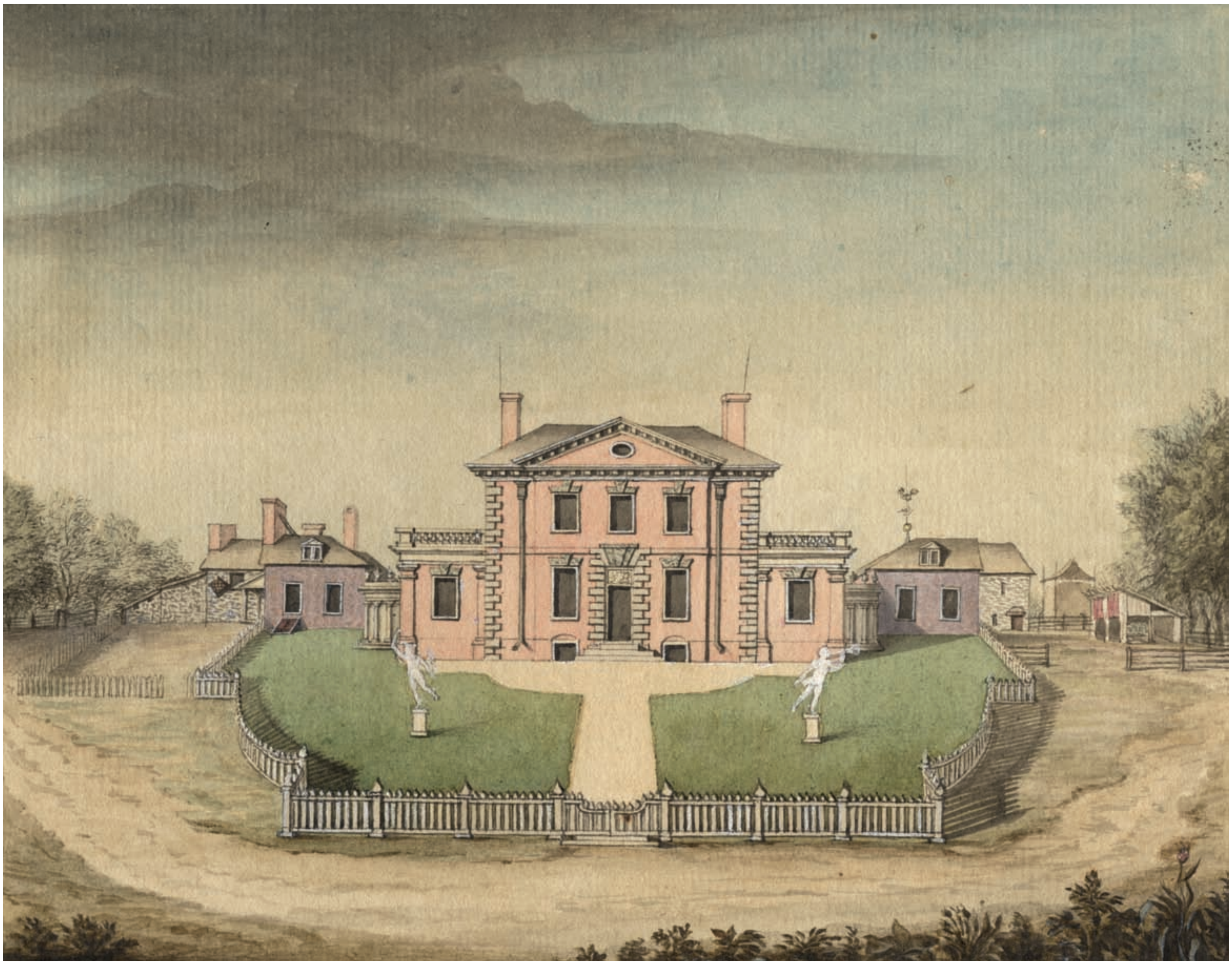
One of the types of pears grown by Isaac Norris at Fairhill, known as the Hooker Pear, the Buerre Gris, or the Brown Buerre. From William Jackson Hooker, *Pomona Londinensis* (1818), National Agricultural Library, Washington, DC



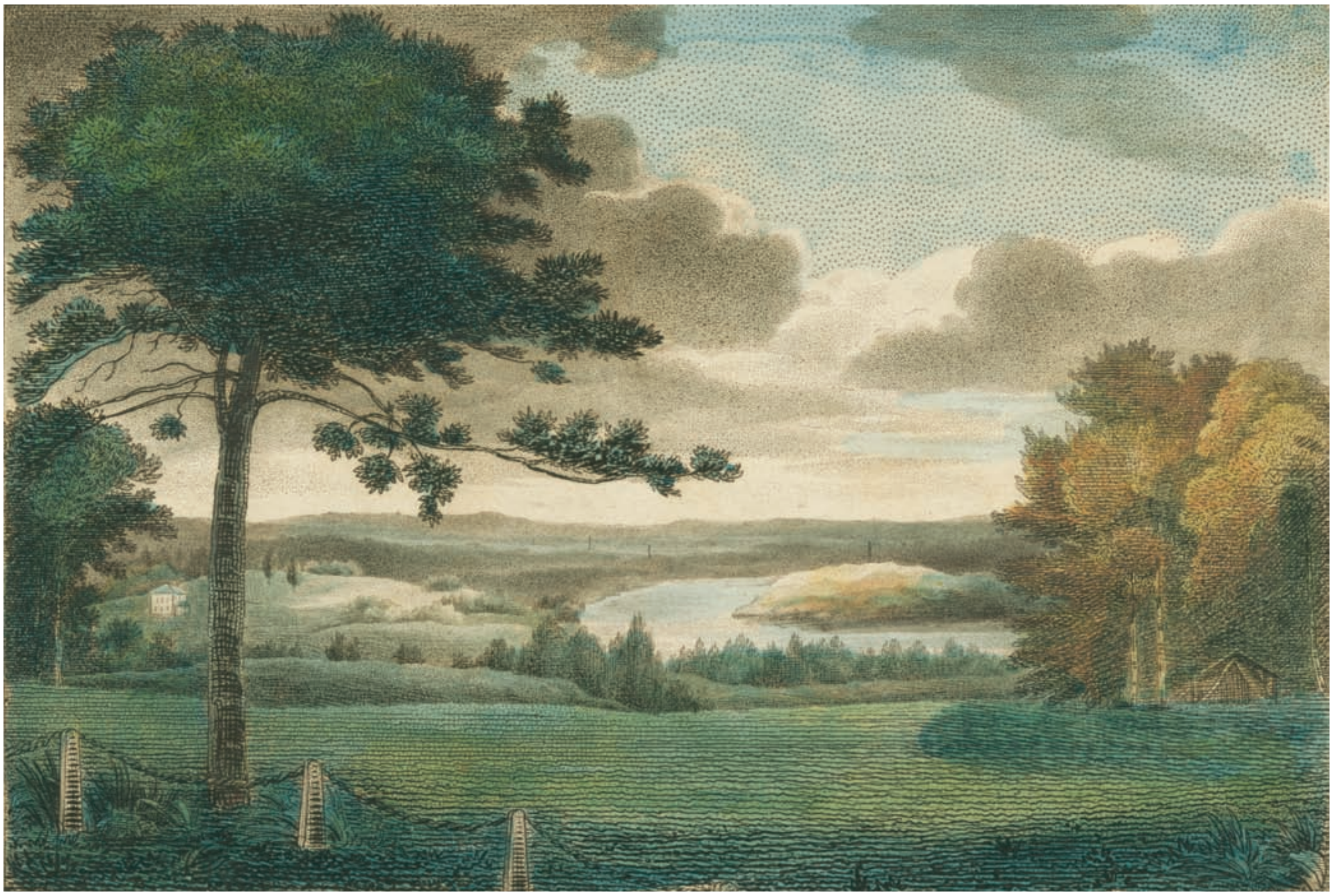
Types of cherries grown by Norris. From George Brookshaw, *Pomona Britannica* (London, 1811)


N.458.
a
b
c
d
e
f
a. Daucus sylvestris vulgaris, Carotte Souvage, Vogelneſt.
b. Daucꝰ vulgaris umbella rubente, Mohren-Kümmel.
c. Daucꝰ hortensis radice lutea, Panet, Gelbe Rüben.
d. Daucꝰ Creticus, Daucus de Crete, Cretiſcher Daucus.
e. Daucus acantacarpos, Acker-Kletten.
f. Daucus montanus Apifolius, Mohren-Kümmel.

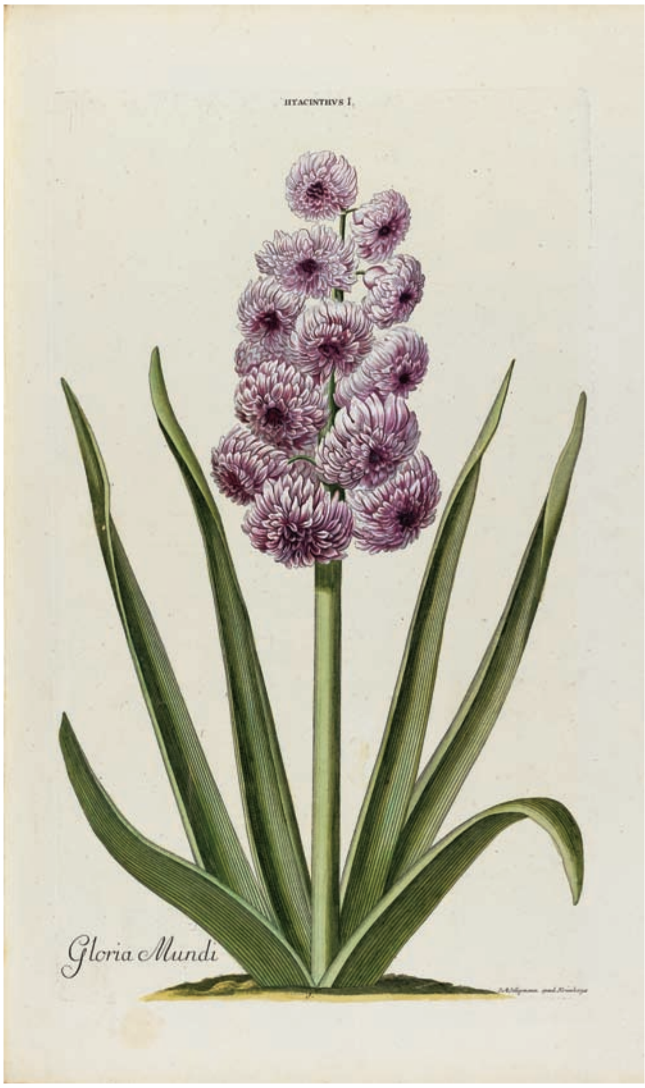
Daucus carota, an eighteenth-century carrot that Norris grew. From Johann Wilhelm Weinmann, *Phytanthoza iconographia: Sive conspectus aliquot millium, tam indigenarum quam exoticarum, ex Quatuor mundi partibus* (Strasbourg, 1742), ANSP



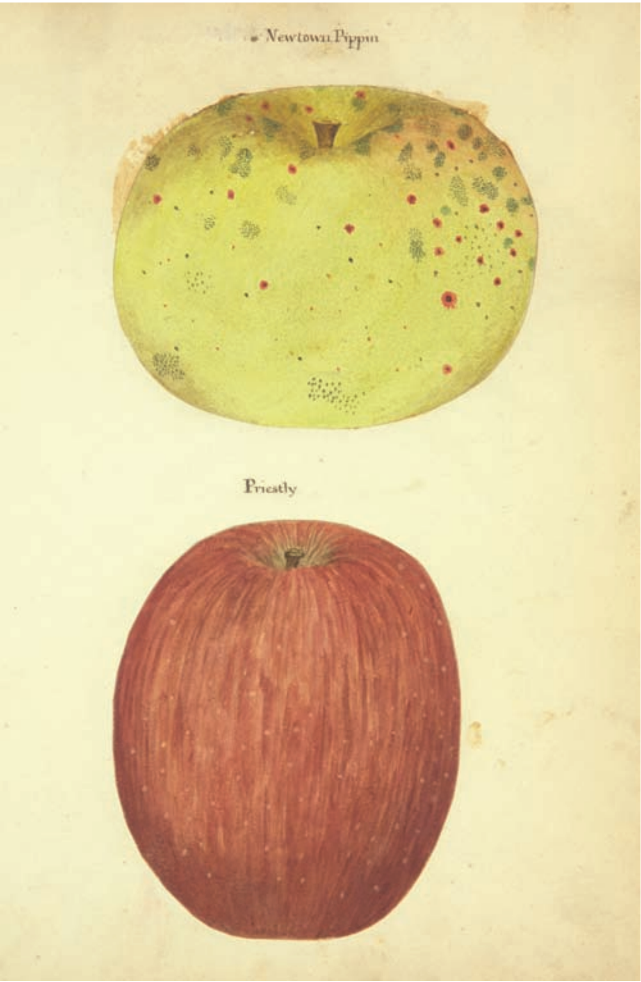
A recently discovered image that shows the full extent of Belmont, the colonial country seat of William Peters, 1771. Watercolor by Pierre Eugène du Simitière, courtesy of Jim Lockard



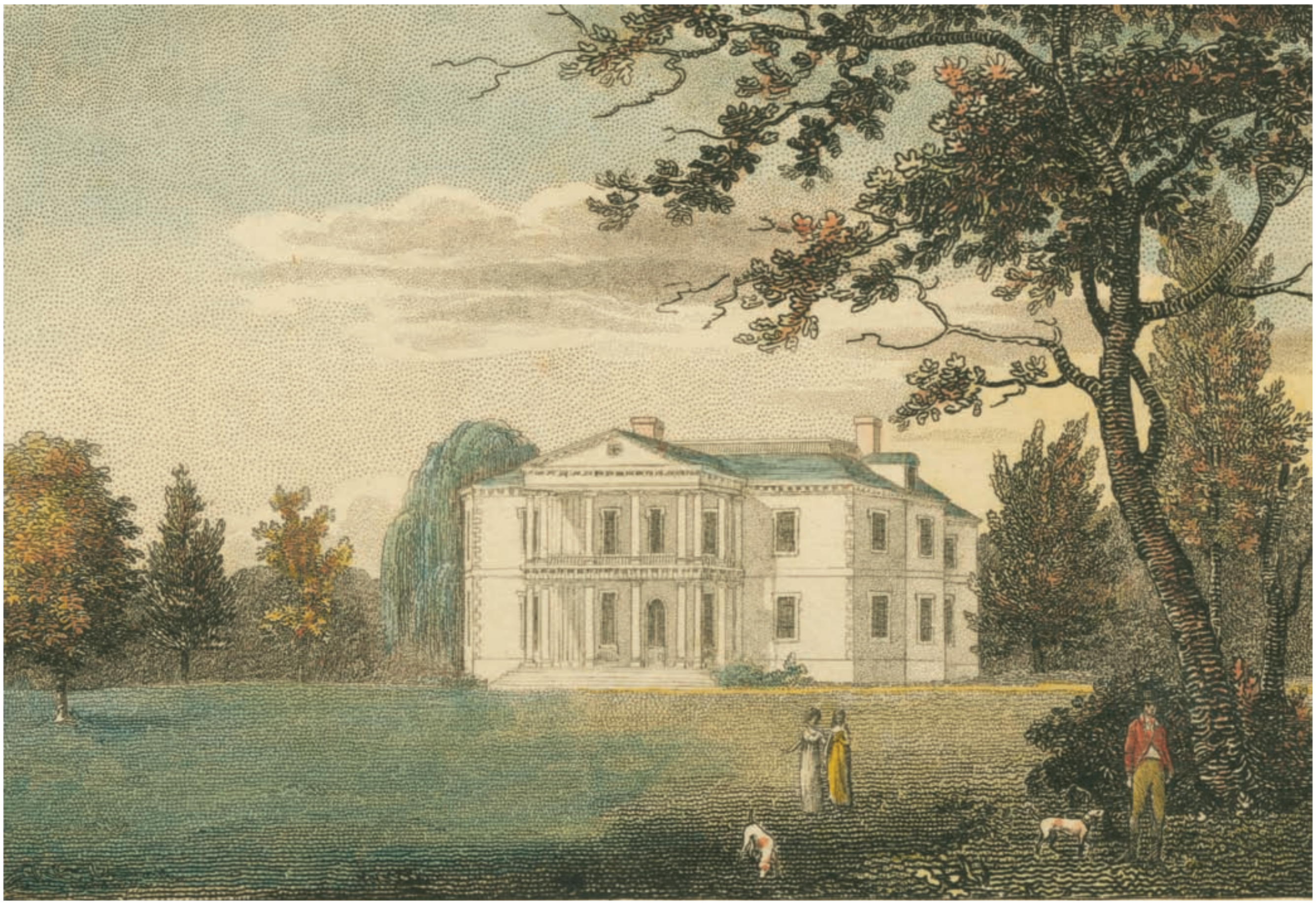
View from Belmont. From William Birch, *Country Seats of the United States of North America* (Philadelphia, 1809), LCP



Hyacinth Gloria Mundi, a flower Daniel Wister had at Grumblethorpe. From Christoph Jacob Trew, *Hortus Nitidissimus* (Nuremberg, 1750), courtesy of the LuEsther T. Mertz Library of the New York Botanical Garden, Bronx, New York



Shown at the top of this watercolor is the Newtown, or Albemarle, Pippin, a type of apple that Bartram grew. From William Coxe's unpublished second edition of *A View of the Cultivation of Fruit Trees, and the Management of Orchards and Cider*, National Agricultural Library, Washington, DC



Lansdowne (1772). From William Birch, *Country Seats of the United States of North America* (Philadelphia, 1808), LCP